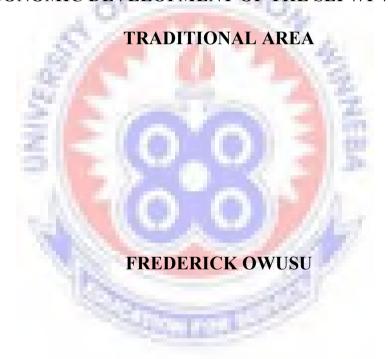
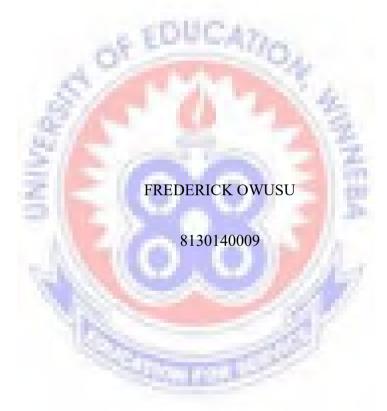
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

INTRA-LINEAGE CHIEFTAINCY CONFLICT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEFWI WIAWSO



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INTRA-LINEAGE CHIEFTAINCY CONFLICT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SEFWI WIAWSO TRADITIONAL AREA



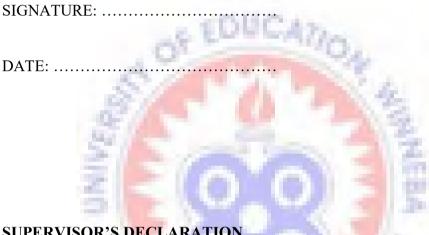
A Thesis in the department of social studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of Education, Winneba in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of Master of Philosophy (Social Studies) degree.

JUNE, 2016

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, Frederick Owusu declare that this thesis, with the exceptions of quotations and references contained in published works which have been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.



SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this dissertation was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: Professor Bolarinde Joseph Obebe

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to the Lord Almighty, Joshua Addison, Samuel Ohene Larbi, Nana Owusu Boateng and the Christ Apostolic Church International (C.A.C.I) through whose guidance, protection and prayer I have been able to reach this far in my education.



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ABSTRACT

The interest of the researcher is to examine the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on family relationships, the provision of social services, and ultimately, the livelihood of people in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. The researcher used a qualitative approach and narrative design to collect data from a sample of 25 respondents from Aboduam, Attaboka, Boinzan, Bosomoiso-Aferee and Wiawso. The researcher used semi-structured interview guide for the primary data sources and written documents, articles, news prints for the secondary sources of data for the study. The results of the study revealed that production in agriculture, commerce and industry have been adversely affected. Furthermore, the violent conflict has led to loss of assets, valued at several millions of Ghana cedis. The resultant insecurity diverts the attention of government and the Municipal/District Assembly from tackling pressing developmental issues. There was mutual effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict and socio-economic development of people of the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. Therefore, it is recommended that education and effective dialogue should be used by stakeholders to manage the conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Studies have shown that about seventy percent of Ghanaians cherish chieftaincy institution (Brobbey, 2008). Due to the significance of the chieftaincy institution in Ghanaian socio-economic life, the chieftaincy institution has been given due recognition in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Chiefs play a vital role in mobilising the people for the execution of developmental projects, sensitising people to health hazards, promoting education, preaching discipline, encouraging various economic enterprises within the communities, inspiring respect for law and order, settling disputes and urging the communities against social ills. The institution also serves as a link between the people and their ancestors. The chieftaincy institution also embodies the moral and ritual purity of the people and the chief is required to lead his people during ancestral rites and important festivals. It is common knowledge in Ghana that traditional rulers have become useful media through whom information from central government is disseminated to the populace.

There is no disagreement over the role of traditional authorities in local governance and development. Those who favour the membership of chiefs in local government units, in general, argue that traditionally, the traditional authority is the leader of his people and that despite the decline of chieftaincy as an institution, traditional authorities still command great influence in their areas of jurisdiction. The most important roles that traditional authorities are expected to play in local development and governance are as follows: Custodians of natural resources, especially land, lead role in fighting for social development of their people, leadership role in the drive to educate their people, have arbitration and representational roles and have the potential to facilitate accountability

to the people; and guardians of traditional heritage, being expected to guard and sustain traditional norms, values and principles and serve as the link between the external community and his people (Arhin, 1985; Ray, 2003a; 2003b).

Perhaps the way chiefs should behave have been summarised by the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II (2002):

Our predecessors engaged in inter-tribal wars, fighting for conquest over territories and people. Today, the war should be vigorous and intensive against dehumanization, poverty, marginalization, ignorance and disease... Chieftaincy must be used to propel economic development through proper lands administration, through facilitating investments in our communities, and through codification and customs and traditions making it impossible for imposters to get enstooled and creating unnecessary situations for litigation (p.11).

The history of Africa as a continent is replete with conflicts. (Alabi, 2006:4). One may even assert that the major current that runs through Africa: from North to South, East to West and Central are conflicts and wars. Since the 1960's, series of violent conflicts (wars) had taken place in Africa. As Ajayi (2005:143) has rightly observed, "the regularity of conflicts in Africa has become one of the distinct characteristics of the continent". However, it is apt to note that Africa has no monopoly of conflict. Other regions of the world are also riddled with considerable violence and social conflagrations. For instance, Bosnia, Serbia, Turkey and Northern Ireland are among the trouble part of Europe. In Asia, one may point to Cambodia, Iraq and Burma among others as conflict ridden. Latin America is also enmeshed in conflicts as evinced by countries like Peru, Guatemala, Mexico and Colombia. (Adedeji, 1999:1). Perhaps, this widespread existence of conflicts across the continents of the world has prompted scholars to observe that conflict is an inevitable aspect of human interaction. As such, conflict may be ineradicable as long as people, nations and groups continue interaction, there will always be disagreements, disputes and conflict. (Otite, 1999; Deutsch, 1991:26-28; Zartman, 1991; Azar, 1990:5).

The predominant type of conflict in Ghana is the "so-called chieftaincy conflicts," which is centered on the chieftaincy institution. Relatively, the institution has survived the imposition of both the colonial and the post-colonial regimes that have included them within the boundaries of the modern states (Nukunya, 1992, 77-78). The status of contemporary chieftaincy in Africa can be illustrated with the examples from Ghana.

Ghana, then the Gold Coast was colonialised by the British from 1831 to 1957. The end of colonialism left in its wake an additional system of governance; hence we have the traditional system, which was practised long before colonial and modern state, a novelty in terms of governance in Ghana. The fusion of these two divergent systems in one political entity generates a potential conflict situation.

In the new system-the modern state, we see a redefinition of the functions of traditional rulers as modern institutional mechanisms have taken over most of the functions of the chief. Indeed, the chief is basically a ceremonial figure who performs religious and cultural functions in the modern state (Abotchie, 2006). Thus, the supremacy of the chief in the traditional system is taken over in the modern state by the constitution. In furtherance, the 1992 constitution of Ghana, Article 270 (1), still recognises the position of the chieftaincy institution.

The introduction of indirect rule changed the traditional way of enstooling chiefs. The British "appointed" a chief from the local population and gave them "warrants" to act as chiefs. These chiefs may not be royals. Such chiefs were known as "warrant chiefs". Significantly, indirect rule had a double effect on the chieftaincy institution. On the one hand, British colonial control over finance, external and internal trade, foreign affairs, defense, jurisdiction and law and order meant that the role of the chief was limited to ceremonial, cultural and social matters (Dankwa, 2004: 6). To accentuate this shift in the balance of power between the colonial and indigenous state, British authorities imposed the title of "chief" on all indigenous leaders. With this, some powerful chiefs in the Gold Coast opposed the new arrangement. The first organised opposition to the British rule in the Gold Coast was initiated by chiefs in the form of the Fante Confederation as early as 1868.

On the other hand, colonial legislation made it possible for the chiefs to exercise more authority over their subjects than was the case before the advent of colonialism. With regard to Ashanti, Dennis Austin (1970) note"...the chiefs of Ashanti Confederation had been given considerable powers as a "Supreme Native Authority." They had received generous subsidies from the central government, and acted as deliberating body for the whole of the confederacy area with substantive law-making powers" (quoted in Boafo-Arthur, 2002).

The chieftaincy institution has been bedeviled with numerous conflicts. The chieftaincy institution is labeled as controversial due to the numerous disputes in the country. About 600 land disputes in Ghana are currently dominated by chieftaincy institutions (Abotchie, 2006).

Chieftaincy conflict has long history in Africa and the world over. Some of the recent developments in Ghana include the Dagbon crisis between Abudu and Andani gates in 2002, the Ga Mantse succession disputes in 2002, the Ga Gbese Manste between 2011 and 2012, the Anlo chieftaincy conflict in 2007, the Adoagyiri crisis in 2007, and the

Sefwi Wiawso one in 2004. Whereas some have been successfully resolved, others tend to be protracted. There is virtually no community in (southern) Ghana without chieftaincy dispute or conflict which tends to have devastating effects on communities and the nation as a whole (Awedoba, 2009). Communal spirit that characterised most communities in Ghana tends to diminish. Non-Governmental Organisations and other stakeholders in development abandon conflict areas, thus resulting in low or nondevelopment.

For this reason, resources meant for development programmes and projects are diverted into taking care of security personnel dispatched to conflict prone areas to maintain peace and order. For instance, the government of Ghana spent 600,000 Ghana cedis in 2002, to maintain peace in Northern Ghana (Brukum, 2002).

Most among the causes of these conflicts or disputes include succession to stools or skins, control over stool lands and litigation, political interference, inordinate ambition for power and the lack of accountability and transparency by some traditional rulers. Most of these protracted disputes have resulted in violent conflicts. According to Tsikata and Seini (2004: 25), it is estimated that there are over 100 chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana centred on ethnicity, succession to traditional political office and struggle over land.

Clearly, then chieftaincy conflicts in the Gold Coast could be attributed to the new political, social and economic transformation under British colonialism. Inuz Sutton succinctly said that: "an indeed native affair in the Gold Coast was almost by definition chieftaincy disputes "(1984: 41). Others have claimed a direct linkage: "communal conflicts in Ghana have been traced to the colonial policy of indirect rule and the practice of elevating favoured chiefs without sensitivity to the multi-ethnic character of

various territories" (Tsikata & Seini, 2004: p.3). The important point to make though is that tensions associated with colonisation and the making of the colonial state, produced conflicts within indigenous societies in many parts of colonial Africa from the second half of the nineteenth century (Osei-Tutu, Wip).

Rapidly, traditional areas in Ghana are characterised by a host of problems including unplanned land- use, poor roads conditions, lack of potable water, lack of basic services and pollution. Violent intra-chieftaincy conflicts situation in the community has adverse effects on the livelihood of the residents. The intimidations, fears and threatens in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area compels some residents to commit much of their time seeking for peace from sources that cannot guarantee their health and safety, and even their livelihood.

Owing to these possible implications, intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts must be managed. Management of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict requires an understanding of their development and security implications. This understanding is necessary in order to avoid these conflicts as well as address the adverse consequences which may result from them to threat fragile stability and security of the family, community and the nation. As a result, the researcher seeks to examine the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts on the socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

The relevant research questions include: how does the conflict affects the socioeconomic development of the people? How can the conflict be resolved in order to ensure sustainable development.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study sought to examine the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on socioeconomic activities in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.Conflict have unintended effect of worsening the lot of the poor. Apart from the fact that education suffers and that social capital of societies are ripped apart, overall economic activities and employment are reduced as people become reluctant to invest in various enterprises.

Chieftaincy conflict constitutes a major threat to the rapid advancement of socioeconomic activities in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. The persistent nature of the conflict had stalled socio-economic development of the Traditional Area. Much of the resources from the Common Fund are being used to tighten security at the expense of carrying out development projects.

This has largely been regarded as a social problem of interest by members of the public, the Regional House of Chiefs, the security agencies and central government. Referring to the subject matter, Harris (1999:15) in a study of *The Cost of Armed Conflicts in Developing Countries* indicated that violence had several economic, social and political implications for socio-economic development".

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of the people of Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

- 1. Examine the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on family relationships in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.
- Assess the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on provision of health and education services in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.
- 3. Explore the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the livelihood of people in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

1.5 Research Questions.

To be able to achieve the above listed objectives, the following research questions were formulated to guide the study:

- 1. How did the violent intra- lineage chieftaincy conflict affect family relationships in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area?
- 2. What are the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the provision of health and education services in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area?
- 3. How did the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict affect the livelihood of people in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study will help the researcher get first-hand information on the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict and also add to scholarly research and literature in the area of communal conflict and socio-economic development.

The research will also provide information on the effects of conflicts to the various stakeholders of the chieftaincy institution. The study will heighten awareness and create dialogue which will lead to a better understanding of the way things appear, leading to an in-depth understanding, fill a void in existing literature and establish a new line of thinking and lift up the voices of individuals who have been marginalised in our

societies. Finally, the research will serve as a source of references to the traditional communities on how to manage conflict situations as they arise.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study is limited to the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area in the extreme north of the Western region of Ghana. The Traditional Area was chosen by the researcher due to the availability of chiefs from different lineages and the persistent nature of the problem that is the number of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. It is basically noted as cocoa growing area of the country because of its high cocoa production. It is made up of six (6) constituencies namely: Akontombra, Bia East, Bia West, Bodi, Juaboso and Sefwi Wiawso. Out of these constituencies, Sefwi Wiawso is a Municipal whilst the rest remain districts. It is bounded on the north-east by Anhwiaso-Bekwai Traditional Area, on the east by Denkyira and Wassa-Amanfi Traditional Area, on the south by Awowin Traditional Area and on the west by the Anyi-Baule of the Ivory Coast. It also shares a common boundary with Brong Ahafo in the north. It covers a land area of about 6224.956 sq km and has a population of 393985, giving the Traditional Area a population density of 63.29 persons per square kilometers. The population is 13.2 percent urban and 86.8 percent rural. Household sizes in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area are fairly large. According to the 2000 population census report, on the average there are nine (9) persons per household (Sefwi Wiawso Municipal Medium Term Development Plan 2006-2009). The common dialect is "Sefwi" but almost all the people speak "Twi" (Akan). In addition they have a common tutelar deity known as "Sobore", and a common annual yam festival — the "Eluoluoe".

The study is focused on the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. This Traditional Area has been the scene of one of the most protracted intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts in the country. The conflict has been the cause of perennial violence in the traditional area. Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has long been an important agriculture and trading centre, and is still seen as the major food and cash crop nerve of the region. The Traditional Area clearly appears not to have benefited from its prospect location in the inter-regional trade, as unemployment, education, health etc are still major concerns among its inhabitants. The traditional area was therefore seen as an ideal place for the study of the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana on local development, as the intra-chieftaincy conflict appears to have adversely affected Ghana's socio-economic development. The Sefwi Wiawso traditional area was chosen as a case study to aid the researcher make inferences and generalisation about the broader topic.



SEFWI WIAWSO TRADITIONAL AREA

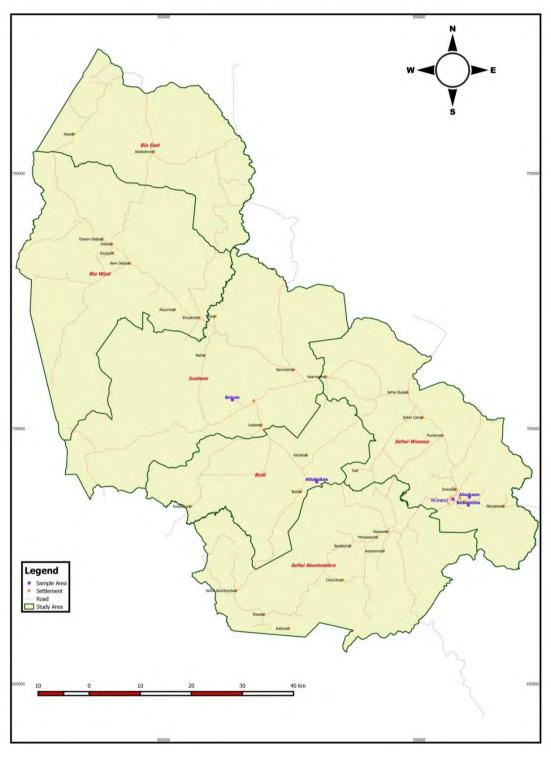


Fig 1.1: Map of Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area: Western Region of Ghana (Source: Sefwi Wiawso Municipal Assembly)

1.7.1 Geographical characteristics

Located within the south – west equatorial climate zone, the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area is characterised by two distinct seasons: a major raining season spanning from April – July. Here, rainfall receipts amount to between 200 and 500mm monthly and a dry season between January and March when the monsoon winds are relaxed. Annual rainfall is over 2,000mm; this has promoted the growth of luxuriant forest vegetation which support the growth of tree crop like cocoa and other foodstuffs. Farming activities depend largely on the annual rainfall amount received in the area. The major rivers found in the traditional area are the Tano and Bia Rivers and their tributaries as well as other rivers.

1.7.2 Economic characteristics

The Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area's economy is based on three major activities: agriculture (farming), small-scale industries and commerce (trading). Agriculture, is the major economic activity and accounts for about 67.4% of total employment (Sefwi Wiawso Municipal Assembly, 2015). The sector comprises mainly subsistence crop production, livestock and poultry farming. The main crops grown include cassava, maize, rice, plantain, cocoyam, coffee, oil palm, yam and cocoa. The main livestock include cattle, sheep and goats. Poultry keeping is also a thriving agro-activity.

Commerce (trading) is the second important economic activity in the Traditional Area, which is generally regarded as the commercial nerve of the Western North. However, the commercial role transcends both the traditional and regional boundaries. The Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area has a five-day market cycles in a week during which local agricultural produce (such as foodstuffs, livestock and poultry) as well as manufactured goods are traded. Traders from other parts of Ghana buy foodstuffs and load them onto southbound trucks for redistribution in the major southern cities like Kumasi, Koforidua, Accra, Tema, and Cape Coast. In return, traders from Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area deal in manufactured goods brought in from Kumasi, Takoradi, Accra and Tema. This illustrates the Traditional Area's commercial importance in the economy of Ghana.

The third important economic activity includes one-man and family-run businesses. These are characterised by diverse small-scale industries; namely palm oil extraction, palm kernel oil extraction, soap making, akpeteshi distilling, maize and cassava grinding, cassava and maize processing for domestic use, basket weaving , dress making and pottery.

1.7.3 Political structures

There are two-levels of political authority in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. The first is the Municipal/District Authority instituted by the state under the Local Government Law (PNDC Law 207, 1988) to provide local administration. The second level of authority is the Traditional Authority, which encapsulates the chieftaincy institution. Though no major role is assigned to the Traditional Authorities under the municipal/district system of governance, its position is guaranteed in the Ghana's Constitution based on the support it wields among the people of the Traditional Area. This is especially so in the rural areas where the influence of central government and the Municipal/District Assembly tend to be minimal. Traditional authorities play several roles including allocations of land, settling disputes, maintaining law and order and upholding traditional customs.

The Municipal/District Assembly, a sort of local parliament, is the highest political authority in the Traditional Area. Two-thirds of members are elected and one-third

appointed by central government in consultation with local and traditional elites. An elected Presiding Member chairs the local parliament. Central government sometimes delegates part of its appointment powers to traditional authorities. The Assembly works together with the political and public administration consisting of a government appointed Municipal/District Secretary and heads decentralised state departments (with their administrative apparatus). The Assembly is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Municipality/District, development decision-making, the provision of social services, preparation and submission of development plan and budget.

The Assembly has two main sources of revenue, from central government and locally generated revenues. Central government transfers come in the forms of grants-in-aid, ceded revenue and district assemblies common fund. Grants-in-aid are monies earmarked for specific development. Ceded revenue is an amount meant to be collected from various enterprises by the Internal Revenue Service on behalf of the Municipality/District. The District Assemblies Common Fund is 5% of government revenue which parliament has directed to be made available to districts for development. Locally generated revenue is mainly from rates, licenses, trading services and fees.

1.7.4 Socio-cultural makeup

The Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area is an ethnically diverse community with several ethnic groups living side-by-side. The ethnic composition is as follows: the Sefwi, the largest ethnic group in the Traditional Area constitutes about 85 percent of the population. The 10% are mainly the Asantes, Brong, Akwapim, Northerners, Ewe, Fante, among many other ethnic groups. The Traditional Area also houses other

nationals from countries such as Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, China and among others. These nationals constitute about 5% (Ghana Statistical Service, Sefwi Wiawso Municipal).

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

This section examines the operational definitions of key terms that appear in the research report. These are intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict, socio-economic development, traditional area, conflict, chief and security.

- Intra- lineage chieftaincy conflicts: Intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts refer to collision of interest between the same ruling or royal clan and/ or the same groups who are motivated by the economic, political, cultural and social rewards they are likely to enjoy by having a kin as the "omanhene" (Paramount Chief of Sefwi Wiawso).
- Socio-economic development: Socio-economic development refers to any legitimate means of livelihood support which enhance the social and economic wellbeing of people. Thus, development must meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs.
- *Traditional area:* Traditional area refers to an area governed by a number of chiefs under the leadership of a paramount chief.
- *Conflict:* Conflict refers to a collision of interest between different persons and groups who are motivated by the economic, political, cultural and social rewards they are likely to enjoy by having a kin as the "*omanhene or ohene*" (Chief of Sefwi Wiawso).

- *Chief:* A chief refers to somebody from a recognised family or lineage who has the support of his people and has been duly installed in accordance with the accepted customary traditions of the area.
- *Security:* The term security refers to the existence of conditions (of relative peace) within which people can go about their normal daily political, social and economic interests and activities without any threats to their lives from violent episodes or inhibitions (and coercion) from authorities.

1.9 Organisation of the Study

The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one includes the background to the study, the purpose, objectives and the research questions. It also includes the significance of the study, the scope of the study, the operational definitions of terms and the organisation of the study. Chapter Two presents a review of related literature on the topic; what others have done about the problem and the gaps that are needed to be filled. Chapter Three described the methodology and included the design, population, sample size and sampling techniques and data collection procedure. Chapter Four contains data analysis and presentation of findings. It describes the results of the data collected towards the achievement of the stated objectives of the study. Chapter five contains discussion of the data collected from the field. Chapter six is a summary of the research findings, recommendations and conclusions on the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher gives the review of the relevant literature on the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on socio-economic development of people. The review comprises two parts namely the conceptual framework and the empirical review. The chapter is set in sections which are related and overlapping. These sections are as follow:

- 1. Conceptual framework
 - a) The concept of conflict, security and development
 - b) Conflict-underdevelopment model
 - c) The causes of conflict
- 2. Empirical Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Chieftaincy exists in every known community, ancient or modern, simple or complex. The title "chief" is generally used to refer to the head, leader or person in charge of a group or organization. However, a chief refers to a clan or tribe head within the chieftaincy institutions (Brobbey, 2008, p.168). Some participants of the Institute of Adult Education Wa, also considered a chief to be somebody who is the most prominent among his peers (Easter School, 2003). This definition is however debatable because one can be the most important person among a group or institution but will not be considered a chief within the chieftaincy institution because the title is conferred in accordance with a particular tradition of a people or clan. The 1992 constitution of Ghana, Act 277, and p.168 defined a chief as somebody from a recognised family or lineage who has the support of his people and has been duly installed in accordance

with the accepted customary traditions of the area. This definition is popular among the communities in Ghana including the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area, the focus of this study.

2.1.1 Conflict, security and development

Conflict, to begin with, refers either to a violent dispute or to an incompatibility of positions, according to Webster (1966). As such, conflict is normal, ubiquitous and unavoidable. It is an inherent feature of human existence. It is even useful on occasion. It is difficult to conceive of a situation which is conflict-free. Indeed, the very presence of conflict is at the heart of all human societies. This being the case, it is hardly surprising to note that "conflict is theme that has occupied the thinking of men more than any other, save only God and love" (Rapoport, 1960:p.12).

One school of thought identifies conflict as a *psychological* state of affairs, a particular situation "in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential positions" (Boulding, 1962: 5). Conflict is thus seen as a situation in which the parties *perceive* goal incompatibility, but do not necessarily engage in behaviour which is mutually incompatible. Deutsch (1973: 10) refers to conflict as a situation which manifests itself whenever incompatible activities occur.

Mack and Snyder (1957) suggest that the term conflict refers to a range of empirical phenomena which can be identified or characterised by four conditions: the existence of two or more parties, a situation of a resource or position scarcity, the presence of behaviour that is designed to hurt or injure the other and mutually opposed goals. These properties are offered by Mack and Snyder as the necessary empirical conditions for the existence of conflict. These conditions may exist within and among individuals, groups or nations. Obeng (2014) also put a very simple but interesting definition to

conflict when he says conflict is an active disagreement between people with opposing opinions or principles.

To Holsti (1983:350) conflict is a particular relationship between states or rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subjective economic or military hostilities.

Coser (1998) on his part views conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to injure or eliminate their rivals. To him, this may be achieved through the use of ways and means geared at hurting their opponents or eliminating them altogether. Coser's view about conflict is admirable but it is important to state that not all conflicts are aimed at eliminating or destroying the opponents. The intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area is meant to gain legitimacy to the Sefwi Wiawso stool even though some precious lives were lost.

Conflicts have caused severe hardship to families, homes and governments. Families lose loved ones and governments spend huge sums of monies to keep peace in conflict areas. Conflict is however inevitable because as human beings we are bound to have different interest and perspectives in our daily activities. Conflict therefore occurs when differences are not resolved amicably between the parties involved in the conflict. This assumption of conflict perfectly fits into the Sefwi Wiawso intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts.

Galtung (1996) as cited by Gati (2008) considered conflict as "incompatibility of goals, or a clash of goals or 'mere' disagreement". Hagan (1995) expanded Coser's viewpoint of conflict when he asserted that conflicts are not always just targeted at destroying the enemy, but that it sometimes enables each opponent to assess and appreciate his or her strength level. This understanding of conflict is generally on the point but not necessarily applicable to the Sefwi Wiawso intra-lineage conflict in the sense that for the conflict under study, one lineage is just being told in the face that he is not due in the chieftaincy at all.

Political scientists also view conflict to be about how to get what one desires for within a political space in time. It could be land, district among others, (Ninsin 1995 as cited by Gati, 2008). To him, conflict can therefore erupt as a result of the inability of a group to get what they want from a political system within a particular period of time.

Awedoba, (2009, p.10) also described conflict as a "relationship between two or more parties that centre on differences, disagreement on some issues of common interest or concern, divergence, incompatibilities, and clash of wills". Conflict occurs when people clash over issues of common interest and are unable to resolve their differences which may then inhibit them from achieving their personal ambitions (2003 Easter School, Wa). They also see conflict as a dynamic process whose management will depend on whether it will be violent or otherwise. According to them, conflict is inherent in every human community and to that extent, is natural.

Conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Defined in broadest terms, conflict denotes the incompatibility of subject positions (Diez et al, 2006:565). This definition emphasises the opposition or incompatibility at the heart of the conflict and initially leaves open the exact nature of the incompatibilities that is whether they are between individuals, groups or societal positions; whether they rest in different interests or beliefs; whether they have a material existence or come into being only through discourse.

According to Lianos, conflict as a social phenomenon is "a regular social process" (Lianos, 2011: 3). When a conflict breaks out a "closure" of the spectrum across which the social bond organises itself" occurs and group belongingness becomes defined principally on the basis of enmity (Lianos, 2011: 6-8). The possibility for such "closure" when there is uncertainty determines the propensity to conflict of a society (Lianos, 2011:2). Brück, Justino, Verwimp and Avdeenko (2010:3), define violent mass conflict from a social point of view as "the systematic breakdown of the social contract resulting from and/or leading to changes in social norms, which involve violence instigated through collective action" (Brück, Justino, Verwimp & Avdeenko 2010: 3).

Mayer (2005) opined that conflict is an emotional reaction to a situation or interaction that signals disagreement of some kind. The emotion felt might be fear, sadness, bitterness, anger or hopelessness. It might be emphasised that conflict in whatever form is often uncomfortable and energy consuming experience.

According to Oke (2000), conflict is an incompatible feeling between groups or people. Conflict may be described as war, battle, and struggle, opposing ideas or disagreement or quarrel between individuals.

Bujra (2002, : 3) use the term conflict in his paper *African Conflicts: Their Causes and Their Political and Social Environment* to mean a violent and armed confrontation and struggle between groups, between the state and one or more groups, and between two or more states. In such confrontation and struggle some of those involve are injured and killed. Such a conflict can last anything from six months to over twenty (20) years.

From the discussion, conflict is disagreement between opposing groups which centres on clash of wills that may result into violence. Galtung (1996: 71) has stressed, incompatibility and a potential clash of goals (interest or values) are the basic motivations for conflict. In this study, *conflict* is understood as a collision of interest between different persons and groups who are motivated by the economic, political, cultural and social rewards they are likely to enjoy by having a kin as the "*Omanhene*" (Paramount Chief of Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area).

The second concept relevant to my study is security, which is generally "associated with perceived threats to the survival of individuals and states..." (Buur, Kyed, Lars & Helene 2007: 12). In this work, the term security refers to the existence of conditions (of relative peace) within which people in Sefwi Wiawso can go about their normal daily political, social and economic interests and activities without any threats to their lives from violent episodes or inhibitions (and coercion) from authorities. This understanding of the term conforms with current usage, which broadens the traditional usage of the term from its earlier preoccupation with the defense of states to include a reference to all kinds of threats and potential dangers to human survival. This new usage, which is referred to as the "Human Security" view, has drawn attention to the need in the discussion on security to include issues such as environmental protection and degradation, poverty and disease, individual freedoms, as well as social-political and economic rights (Fischer, D., 1993:10). The 1994 United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report also recognised seven areas that human security should be concerned with, namely: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

The third concept that is used in the analysis is *(sustainable) development*. Like most concepts in the social sciences, different scholars have defined development differently

placing emphasis based on their individual areas of specialisation. Galtung (1996: 127-129) identifies three broad definitions of the concept of development in the scholarly literature. The first, refers to "the unfolding of a culture; realizing the code or cosmology of that culture." This is a cultural relativist understanding of the concept, and implies that development is construed differently in different cultures. The second definition sees development as "the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting with those most in need". The emphasis in this definition is on the satisfaction of both human and non-human needs. The third definition stresses, "economic growth, but at nobody's expense". This definition identifies the most commonly accepted understanding of development as proposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions. However, it includes a social justice clause – "but at nobody's expense", which leads us to what has become known as sustainable development concept: that development must meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs.

The three concepts introduced above are closely related and mutually reinforcing. On the positive side, the absence of conflict can ensure the security of both the state and individuals. Under conditions of peace and security people and states can direct their efforts and resources towards improving human life. Conversely, conflict (especially violent ones) creates insecurity, stretches the resources of the state, retards selfimproving human activity, and leads to underdevelopment and poverty. To put it more elaborately, both conflict and development have to do with the satisfaction of needs (human or non-human): development being the ability to meet such needs and conflict the effort to satisfy the needs of different parties. Therefore where the ability to meet needs is expanded (development) little effort would be used to satisfy individual needs. In times of conflict, competing groups and individuals use their energies unproductively to contain their opponents, rather than use them productively to improve life.

Also, security and development are related in the sense that being a public good, the imperative to maintain security competes with other public goods (as education, health and infrastructure) for public funds. Moreover, violent conflicts, as several studies have shown, beget insecurity, which is characterised by a breakdown of law and order, increase in crime rate and impunity (Richani, 2007, Hunt, 2008). Expenditures on security are therefore an essential component of the development process. For instance the usage of resources to strengthen a country's borders will check smuggling. Insecurity therefore becomes a drain on local and national resources at the expense of development and peoples' wellbeing. Thus in the absence of any real threats to security, expenditures on security can be reduced significantly, allowing national and local (District/Municipal Assembly) governments to channel more resources to other public goods to improve the quality of life of people.

2.1.2 The conflict-underdevelopment model

As indicated above, there is a close relationship between peace and development on the one hand and conflict and insecurity on the other hand. Underlying the two relationships is what Collier, Elliot, Hegre, Hoeffler, Querol & Sambanis (2003:1) describe as a "double causation [which] gives rise to virtuous and vicious circles". This means that a condition of peace and security encourages investment in productive ventures that gives employment and enhanced livelihood to individuals as well as communities. Thus peace and security stimulate socio-economic development. Conversely conflict begets insecurity, discourages investment and production, and leads to underdevelopment and poverty. Current research (Collier et al., 2003; Kuzuhide, 2006, Cramer, 2006) on

conflict and development shows that violent conflicts and underdevelopment mutually affect and reinforce one another. For instance, Collier et al. (2003: 1) have concluded that violent conflict "retards development, but conversely, development retards war [conflict]". In other words, violent conflict has an impact on the national, local as well as domestic economies of a conflict area. Justino (2007: 6) puts it more succinctly: "violent conflict will affect the levels of poverty in any given economy, as well as the dynamics of poverty along the lifetime of the conflict and in post-conflict context". Conversely, retarded economic development can lead either to violent conflicts or to the escalation of existing conflicts. The researcher seeks to investigate how these observations relate to the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.



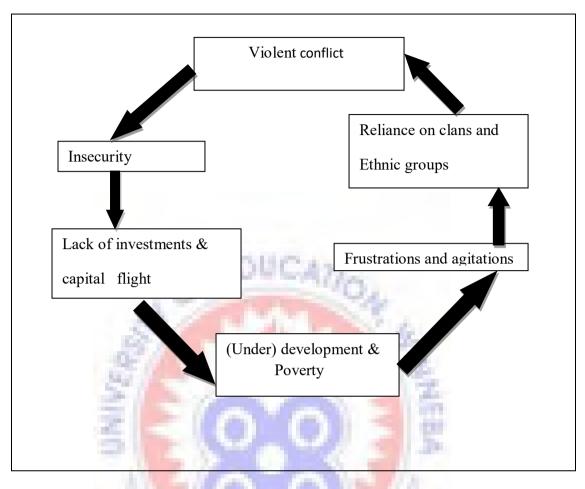


Figure 2.1: The vicious cycle produced by conflict.

Figure 2.1: Conflict-underdevelopment Cycle

Source: Collier, et al. (2003)

2.1.3 Causes of chieftaincy conflict

Conflicts may be said to have been caused by a multiplicity of factors such as arbitrary borders, created by the colonial powers, heterogeneous ethnic composition of African States, inept political leadership, corruption, negative effect of external debt burden and poverty.

According to Adams and Bradbury (1995) "the causes of conflicts are several and intertwined". They believe that some conflicts border on identity, poverty, sovereignty, governance and development issues. This list of conflict can be critiqued as being inexhaustive. This is because there are other conflicts which border on envy and suspicion among others. The Sefwi Wiawso traditional area's intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict for example borders on identity to some extent because the other lineages to the stool are contesting the legitimacy of one particular lineage to the stool.

Africa has consistently suffered from the problem of inept leadership which has retarded political integration and unity in almost all African states. Given the heterogeneous composition of most African states, perhaps what they needed most are the virtues of administrative tact, political tolerance and social justice. These essential ingredients are to be provided by the continent's leadership. Unfortunately however, the realities on the ground in most African nations revealed that most African leaders are weak, corrupt and unpatriotic. Apart from retarding national integration and socio-economic developments, the attitudes of these rulers have sparked off widespread of bloody violence. Judging from the above observation, one cannot but agree with Adedeji (1999:11) when he asserts that:

what African countries have lacked during most of their history, as independent states are leaders who are unifiers, chiefs in the true sense, who bind wounds, hold everything and anyone together, mobilise and motivate their people, pursue a policy of inclusion rather than exclusion and are seen by one and all to be of the highest integrity and beyond suspicion.

The point therefore is that African leadership must be acceptable to all sections of the community if the process of integration is not to be halted. Until then, a recurrence of conflicts across Africa may continue to be a common phenomenon.

One of the major factors responsible for internal conflicts in Africa is the devastating impact of corruption. Corruption, manifested in the embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds, has paralyzed development efforts and caused debilitating immobilisation in the march towards socio-economic transformation and political integration in Africa. Africa's resources have been badly managed over the years that the masses are fed up their leaders. This has provoked militant nationalism against Africa leaders. The result, expectedly, is the unending conflict across Africa states. The Africa Union itself acknowledges the debilitating impact of corruption on the political and socio-economic stability of Africa states. This perhaps explains the adoption of the "Africa Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption" by the 2nd ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union on 11 July, 2003. The convention is meant to, among other things, promote and strengthen the development in Africa by each state party, of mechanisms required to prevent, detect, punish and eradicate corruption in the public and private sectors.

Africa is one of the poorest continents of the world. This is largely due to harsh environmental conditions, corruption and huge foreign debt that exacerbate the conditions of poverty (IIiffe, 1995:253). For instance, unreliable weather condition has contributed to famine in some parts of Ghana. If the saying is true that a hungry man is an angry man, then conflicts may for long be part of Africa life owing to this situation of absolute poverty prevalence across the continent.

Adekanye (1997) also considers the burden of foreign debt and environmental and human insecurity as the causes of conflict in Africa. However, much as his ideas on the causes of conflict in Africa are brilliant and interesting it is important to state that he did not mention other important causes of conflict in Africa. Corruption and bad governance in high government institutions are also factors to consider. Corruption deprives people from basic necessities of life, while a few government appointees enrich themselves. The poor and marginalised people certainly will be forced to rebel. Disproportionate distribution of the national purse is another cause of conflict in Africa. A clear example is the conflict in the Niger Delta region in Nigeria. All these however, are not the cause of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

A "governance" deficiency has been cited by some of these works as the causes of the recurring ethnic and communal violence in many parts of Ghana (Akwetey, 1996; Lund, 2003; Jonsoon, 2007). Akwetey for instance argues that the absence of adequate democratic institutions is to blame for the recurring violence. Avenues for expressing interest and demands are non-existent.

Generally, chieftaincy conflict erupts when there are two or more rival claimants to a vacant "stool" or "skin", the symbols of kinship or chieftaincy in the "traditional state". The rival claimants to such traditional authority may either belong to different ethnic groups or to different lineages of the founding family. These are exacerbated by direct as well as discreet political interventions in chieftaincy affairs. For instance, governments support for loyal claimants to chieftaincy positions against less amenable ones has led to tensions between traditional rulers and government officials on one hand and between rival claimants to chieftaincy positions on the other hand.

The West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP) noted in its 2011 Annual National Human Security Warning Alert that overtime, the dynamics in chieftaincy are changing along new political administrations and the increase of political activities. The report notes that the last quarter of 2011 witnessed an increase in violent tendencies among chieftaincy factions which were plagued with accusations and counter accusations of stockpiling of arms and installations of sub-chiefs.

Hagan (2003) also said that most conflicts occur in Northern Ghana because some wealthy people sometime influence the king or chief makers to make them chiefs even when they do not qualify. It is important to state that even though Hagan's view point is a truism for most conflicts in Ghana, it really applies to the Sefwi Wiawso intralineage chieftaincy conflict. To corroborate Hagan's viewpoint, former President His Excellency Kuffuor (2002) once indicated to the National House of Chiefs that "improper installation of chiefs" was another major cause of conflict in Ghana. He added that dubious and distant personalities have ignored the laid down traditional rules and regulations and "condone and connive" with chief or king makers to be enskin or enstooled as chiefs. According to him, any resistance to the above resulted in serious violent conflict.

Some participants at the 2003 Easter School in Wa also indicated that the lack of a database of the royal gates or codification of a sort as a guide to chieftaincy succession was another cause of chieftaincy dispute or conflict in Ghana. This assertion is an excellent one because it just explains the cause of the Sefwi Wiawso intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict to a very large extent.

In Ghana, the struggle to become a "chief" may turn violent: when the historical, political, economic and social circumstances surrounding the chieftaincy institution in a traditional state become contested; when the rules of succession become unclear; when successive governments and political parties support one group against the other in a bid to serve their own parochial political interest and when there are small and light weapons available to the factions in the conflict. However, though chieftaincy conflicts are largely localised (as the disputes occur within the boundaries of the traditional state),

and the associate violence hardly spills over into neighbouring traditional states, the conflict's social, political and economic ripples become felt beyond the conflict zone.

Chieftaincy succession has also been identified as the major cause of conflict in (northern) Ghana (Brukum, 2003). According to him, one particular gate usually wants to stay in power forever while the rest of the gates resisted that move thereby resulting in conflict.

Ethnic diversity has also been identified by Kumo (2009) as another cause of conflict especially in Africa. This is a valid point, but it is certainly insufficient to draw an emphatic conclusion on. There are other continents with more ethnic diversity, but with less conflict as compared with African. It is therefore obvious that there must be other real causes of conflict. It is certainly not applicable to the conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area because the same lineage engaged themselves in the conflict.

2.2 Empirical Review on Conflict and its Socio-economic Effects

The unending political tensions wars and conflicts in the continent have had lasting negative impact on the socio-economic development of Africa because socio-economic development cannot be sustained in an environment riddled with violence, instability and insecurity (Conteh, 1998:20). Miller (2008) found out that conflict affect all levels of society, namely economic, social and cultural. However, vulnerable groups such as children, the aged and women are more affected (Kusemi, J., Fobil, J., Atuguba, R., Erawoc, I., and Oduro, F. (2006: 226). Conflicts have worsened the poverty situation in Northern Ghana by rolling back business activities. According to him, the strong and productive segments of society are the ones killed and maimed during conflict. Business activities are therefore affected in the long run. The situation is very similar to that of the Sefwi Wiawso intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. During the conflict traders could

not sell their wares in the market for fear of being attacked or killed and most of the casualties in the Sefwi Wiawso conflict were the young and middle aged men. Conflicts also result in the destruction of farms and prevent people from farming, the major occupation of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

On the social front, fighters and non- combatants lose their lives as a result of conflict (African Development Report, 2008). It is disheartening to note that this unprecedented loss of lives as a result of violent conflicts is having a debilitating effects on human resources available to Ghana, Africa and the world at large. The services of the departed souls whom God has endowed with great skills, talents and potentials are no longer available to be harnessed for Ghana's development.

Hoeffler (2008) found that violent conflicts cause diseases which further kill people in conflict areas. Combatants face the risk of losing their lives and weigh up the risk of contracting diseases by the stressful situations and dangers related to violent conflicts. This agrees with Wendo (2002) who observed that in most of the total war (violent conflict) deaths are not due to violence but due to communicable diseases.

Lianos (2008) has observed that when conflict breaks out expectations towards the future in many aspects of life, such as the economic situation, access to education, health care and so on, become more uncertain as compared to the calculability and projections that are possible when there is peace. It is on this premise that Lianos (2008:3) opined that in conditions of conflict there, is a state of "general uncertainty". Since socio-economic uncertainty linked to the violent conflict is likely to last throughout the conflict cycle, the question that arises naturally is if socio-economic uncertainty contributes to the risk of conflict. Factors that proved to be related to the risk of conflict might also be at the origin of increased socio-economic uncertainty at

the same time. Some of these factors are related to poverty and inequalities between groups. Murshed and Tadjoeddin (2007: 3) found that economic prosperity is significantly related to the risk of conflict.

Another research conducted by UNICEF (2001), on conflicts revealed that violent conflicts are characterised by a total breakdown of law, security and community structures, with gross human rights violations perpetrated against civilian populations. The most vulnerable are women and children. The findings concur with Bott (1957) and Granovetter (1973) in Barbalet (2009: 377) who observed that violent conflicts do not only lead to obvious lack of safety, destruction of assets, loss of sources of income and loss of one's job; they also lead to changes in social relations, especially to the deterioration of networks that form significant resources for each of their individual members. Links between the members of a community, and the norms attached to these links, represent a fundamental resource in coping with difficulties caused by a conflict.

A research conducted by Instituto Del Tercer (1997,:45) and Uwechue (1996: 16) revealed that one of the attendant effects of wars and conflicts in Africa is the emergence of numerous numbers of displaced persons who have become refugee in different nations across the continent; According to Article, 1 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Convention Governing the Specific/Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969), a refugee is a person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it?" or "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled leave to

his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality". It is sad to note that violence and lawlessness have caused a severe humanitarian crisis in many parts of Africa as many displaced people are now spread throughout the continent. This agrees with Kusemi (2006) who observed that conflicts compel people to migrate to other areas where they undergo deprivation of basic needs of live. This research will fill the gap of whether there are effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of affected communities.

2.3 The State of Chieftaincy Issues in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

(DUCA)

In the extreme north of the Western Region of Ghana is the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. It is bounded on the northeast by Ashanti (Asante), on the east by Denkyira and Wassa- Amanfi, on the south by Awowin and on the west by the Anyi- Baule of the Ivory Coast. The common dialect is Sefwi but almost all the people speak Twi (Akan). In addition they have a common tutelar deity "Sobore" and a common annual yam festival — the "Eluoluo". Daaku (1970) asserted that since the middle of the Seventeenth century this vast stretch of territory has served as a centre of refuge for people escaping from the political centralisation policies of their neighbours to the north and east. Refugees from Bono-Takyiman, Wenchi, Adanse, Denkyira, Assin and Asante warmly welcomed in this territory. Daaku (1970) indicated that the Awowin rulers who formerly controlled modern Sefwi territory adopted an open door policy as a measure to increase the population of their state. According to Daaku (1970), it is not known for certain when the name "Sefwi" came to be applied to this area. The etymology of the word "Sefwi" indicates that the state is of comparatively recent creation. Sefwi is said to be the contraction of the Twi phrase, "Esa awie" or "Esa hie" meaning "War is over". But it is interesting to note that the "war is not over".

In recent times, there have been a number of protracted violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area which have attracted the attention of the media, the District Security Council, the Regional Security Council and all other stakeholders in the fight for peace and development in Ghana.

The violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area is primarily due to the misunderstanding between the Queen mother of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, Nana Adua Panyin II and some King-makers of the area. Empirical study by Sraku (2012) shows that there is chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Sraku (2012) asserted that a section of the people attempted to destool the chief and that became the source of conflict at the area. The study adopted a survey approach. In his research, when he asked the respondents about the existence of chieftaincy conflict in the communities visited, majority (63.6%) of respondents indicated the existence of the chieftaincy conflict exist. The conflict is seriously impeding development of the area as a result of tension and non-cooperation among some of the chiefs. The Sefwi's contribution to the national economy is vast and has the potential to grow bigger. Its growth is however being hampered by the protracted chieftaincy conflict. As a result of this a huge chunk of the district's income has been used to fund security operations instead of being used for developmental projects. There will be no progress in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area until there is a functioning traditional council in place. Honourable Appiah-Kubi the former District Chief Executive, for instance disclosed that government has spent Ghc 1.8 billion on security at Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. To add to this Honourable Aidoo, the former Member of Parliament for the Sefwi Wiawso Constituency also indicated that the numerous chieftaincy conflict and their attendant land litigations in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area were a threat to lives and properties in the area.

2.4 Summary

In this Chapter the researcher has examined the effects of violent chieftaincy conflict on socio-economic development from the conflict-underdevelopment model. The general belief is that indeed, such conflicts have led to undesirable developments in the affected areas and the nation as a whole. These devastating effects of violent conflict include loss of lives, the displacement of people, loss of property, outright lawlessness which results in the imposition of curfew, a move that constraints the fundamental human rights of the people and impedes on economic activities. These conditions create an atmosphere of anxiety, insecurity and distrust, posing a threat to the peace and stability of the entire nation. To control such conflicts, security personnel are deployed to the affected areas at huge cost to the neglect of important developmental issues.

Related literature has revealed that violent conflict affect people and communities directly or indirectly in the attainment of socio-economic goals. Violent conflict results in distrust, insecurity and under-development.

The empirical review also indicated different findings. The gaps identified in the literature reviewed were that, there were no literature pertaining intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict, and also the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on socio-economic development. These gaps were unique to this current study and therefore qualitative research method was used to fill the gaps.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The researcher aims at examining the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of people in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. In this chapter, the researcher presents the methodology that was adopted for the study under the following sub-headings:

- 1. Researcher design
- 2. Population of the study
- 3. Sample and sampling technique
- 4. Research instrument
- 5. Data collection procedure
- 6. Data analysis

3.1 Research Design

The method selected for this research into the Sefwi Wiawso intra-chieftaincy conflict was the qualitative approach. Unlike its quantitative opposite, the qualitative method "avoid(s) or downplay(s) statistical techniques and mechanics of the kinds of quantitative methods used in, say survey research or epidemiology" (Silverman, 2005: 6). Consequently, Hammersley (2012) has identified a common set of preferences shared by qualitative researchers. These include analysis of words and images rather than numbers, observation rather than experiment, meaning rather than behaviour and hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis testing (Silverman, 2006: 56). Strauss and Corbin (1990:17) describe qualitative research methodology as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedure or other

means of quantification...They further clarified that some of the data could be quantifiable but the analysis is qualitative (Hoepfl, 1997).

Shank (2002) defines qualitative research as "a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning" (p. 5). By systematic he means "planned, ordered and public", following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By empirical, he means that this type of inquiry is grounded in the world of experience. Inquiry into meaning says researchers try to understand how others make sense of their experience. This is in agreement with Denzin and Lincoln (2000) who claim that qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach: "This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them".

To Black (1994) qualitative research attempts to broaden and/or deepen our understanding of how things came to be the way they are in our social world. If the research question involves exploring how people experience something, or what their views are, exploring a new area where issues are not yet understood or properly identified (example before developing questionnaire items), assessing whether a new service is implementable, looking at 'real-life' context, or a sensitive topic where you need flexibility to avoid causing distress, your team probably needs to discuss using qualitative methodology. Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world and seeks to answer questions about:

- Why people behave the way they do
- How opinions and attitudes are formed

- How people are affected by the events that go on around them
- How and why cultures and practices have developed in the way they have.

In addition, Black (1994) identified that researchers who use qualitative methods seek a deeper truth. They aim to "study things in their setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them" and they use "a holistic perspective which preserves the complexities of human bahaviour."

According Hancock, Windridge and Ockleford (2007), qualitative research focuses on people's narratives/stories either about themselves or a set of events. Instead of looking for themes that emerge from an account, it concentrates on the sequential unfolding of someone's story so there is an emphasis on employment and characters. It is timeconsuming and usually includes a very small number of cases. Creswel (2013), is also with the view that we conduct qualitative research when we want to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between researcher and the participants.

My choice of qualitative method was informed by my decision to make sense of meaning other people have about the world they live in. The fieldwork involved the granting of open-ended interviews with the people to sample their views on the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts on the social and economic livelihoods of the people of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

Qualitative research is increasingly being used by many social scientists because of the growing recognition that "it is insufficient to rely on quantitative survey and statistics to understand human affairs. It has become important to attempt to delve deep into the subjective qualities that govern human behaviour" (Holiday, 2002: 7). More so, in the

social sciences, statistical quantitative statements are subject to different interpretations and may sometimes be used for political "spin". Qualitative research however suffers from one serious defect; it has been argued that the researcher might select only those fragments of data which support his argument. Silverman (2006: 51) has suggested that some quantitative data could be incorporated into the qualitative research to ease all such concerns.

3.2 Research Design

According to Kumar (2011), is the stated structure and process of conducting a research project, the plan which the research study follows. It is a series of advanced decisions that make up a master plan or model for a research study. The study aims at examining the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts on the socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

To achieve this purpose, a narrative design was adopted for the study. Narrative research is a term that subsumes a group of approaches that in turn rely on the written or spoken words or visual representation of individuals. These approaches typically focus on the lives of individuals as told through their own stories. According to Webster's Dictionary (1966, p. 1503), a narrative is defined as a "discourse, or an example of it, designed to represent a connected succession of happenings". Perhaps the most concise definition is that proposed by Smith (1981): Narratives are "verbal acts consisting of someone telling someone else that something happened".

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber, (1998, p.2) offer the following definition:

Narrative research...refers to any study that uses or analyses narrative materials. The data can be collected as a story (a life story provided in an interview or a literary work) or in a different manner (field notes of an anthropologist who writes up his or her observations as a narrative or in personal letters). It can be the object of the research or a means for the study of another question. It may be used for comparison among groups, to learn about a social phenomenon or historical period or to explore a personality.

According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000) a narrative design is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher studies the lives of individuals and ask one or more individuals to provide stories about their life. This information is then often retold or restoried by the researcher into a narrative chronology. In the end, the narrative combines views from the participant's life with those of the researcher's life in a collaborative narrative. They emphasise the dynamic and dialogical nature of narrative research in their definition:

> Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places and in social interaction with milieus. An inquirer enters this matrix in the midst and progresses in this same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling the stories of the experience that make up people's lives, both individual and social. Simply stated...narrative inquiry is stories lived and told.

Similarly, Riessman (2008) is of the view that narrative study is where the researcher uses thematic analysis of reporting what happened to individual. The narrative design gives participants the freewill to tell their story without fear.

According to Lieblich (1998, p.5) research methods should be always selected to best fit the research question, when researchers are asked by various social agencies to address real-life problems, to contribute their expertise to public debates or decisions, it may be advisable to approach people whose lives are relevant to the issue in an open manner, exploring their subjective, inner experience on the matter at hand. Narrative methods can be considered "real world measures" that are appropriate when "real life problems" are investigated. The purpose of narrative research is to study personal experience and meaning-making in a systematic manner. Narrative research can provide effective argument for how events have been constructed by active subjects.

3.3 The Population of the Study

The central objective of the research was to examine the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. The target population for the study consisted of nineteen (19) communities in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area which have experienced intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts. Five (5) communities which have experienced intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict for the past twenty (20) years were selected to participate in the study. These towns were Aboduam, Attaboka, Boizan, Bosomoiso-Aferee and Wiawso. Five (5) participants each were selected from the five (5) towns. The total population for the study was twenty-five (25).

3.4 Sampling Techniques

Creswell (2009) asserts that it is necessary to select a sample that will enable an exploration of the phenomenon under study for better understanding. For this reason, twenty-five (25) people were sampled for qualitative interview. Creswell (2009) further argues that selecting a large number of interviewees will "result in superficial perspective and the overall ability of a researcher to provide an in-depth picture

diminishes" (p. 2007). Therefore, the selection of five towns with twenty-five (25) participants was deemed appropriate for this study.

Purposive sampling technique was used to sample twenty-five (25) participants comprising five (5) participants each selected from Aboduam, Attaboka, Boisan, Bosomoiso-Aferee and Wiawso for in-depth interview. Purposive sampling technique ensures that the researcher carefully selects the sample to reflect the purpose of the investigation (Kumar, 2011). These were specific people who provided the desired information to meet the researcher's criteria. Table 3.1 is a summary of the distribution of respondents by community.

Table 3.1:	Distribution	of Respondent	s by Community

Community	No. of Respondents	Percentage	
Aboduam	5	20	
Attaboka	5	20	
Boinzan	5	20	
Bosomoiso-Aferee	5	20	
Wiawso	5	20	
Total	25	100	

Source: Author, Field Survey, January, 2015

3.5. Nature of Data

The data for this study were collected from two (2) main sources; secondary and the primary sources of data. Analysis of secondary sources was used to complement the primary data. The secondary data involved an intensive research from books, journals, magazines, radio interviews, articles, Internet materials and unpublished works related to the study. The essence was to review literature on the relationships between conflict and socio-economic development that will assist the researcher in analysing the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. The review of conceptual framework served as empirical base for the analysis of data collected. The secondary sources are a rich source

on the history of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

The primary data were collected using semi-structured interview guide. A set of questions aided in the gathering of data from the individuals' socio-demographic characteristics and the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on their socio-economic development. The semi structured interview guide was designed to elicit responses from the respondents for the purpose of statistical analysis.

3.6. Research Instrument

The instrument used for data collection in the study was semi-structured interviews guide. Moore (2000) argues that interview allows the collection of people's views and opinions, allows spontaneity in the interviewer's questioning and the interviewees responses.

More so, Creswell (2009) further argues semi-structured interview is neither fully fixed nor fully free and are perhaps best seen as flexible. Interviews generally start with some defined questioning plan, but pursue a more conversational style that may see questions answered in an order natural to the flow of the conversation. It may start with few defined questions but pursue any interesting talents that may develop.

In designing the semi-structure interview schedule, the major aim was to collect data that would answer the research questions. Therefore, a set of questions relating to the central theme in each research question were stated to elicit the desired responses and opinions of the participants.

The interview guide contained questions pertaining to the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso

Traditional Area (See Appendix 1). It had two (2) sections. Section "A" contained questions on demographic information about participants. Section "B" generally asked questions systematically on the research questions. Kusi (2012) asserts that employing this approach helps the researcher to ensure that all the research questions are answered.

3.6.1 Validity

Validity does not carry the same connotation in qualitative research as in quantitative research. Validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, participant or the reader of an account (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative researchers, according to Bryman (2008) employ trust-worthiness criteria to judge the quality of the studies. The idea such as trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility enhance the researcher's ability to assess the accuracy of the findings as well as convince readers of that accuracy. Qualitative validation means that the researcher checks for accuracy of finding by employing certain procedures (Creswell, 2009). Member checking was used to determine the accuracy of the findings. Member checking according to Creswell (2009) implies that researcher takes back parts of the polished product such as the themes, the case analysis, the cultural description and so forth to the interviewee for affirmation. The researcher took the final report of specific themes back to participants to determine whether the report was accurate. The interviewees accepted the script as accurate report of what transpired during the interview sessions.

3.6.2. Reliability

Reliability according to Wisker (2008:322), "relates to how well you have carried out your research. It is considered reliable if another researcher carrying out the same research activities with the same kind of group would be likely to replicate your findings

although their findings need not to be identical". To ensure reliability of the research instruments, I tested them in a pilot study at Sefwi Bekwai, Akyem Aboabo and Teshie Nungua. Twelve (12) participants were involved.

Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2006) describe a pilot study as a preliminary test of a questionnaire or interview schedule that helps to identify problems and benefits associated with the instrument. According to Kumar (2011), pre-testing a research instrument entails a critical examination of the understanding of each question and its meaning as understood by a respondent. It also helps the researcher to get a balanced understanding of the frame of reference relevant to the questions and wording.

The pilot study was conducted with twelve (12) people in three (3) towns – Sefwi Bekwai, Akyem Aboabo and Teshi in the Western, Eastern and the Greater Accra Region of Ghana respectively from 10th December 2014 to 22nd December, 2014. These communities were chosen for the pilot exercise because they share similar characteristics with those involved in the final study. Additionally, the selected people provided constructive feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the questions. These respondents drew my attention to the fact that, the section which demanded participants to mention their names will certainly exposed them to danger looking at the sensitive nature of the study. Secondly, the questions were too far many and would take a lot of participants' time. Therefore, questions were rather constructed to protect and save participants' time and energy.

In an attempt to ensure validity of the instrument, the drafted interview schedule was given to experts in measurement and evaluation for relevant suggestions which were used to improve the instrument. Feedback from the pilot study gave the researcher confidence that pilot study is an important step in the information–gathering process and helps ensure that the information collected for the project was relevant and trustworthy.

3.7. Data Collection Procedure

The researcher used eight (8) weeks visiting the towns for data collection. Letter of introduction was obtained from the Social Studies Department for access to conduct research in the various towns. Personal contacts were made to explain the purpose and significant of the study to seek the consent of the participants.

The interviews were conducted at the convenience of the participants in their homes. The researcher personally consulted participants for scheduled date and time. Each respondent was allotted twenty (20) minutes face to face interview which was recorded with permission. Prior to each interview session, the consent of the interviewee was sought to record the conversation for the purpose of accuracy. The researcher also took brief notes against recorder malfunction (Creswell, 2009). On completing each interview session, the researcher expressed his appreciation for their co-operation and participation.

3.8 Ethical Issues in the research

Every researcher has personal perceptions, beliefs and values that can influence the decisions making process during research and the data analysis process. Weber (1946) has pointed out that all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher. The conclusion and implication to be drawn from the study are also largely grounded in the moral and political beliefs of the researcher (Silverman, 2000). I certainly did have personal preconceptions about how the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has affected its socio-economic

development. As a result of the above, in order to conduct a scientific research, one needs to de-construct stereotypes and misconceptions so as to become open to new ideas.

Anonymity, confidentiality and consent forms are important key to effective research. The underlying principles of educational research have been identified as respect for the dignity and privacy of those people who are subjects of research (Kumar, 2011). According to Babbies (1992), participants' psychological well-being and dignity must be preserved while they should be protected from harm. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2006) points out that:

> Ethical research involves getting the informed consent of those you are going to interview, question, observe or take materials from. It involves reaching agreements about the uses of data and how its analysis will be reported and disseminated. It is about keeping to such agreement when they have been reached (pp. 158-159).

In conflict areas, information divulged for purposes such as research can compromise the security and safety of the respondents. As a result of the above, I made it a point to explain in detail the purpose of the research to each respondent and made him or her understand that participation is on voluntary basis. The informed consent of each respondent is required for participation in this research.

Furthermore, an introductory letter from the Department of Social Studies was given to participants in the selected towns (Appendix 1). The purpose of the research and its possible findings and how they may be a benefit to the towns were discussed. A clear statement of voluntary participation and assurance of anonymity was made. Bryman (2008) posits that researchers should be aware of respondents' freedom to decide where and when and at what circumstances their personal opinions are communicated or withheld to or from others.

Confidentiality is a promise that respondent will not be presented in identifiable form, while anonymity is a promise that even the researcher will not be able to tell which responses came from which respondent (Bell, 2010). As a result of the sensitive nature of the study, strict assurance of confidentiality was given and participant's anonymity was also protected which increased their interest and confidence in the study.

3.9 Data Analysis Procedure

Data collected was analysed manually through the constant comparative thematic approach (Creswell, 2009). The data was first organised by the researcher, immersed himself in and transcribed the data, generated themes, coded the data and described them in line with the sub-themes to correspond with the research questions posed for the study (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2009). Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 26) are also of the view that the process of coding, as part of the analysis, involves "generating concepts from and with our data" Such issues as thinking creatively and conceptualising the data, raising questions and providing provisional answers to the relationship among and within the data are vital in this process of coding. The coding was done with reference to my conceptual framework. In transforming the coded data into meaningful data, patterns, themes and regularities as well as paradoxes and irregularities were considered. The data analysis aimed to answer the aims and objectives of this research.

According to Creswell (2009), transcription is the process of converting audiotape recordings into text data. Here, the researcher listened to each tape repeatedly to familiarised himself with the conversation and carefully wrote them down in the words of each interviewee. The researcher read through all the data to be familiar with the

text and reflected on the overall meaning in order to reduce the voluminous data for analysis and clarity. Themes were then generated before the detailed analysis with the coding process. Kusi (2012) refers to this kind as pre-set themes. The researcher identified a set of themes from the literature reviewed and looked for data that matched the predetermined themes.

In the same vein, Miles and Huberman, (1984: 21, cited in (Silverman, 2000: 177) believe that the analysis began with data reduction; this involved selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the raw data. The process also involved making decision about the particular data that provided the initial focus of the study. The next stage was to draw conclusions from the coded data.

The data was then coded to generate description categories for analysis. Coding according to Creswell (2009) is the process of organising the materials into segments or text before bringing meaning into information. It involved segmenting sentences into categories and labeling them to form description in the actual language of the participant. This was done by circling texts and assigning codes that precisely described the meaning. The researcher then used the description and themes to represent the qualitative narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis. For the purpose of anonymity, respondents were identified by prefixing the abbreviations of their respective names with codes of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 representing their towns. The actual names of the participants were replaced with anonymous names.

The analysis was done using percentages. According to Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2006), descriptive research provides an accurate portrayal of characteristics of particular individual, situation or groups for the purpose of discovering new meaning, describing what exists, determining the frequency of its occurrence and categorising

information. The purpose of descriptive analysis was to examine and describe intralineage chieftaincy conflict and their effects on individuals' socio-economic development.

3.10. Summary

In this chapter, the research design, choice of methodology, sampling techniques used for the study, approach to data collection and analysis were discussed as well as the researcher's claims about the credibility of the data collected. Ethical consideration was also discussed. In the chapter, the researcher presented the findings arising from the qualitative data collected.



CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of the interview was to solicit in-depth information to establish the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of individuals in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area. The variables of the study were the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on family relationships, employment opportunities and provision of social services; and the effects of the conflict on the livelihood of people. Twenty-five (25) participants were interviewed which were made up of five (5) farmers, five (5) market women, five (5) teachers, five (5) health workers and five (5) revenue collectors across the five (5) selected communities in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

4.1. Demographics of Interviewees

A total of 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key personalities.

Table 4.1 is a summary of the distribution of interviewees categorised in terms of age, gender and percentages.

Age group	Male	Female	Percentage
20-45	6	5	44
46-60	5	4	36
61 and above	3	2	20
Total	14	11	100

Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Age and Gender

Source: Field survey, 2015

Fourteen (14) out of the twenty-five (25) interviewees representing 56 percent were males and eleven (11), representing 44 percent were males.

4.2 Conflicts and Family Relationships

Communal living is a common phenomenon in the traditional setting. People share food and other basic necessities among themselves but violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts undermine such communal spirit.

4.2.1 Greetings

Greeting is one of the most important socio-cultural practices in Ghana. In the traditional communities where people are culturally bound in terms of family relations, greetings cannot be over-looked. Greetings are usually done to express friendship and care about one another. The intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts undermine this social cohesion and group belongingness is principally defined along family's support. Thus, the citizens are divided along the lines of support for either the Kingmakers or the Queen thereby affecting the general greetings in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Currently, there is a selective greeting in the conflict communities.

4.2.2 Co-operativeness

Farming communities often organised themselves into labour pools to assist each other to prepare the land for farming when the season begins. The same is done especially with cocoa farmers from planting to harvesting. When I asked the question "how did the conflict affect your co-operation with others? Kwaku Darko said:

> the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict has eroded the spirit of co-operation and this has made farming very difficult and expensive. We spend a lot of money on labour rather than on farm inputs which would have increased crop yields. Before the onset of the conflict, we gather ourselves to assist each other in the cocoa farms to fetch water during spraying, harvest cocoa, pick and crack the cocoa pods, and after fermenting, carry the cocoa beans to the house for drying. The nuclear family alone cannot work on the cocoa farms and therefore need to hire labour which comes with a huge cost.

In rural areas of Ghana, the traditional practice of communal labour is periodically organised to clear the village or communities of filth and bushes that may be harbouring harmful reptiles such as snakes and scorpions. All the people interviewed claimed that they do not take part in communal labour in the community. When I asked the question "what about the National Sanitation Day?" all the interviewees asserted that they normally take part whenever they are free.

4.2.3 Marriages

Family harmony provides a sense of belonging and a feeling of security unlike many other types of relationships. When conflict arises, it threatens that security. Whether the disharmony initiates from within the family unit or from external sources, individual family members and the family as a whole can experience a range of negative emotions and consequences. Unresolved conflict may irreparably damage a marriage and the entire family if family members do not seek help.

Marriage is one of the most important social practices in Ghana. The marriage institution binds people together across the various ethnic groups in Ghana. Traditionally, marriage is not only the coming together of a man and a woman but the coming together of families. Some people could not attend some marriage ceremonies of their family members and friends because of the enmity created by the violent intralineage chieftaincy conflicts in the traditional area.

When I asked the question "how did the conflict affect your marriage? Mr. Addison has this to say:

The intermarriages which had united us across the various divide were placed under severe strain; trust was replaced by fear and suspicion. I had to send my family to Sefwi Ackaakrom for safety. I fear that the

family could be attacked physically or spiritually. This has created undue fatigue on my daily activities. I had to do all the house chores after hard day's work.

Some men have divorced their wives and others have separated because they think they cannot engage their in-laws in the conflict whilst they are married to their daughters. The conflict has increased the cost of living as it is very difficult to feed and pay the children's school bills all alone.

Adwoa Benyah, a widow added:

I have lost my livelihood support as a result of the violent intra-chieftaincy conflict. My husband used to pay all the bills for the family and now my husband is dead, I have to do all these things by herself. There was no compensation or whatsoever for the death of my husband. I am jobless. Formerly, I owned a small shop close to the palace where my husband was shot dead. I can no longer operate the shop as a result of the trauma I envisage any time I open the shop.

4.2.4 Festivals

Festivals are occasions or events, usually staged by various ethnic groups in Ghana which centres on some unique aspects of those groups. Festivals have become useful for several reasons. They attract tourist, businesses to the community and useful for fundraising for the development of the communities. Beauty pageants are usually organised to showcase the unique cultures as well as fun games to exhibit most of the traditional games which are fading out.

Festivals have not been effective in most communities in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area for quite some time. The participants interviewed are of the opinion that for more than ten (10) years, they have not witness any proper festival as it used to be some time past.

When I asked the question "what is the reason for the improper organisation of festivals?" The interviewees claimed that the organisers of the festival are the very people engaged in the conflicts. The chiefs fear that they could be attacked and killed by the angry youth since festival attracts a lot of people of different mind sets. The royal lineage is disintegrated and litigations have become the order of the day and because of this there is no peace in the communities. If there is no peace in the traditional area, there cannot be any meaningful festival.

When I asked the question "what effects did the conflict have on the improper organisation of festivals?" The interviewees claimed that their brothers, sisters and children outside the communities cannot come home for the fear of being killed. The interviewees are of the views that improper organisation as well as low patronage of festivals in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area has brought socio-economic development to a standstill. This is because, the family members abroad and the well to do families outside the communities who usually support projects such as water and school building during festivals have refused to attend this important occasion. They claimed that the home-based community members cannot donate much towards such developmental projects as a result of their joblessness and poor cocoa yields.

4.2.5 Funerals

Funerals are normally organised to show the last respect to the dead. As a result of the violent conflicts in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, funeral patronage has dropped significantly. The communal spirit and the social cohesion that existed before the conflict had been eroded by the violent conflicts. Mr. Kwame Tete, a funeral committee member claimed that funeral grounds had become the host for mob action and most people do not want to associate themselves for the fear of losing their life. A classic

example is what took place at Sefwi Wiawso on December 11, 2009, where Lydia and Kofi Nkrumah were shot dead, when the funeral rites of the late Abontendomhene of Sefwi Wiawso, Nana Yaw Korankye were being performed. Lydia was shot while she stood in front of the offices of the Internal Revenue Service (Field Survey, 2015).

4.2.6 Security situation in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

The security of people to a very large extent depends on their perception of how secure they feel when going about their daily activities. Individuals will define their lives based on perceived threats to their security either real or imagined. In collecting data in the field, I sought to determine the perception of security among the people in the traditional area. The data indicates that security is a major concern in the traditional area. The interviewees underscored how important the security issue is. They held that one of the main reasons for stationing the Air-Borne Force in the Sefwi Wiawso community is to reassure the people that the central and local government authorities are on top of the security situation. The participants also held that they were aware that some residents had acquired local arms to protect themselves, their families and their properties because of fears of the security situation. Twenty-three (23) out of the twenty-five (25) interviewed, representing 92 percent of the interviewees said they believed the chieftaincy conflicts had made security a problem in the Traditional Area. Two (2) out of twenty-five (25) interviewed, representing 8 percent believed that the violent intra-chieftaincy conflicts have paved the way for the Kingmakers to install rightful heirs to the throne.

4.2.7 Crime rates

The data suggest that the chieftaincy conflict has led to an increase in crime rates in the Traditional Area. Attacks, arson, looting, killings and gun battles are common during violence associated with chieftaincy conflicts. In the latest violent outbreak, which started on December 11, 2009, Lydia and one Kofi Nkrumah were shot dead, when the funeral rites of the Abontendomhene of Sefwi Wiawso, Nana Yaw Korankye were being performed. Lydia was shot while she stood in front of the offices of the Internal Revenue Service. The participants also indicated that a number of houses belonging to both groups especially in Attaboka and Boinzan had been burnt and there was mass violence, anarchy and; indiscriminate firing of guns, brutalities such as physical assaults and beatings were reported to the police (Field survey: 2015).

It is common to find people using the violence as a tool to settle personal scores, and to rob and to perpetuate crimes, which they otherwise could not indulge in, in times of peace. Some people also attacked workers of Liberty FM, a local radio station belonging to the late Omanhene of Sefwi Wiawso, with stones and other offensive weapons and the reporters and presenters had to flee for dear life (Field Survey, 2015). Seventeen (17) out of the 25 people interviewed, representing 68 percent said the protracted intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts had increased crime rates in the traditional area. It has led to the increase in murder, armed robbery and destruction of properties, general lawlessness, tax invasion and smuggling of goods such as cocoa, cocoa inputs and gold. The eight (8), representing 32 percent however sound different. They are of the view that people perpetuate crimes most of the time and ritual murder, robbery, smugglings, destruction of properties, among others for instance, are not new.

4.2.8 Lives lost

The interviewees mentioned that the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area claimed lives and injured several people. The interviewees also claimed that lot of deaths are either not reported or are played down by the authorities to reduce the tensions. During the shooting incident for instance, a number of people sustained different degrees of injuries and died later on. All the 25 participants interviewed however, maintained that in every major violent outbreak, there is some element of spiritual dimensions. More than hundred people of both parties in the conflict are seriously been affected by strange diseases and most of them have lost their lives.

4.2.9 Property lost through arson and destruction

Properties running into several millions of Ghana Cedis are lost annually through the violence. Arson, looting and indiscriminate firing of guns are perpetuated during clashes between the feuding factions. These destroy the properties of many people from both factions. Twenty-five (25) respondents interviewed, representing 100 percent of the sample population, claimed they have either personally lost property through the violent conflict or have relatives who have lost properties. However, in the wake of the violence, which took place, public facilities were not targeted in these clashes.

4.3 Conflict and Social Services

Violent conflict impedes the smooth running of health and education services in the affected areas. The fears and trauma associated with violent conflict makes it difficult for people to access health and education services. Personnel are also reluctant to work in conflict ridden areas for the fear of losing their lives.

4.3.1 Provision of education services

During violent conflicts, fear and disruption make it difficult to create an atmosphere conducive to learning, and the morale of both teachers and pupils is likely to be low. As conflicts drag on for months or even years, economic and social conditions suffer and educational opportunities become more limited or even cease to exist altogether. Sometimes, even when educational opportunities exist in conflict-torn areas, parents may be reluctant to send their children to school. They may be afraid that the children will not be safe while they are on their way to and from school, or during classes. Mothers and fathers may need their children to work on the fields, in shops or at home caring for the youngest children.

When I asked the question, "how did the conflicts affect the provision of education?" All the people interviewed asserted that the conflicts have a great toll on the education of their wards and the teachers as well. They claimed that both the teachers and the pupils are afraid to go to school for the fear of being shot or attacked. As a result of the shooting incident and tension in the Wiawso, the Sefwi Wiawso Health Assistants' Training College for instance had to be closed down immediately since most of the students were in the town, with only a few in the hostel. The presence of the security personnel even scared the people.

A range of factors affects children's ability to continue their education. The most common of which are the shortage of family income due to the loss or disruption of their livelihood, insecurity for the children in the schools, out-migration or death of a sponsor, or children may be required to work in place of adults who have migrated out of the Traditional Area, or died to help support the family. It also became evident from the fieldwork that the conflict negatively affects education in the traditional area as well. Teachers of primary and Junior High Schools interviewed asserted that anytime violence erupts, schools are closed down because of the fear that the violence might spread to the schools. Schools may remain closed for several weeks as the violence continues. The conflict has also affected recruitment of teaching staff/teachers to Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Upon graduation from the College of Education in The traditional Area, most of the newly trained teachers often opt to be posted elsewhere because of the violent conflicts. Similarly, most teachers from other areas refuse to take up posting to the traditional area. The explanation for this reluctance to be stationed in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area is that many teachers have become victims of the conflict. During the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in Attaboka, Boinzan and Bosomoiso, teachers who had rented apartments in houses belonging to the then Chiefs and Kingmakers for the area lost all their belongings when some of the houses were looted. These teachers had to take transfers out of the communities or the Traditional Area.

4.3.2 Healthcare delivery

The violence in the Traditional Area has also affected healthcare delivery. The health effects of the violent clashes include deaths, injuries, ill health and psychological disorders among the residents of the Traditional Area. The situation places a lot of stress on the limited health infrastructure and personnel. Mr. Fred Thompson a Physician Assistance at the Attaboka Health Post, claimed that during the outbreak of violence, a number of people are rushed to the clinic with several degrees of injuries as cutlass wounds, fractures and many other injuries.

The escalation of violence also limits access to health facilities. During such times, the disruption in the transportation network means that many people are not able to access health facilities when they need to do so. This so happened as a result of fears of being attacked by other family lineage purported to be opponents in the Sefwi Wiawso community where the Municipal hospital is located. In addition, health workers are

unable to go to work during such times for fear of exposing themselves to the violence. In the ongoing violence, it was clear that most of the staff at Boinzan Community Health-base Planning Services (CHPS) have deserted their post for safety. Most health workers also refuse posting to the traditional area. Some of those already there frequently request for transfers to other places.

4.4 Conflict and the Livelihood of People

As observed in chapter two, security has a direct effect on the levels of investment. The violence associated with the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area affects investments in the different sectors of the traditional area's economy. I present the data on the effects, sector by sector.

4.4.1 Employment opportunities

The livelihood of people may be defined by the employment opportunities opened to them. Lack of investment coupled with violent conflict will increase household poverty. It is evident that the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area is dominated by the agricultural sector but majority of the youth are unemployed. This is so because only few youth are engaged in farming and even that they do as part- time business. Farming in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has become the preserve of the aged. The violent conflicts in the traditional area also scare investor because no investor will be willing to invest in a conflict prone area.

When I asked the question "why is the youth engaged in the conflict?" The respondents claimed that majority of the youth are unemployed and for that reason, they are easily hired to fight on behalf of the factions in the conflict. Most of these young men resort to violence by the least provocation simply because they are jobless.

Again, the youth took active part in the conflict because some of them had lost their jobs as a result of the conflict. When I asked the question "why did some of the youth lose their jobs?" The interviewees claimed that some of the youth, who were employed in the mines, forestry department and the mass cocoa spraying exercises, were laid off for running after their cronies in the conflict to the neglect of their jobs. For the same reason, Mr. Darko Armah, a Circuit Supervisor in the Sefwi Bodi District Education Office for instance was demoted for attending workshop late on Electronic Salary Payroll Voucher. OF EDUCATIO,

4.4.2 Farming

The violence resulting from the chieftaincy conflict adversely affects production, marketing and investment in agriculture, the dominant economic activity in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. During outbreak of violence in the Traditional Area, farmers, especially those engaged in the cultivation of cocoa and other foodstuffs such as plantain suffered heavy losses. When violence breaks out, most farmers are forced to abandon their crops because they fear being either attacked or because of the curfew instituted by the government or the security apparatus. Furthermore, the transportation networks are also disrupted during violent clashes and farmers are unable to transport their foodstuff to the market places. Farm inputs such as fertilizers and other agrochemicals could not be distributed to the respective farmers. The participants interviewed indicated that there were some elements of chieftaincy politics in the sharing of farm inputs by the Cocoa Diseases and Pests Control (CODAPEC) outfit. This occurred because some sympathizers of the various lineages were involved in the sharing and collection of these farm inputs. These result in the foodstuffs and cocoa getting rotten on the farms, the markets are deprived of these produce, and scarcity sets in while their prices go up in the Traditional Area and the country as a whole. Violence and insecurity in the Traditional Area has also resulted in most financial institutions unwilling to grant loans to farmers to invest in production because the violence and insecurity increases the risk factor of such loans. The conflict also increased the already land litigations in the Traditional Area. Most farmers could no longer cultivate nor harvest their crops on stool lands neither could they weed around them. This is as a result of court injunctions on these lands.

The interviewees claimed that, the conflict results in many young people relocating to other places; increasingly leaving farming in the hands of the elderly whose output is low. For Kwame Ampofo, the youth would rather invest their time, energy and resources on other ventures as commerce, which allows them to have liquid capital most of the time. The liquid capital could serve as their tickets out of the Traditional Area in times of escalating violence. Such capital, he claimed, is also safer from looting, robbery and burning.

The dispute over land ownership also affects agriculture production negatively. The inability of the factions in the conflict to reach lasting solution over several contested farmlands, have deprived many farmers of their livelihood support. It became evident from the interviews that farmers who have their farms at the outskirts of the town and also farm on family lands have been greatly affected by the conflict. Mr. Kofi Yemmo, a farmer at Sefwi Afereɛ claimed that he could not go to his cocoa farm at Sefwi Amafie because of this conflict. He said about 30 bags of cocoa is rotten on the farm. During violent clashes they are unable to visit their farms, and so most of them have had to give up farming. They claimed that the disputes over those farmlands have left them jobless. This notwithstanding, the "Omanhene" of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, Nana Okatakyie Bumanka I ordered the destruction of all farms on government lands -

forest reserves (Field Survey, 2015). The farmers claimed that their cocoa farms are mostly affected and this has made them furious and would do anything possible to protect their farms. Meanwhile, the legitimacy of the "Omanhene" is being contested at the law court and the Omanhene has no power to do such a thing.

4.4.3 Trading

Commerce, the second most important economic activity in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has also been negatively affected by the violent intra-chieftaincy conflict. The officials from the Municipal Assembly asserted that, commercial activities as a whole is negatively affected by the perennial violence in the traditional area. The traditional area finds it very difficult to attract potential investors. Such activities as looting, robbery and the general lawlessness, which bring businesses to a halt during violent clashes, scare away potential investors. The officials also cited the out migration of business people to other parts of the country as a direct effect of the perennial violence in the Traditional Area.

Restricted movement, disruptions in businesses, the loss of capital through burning of houses, farms and shops; and limited and selective business transactions (this means that people will normally not do business with members of the other side, this limits the market available to each trader) were all cited by the various people interviewed as effects of the violence which are disincentives to business activities in the Traditional Area.

4.4.4 Industry

Industry in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has also been negatively affected by the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts. The Sefwi Wiawso traditional area's economy is characterized mainly by small-scale industries such areas as soap making,

palm oil extractions, mineral extraction (galamsey), akpeteshi distilling, and rice/corn mill among a few others. The participants held that industries in the traditional area have generally suffered from lack of investment. Indeed the small-scale industries in the Traditional Area have also been unable to attract substantial capital investments to enable them grow. The unstable business environment makes it even more difficult to encourage the establishment of large-scale industries. The participants attributed the lack of investment in large-scale industries in the Traditional Area to the violent intralineage chieftaincy conflict.

The service industry in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has also been affected by the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. Whereas the service industry is doing relatively well in most parts of the Western Region, and Ghana in general, the industry is clearly faring poorly in the Traditional Area particularly the hotel. In the words of the interviewees,

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proper hotel industry is absent in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area", except for a few "guest houses" with sub-standard facilities. The problem is that buildings belonging to members from either faction in the conflict are frequently presumed to be the targets for destruction during violent clashes. This makes people in the traditional area reluctant to invest their large sums of money to put up hotels.

Although properties of outsiders and members of other ethnic groups are not targeted for destruction during violent clashes, they claimed that they do not feel it is safe to commit large sums of money to such undertakings in the wake of these violent conflicts. The 25 respondents representing 100 percent said individuals interested in investing in the area are no longer doing so for fear of losing their investments. The frequent clashes is detrimental and a disincentive for potential investment. There were withdrawal and relocation of local businesses and other companies from Sefwi Wiawso traditional area to other parts of the region. For instance, all the respondents were of the view that the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict had led to the relocation of economic activities to other areas. Respondents cited the withdrawal and relocation of some wood companies to a more peaceful area.

4.5 Other Effects of the Intra-lineage Chieftaincy Conflict

Conflict do not only affect family relationships, health and the provision of education services and livelihood of people but the general socio-economic development of the traditional economy.

4.5.1 Revenue generation and collection

Revenue collection is an important component of every organisation's ability to perform its functions optimally. In addition to funds received from central government and other companies in the forms of "Royalties, and "Grants-in-Aid" the traditional area relies on levies generated internally through the collection of levies, fines on cases presented to them to adjudicate and property taxes. Revenue generation and collection is another important aspect of the traditional area's economy that has been adversely affected by the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict.

Similarly, internally generated funds are crucial for Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) to function effectively and efficiently. These revenues are generated from property taxes, market tolls, taxes on goods and services and road tolls among other sources of mobilisation. Conflicts affect revenue collection needed by local authorities for development. The revenue collectors interviewed stated that the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area was doing well in terms of revenue mobilisation when the area was peaceful. However, the conflict has affected the traditional area's revenue collection reducing it by more than 45percent. When I asked the question how did the conflict reduce revenue collection? Mr. Kwadjo Owusu stated:

Although other factors like lack of proper supervision of revenue collectors and tax evasion affect revenue targets, the violence remains the highest threat to revenue mobilisation. Market tolls which is a major source of the Municipal Assembly's revenues dropped considerably. The violence and insecurity made it difficult for revenue collectors to move to places to mobilise revenue. Also, the violence had prevented traders from selling their wares and the few who patronised the markets were not willing to pay tolls and other taxes. Besides, the relocation of some businesses to other towns in the region is another reason for the decline of revenues.

Officials from the Municipal and District Assemblies held that the ability of the assemblies to collect revenues has been severely affected by the protracted intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. The revenue collectors mostly the indigenes of the communities refused to attend to their rivals for the collection of their taxes. Market tolls were greatly affected. Mr. Kingsford Boateng of Attaboka for instance claimed that, some families regard themselves as "royals" and to them royals does not pay tolls. He even refused to approach any member of that family for his or her market tolls just to avoid problems. This assertion was confirmed by some of the interviewees from Bosomoiso-Aferee, Wiawso and Boinzan. Other royal lineages also refuse to pay taxes since paying the taxes in the face of the "so called heirs" of the throne refusal might be construed as accepting the so called heirs" claim of legitimate lordship. As a result of this some angry youth vandalised some revenue offices to register their displeasure. The general economic decline in the traditional area as seen above, also negatively affects revenue collection and mobilisation in the traditional area, as there are few productive ventures to tax.

Again, smuggling is a major leakage in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area's revenue mobilisation efforts. The fact that a lot of goods are smuggled into, out and through the traditional area means that a substantial amount of revenue that the central government and the Municipal District/ Assembly could have realised through duties are lost.

4.5.2 Budgetary (national/municipal) allocations to manage the conflict

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

The respondents claimed that Honourable Appiah-Kubi, the former District Chief Executive of Sefwi Wiawso is said to have disclosed that the government had since 2006, spent heavily on security at the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area as a result of the chieftaincy disputes. The persistent nature of the conflict had stalled socio-economic development of the assembly where much of the resources from the common fund have been used to tighten security at the expense of carrying out development projects. The District Assembly say they spend close to GH¢2500 every month on the Air-Borne Forces. In addition, the District Assembly pays their communication, health and fuel bills whilst the central government pays the wages of these forces. This expenditure overstretches the District's budget. The estimated government expenditure on law and order in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area is about GH¢1.8 billion since 2005. Such high expenditures put a strain on the ability of government and the District Assembly to provide other essential public goods as schools and hospitals. The taxpayer is also required to do more to meet these expenditures. On the individual level however, people seem not to have made any significant expenditures on security. At least that was what most of the people interviewed claimed. No interviewee admitted to owning a firearm. This may be due to the fact that very few people have licensed firearms in the traditional area. All the interviewees answered no to the question "have you spent any money on your personal security (or for the protection of your property).

4.5.3 Migration

The general insecurity has a direct impact on the demography of the traditional area. To escape the violence and its negative consequences, many people, especially the youth, are forced to relocate to relatively more peaceful parts of the country. All the 25 participants representing 100 percent interviewed claimed that some of their family members and friends have been forced to flee the community at least once in the past because of violent clashes. Some held that some families and friends had returned to the community only recently, because of the long absence of any violent clash. (The last clashes before this fieldtrip were in 2007/2008). Fresh clashes at the end of 2014 and early 2015 will probably have forced most of these people to flee once more. The 25 interviewed representing 100 percent claimed that they know of several people who have fled the violence to settle permanently in nearby towns and in the big cites of Accra and Kumasi.

4.5.4 Relocation of economic activities

It also became evident from the fieldwork that not only do people relocate to other places, but they relocate their businesses and other economic ventures to more peaceful parts of Ghana as well. For instance three furniture industries, Abotchie Furniture, Ennin Furniture and Osborn Furniture Works, have been relocated to Asankragua, Sefwi Bekwai and Asawinso respectively (field survey, 2015). The 25 participants interviewed representing 100 percent held that, the violence have not only made it risky to do business in the traditional area, but also ensures that few people have money to spend. This significantly affects businesses in the traditional area as demand for goods and services go down, many businesses are left with no option than to relocate.

4.5.5 Development of infrastructural facilities

The development of infrastructural facilities in the traditional area has clearly been affected by the violent clashes. The ability of the government and the Municipal/District Assembly to provide infrastructural facilities has been affected by the violent intralineage chieftaincy conflict. The officials of the District Assembly were of the view that because of the high expenditures required to maintain security, the Assembly is unable to commit adequate resources to the provision of infrastructural facilities. It is also difficult to get central government to provide the resources needed for such facilities because it already spends a lot of resources on the security of the traditional area. A cursory look at such facilities as roads, water, clinics and schools in the traditional area shows that most of these facilities are badly worn out and need renovation and replacement.

Again, some litigants could not complete the buildings as a result of the conflict. The 25 participants interviewed were of the view that some people supported their cronies in the conflict financially. They claimed that they had little or no funds to undertake or complete their infrastructure. Some even went to the extent of selling their properties to finance their cronies in the conflict.

4.6 Summary

The empirical data has proven that the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, which resulted in violent clashes, led to lawlessness and general insecurity. Crime rates increased as a result of the conflict. These lead to the out migration of the most productive youth and the relocation of many businesses to other parts of the country. Agriculture, commerce, industry and other sectors of the traditional economy are also adversely affected by the violent conflict. This reduction in businesses and other economic activities affects government and Municipal/District Assembly's income generation and collection efforts. This is against the backdrop of increased expenditure required to maintain security in the Traditional Area.



5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher used the empirical data to analyse the mutual effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict and development on each other in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. This chapter is in three sections. Section one shows a more detailed account of the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development and household economies of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Section two looks at the effects of household economies on the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict whilst section three illustrates the vicious cycle produced by the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

5.1 Effects of Violent Intra-lineage Chieftaincy Conflicts on Livelihood

The following analysis of the data will illustrate that the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict affects household economies in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area in four ways: through economic effect, through human capital effect, through population displacement effect and income mobilisation effects.

5.1.1 Economic effects

As sections 4.3.0 to 4.4.3 of the empirical data chapter depicts, the chieftaincy conflict affects all the main sectors of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area's economy negatively. Agricultural production is adversely affected because of the dispute over farmlands, disruption of transportation networks, and the inability of most farmers to go to their farms. These disruptions of agricultural production have far reaching consequences for household economies in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area because the sector accounts for about 62% of total employment (GSS, 2002). Study by Bolarinwa, (2006) supports this finding when he proved that the prevailing worrisome violent conflicts in many rural communities have distorted the normal livelihood of many farmers and their farmilies. Women farmers and their children for instance, are no more regular at their farms to carry out normal agronomic activities because of fear. Majority of farmers no longer cultivate their distant scattered farmlands. They are virtually almost restricted to their compounds and short distant farmlands. Restriction on movement has limited access to essential farm inputs such as improved seeds, fertilizers and credits. Many farm households could not easily market their farm produce (Nonli, 1989).

Also, trading which is the second most important component of the traditional area's economy has been negatively affected. The insecurity and movement restrictions associated with the violence have made the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area unattractive to business people who otherwise may have thought of establishing businesses in the traditional area. Again, some businesses that were operating in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area most especially the ones in the Sefwi Wiawso community have relocated to relatively more peaceful parts of the country. The businesses that have remained in the conflict zone are one-man businesses that deal in petty trading that yields minimal profit, and are unable to attract any significant investment for expansion. These small-scale commercial ventures therefore lack the capacity to provide employment for a vast majority of the youth of the Traditional Area. This means that the Traditional Area has not taken the advantage of its rich resources (cocoa, timber and gold) to attract businesses, and thus provide employment for its citizenry.

Another aspect of the Traditional Area's economy that is affected by the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict is investments in industry. As noted, industrial units have relocated to more peaceful areas. For example, the owners of the Abotchie Furniture, Ennin Furniture and Osborn Furniture Works, have been relocated to Asankragua, Sefwi Bekwai and Asawinso. Generally, the small-scale industries that have not relocated are unable to attract investments for expansion, because of the insecurity. Financial institutions are reluctant to give out loans to entrepreneurs in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area have not been able to expand to give employment to more people. Thus, generally, the potential vast resources that are available have not been able to attract industries that can provide employment to the people as well as enhance the economy of the Traditional Area.

5.1.2 Loss of assets and disruption of livelihood

The violent conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area breeds looting, robberies and indiscriminate firing of guns. The violence that took place targeted assets of both factions indiscriminately. This assertion corroborates with Brukum (1999) and Fisher, Lidin, Williams, Smith, and Ibrahim (2000) who stated that chieftaincy conflict does not only destroy life and properties but also hampers development work, destroys vegetation and other natural resources.

Though public facilities were not targeted for destruction during the violent conflict, people temporarily lose the use of such facilities. Thus during the violent conflict which erupted in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, people were unable to access such facilities as schools, hospitals, clinics, post office, libraries, and entertainment centres, for fear of exposing themselves to danger. Generally, these losses of assets as well as the inability to use public facilities affect the quality of life of households in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

The violent conflict affects the livelihoods of the people of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area in many ways. First it affects the livelihoods of farmers in the sense that when violence breaks out most farmers are unable to visit their farms to harvest their crops. Thus most of their crops get rotten especially, perishable ones. Moreover, access to markets is a major problem during such violent periods. Farmers who are able to harvest their crops are faced with the problem of getting their produce to the markets because the transportation network is also disrupted. Above all the ubiquitous disputes over farmlands have cost many people their livelihoods. For instance both factions whose farmlands are located in Boinzan, Bodi and Attaboka had to give up farming altogether because of the outstanding dispute over those farmlands. Generally, the land

dispute discourages displaced farmers who wish to return to subsistence farming from doing so.

Again, people from both factions have their farms and wares destroyed through arson and looting by rioting youth. These indiscriminate attacks on businesses have left many business people indebted. These disruptions and loss of livelihoods have terrible implication for poverty in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area: the poor are pushed to the fringes of survival and many more people who were hitherto not poor, have been pushed into poverty.

Furthermore, the insecurity and general lawlessness associated with the outbreak of violence in the Traditional Area has forced many people to seek refuge in other parts of the country. Most of the refugees leave behind their sources of livelihood, and therefore would need to start setting up new businesses when they arrive at their new destination. It can be deduced that having to start life all over again could have a negative effect on the livelihoods of such people.

5.1.3 Human capital effects

Levels of education and health status are important determinants of the availability of human capital in any one place to contribute to productive venture. The violent intralineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area negatively affects both education and health. It has not only disrupted education but has also inhibited the efforts of government and other institutions to bridge the education gap between the Traditional Area and other parts of the country. Commenting on the importance of education to national development, Kwamina-Poh and Macmillan (1992, p.10) asserted that "the main purpose of education whether formal or informal is to help the individual integrate into society and contribute to societal and national development". The school's ability to function fully depends on the maximum inputs of human creaturesthe effectiveness of the people in charge. In the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, children's ability to pursue their educational aspirations is often affected by a number of factors. The most common are the shortage of family income due to the loss or disruption of their livelihood, insecurity for the children in the schools, out-migration or death of a sponsor. Sometimes children may also be required to work to boast household earnings. In addition, the violent conflict also affected recruitment of teachers in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Similarly, Justino (2009) opined that in conflict situations, schools are interrupted, children and teachers fear for their lives and this retards development. The protracted social conflict theory states that the effects of such conflicts are often pervasive, affecting all aspects of a person or community's social, political and economic life and tend to also affect institutions such as education and health (Coleman, 2000). In this study, the respondents revealed that the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area affected education negatively through migration, transfer and refusal of posting of teachers, decline in Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) results thwarting of the academic calendar and continuous closure of affected schools. This, according to the interviewee, is largely attributable to the conflict although factors like inadequate supervision in the education sector, non-availability of teachers, poverty, inadequate educational infrastructure and irregular school attendance also count.

The negative effects of the conflict on education in turn reflects the high level of household poverty in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area because it prevents the people from acquiring the necessary education which, as Justino (2007:11) puts it, "is one of the most important mechanisms shown to aid households out of poverty traps".

Healthcare delivery is also negatively affected by the intra-chieftaincy conflict. The violence often leads to deaths, injuries, ill health and psychological disorders among the residents in the Traditional Area. It also limits access to health facilities because the violent clashes disrupt transportation network and many patients are unable to access health facilities at the appropriate time. In addition, health workers refuse posting to the Traditional Area, and those who are already there request to be transferred to more peaceful places. This is in an agreement with Lianos (2008: 3) assertion that a specific form of uncertainty is insecurity, "fear over a threat that may be imminent" Violent conflicts might give rise to a permanent presence of insecurity for those affected by the conflict, felt and judged by them as such, or the situation considered by outsiders as being insecure, unsafe. "Civic insecurity" (Castel, 2004: 2) might become everyday experience where violent mass conflicts take place. Complete lack of safety, existential uncertainty, fear, decreased level of predictability concerning future events under conditions of anomie and volatility caused by the conflict, the presence of imminent dangers and lack of positive prospects are some of the characteristics of specific situations occurring when violent conflicts take place. In a related study, Degomme and Guha-Sapir (2005) cited in Bukari (2010) posits that during violent conflicts, peoples' health is affected in terms of nutrition, trauma, mortality and accessibility to healthcare.

While the negative effect of the conflict on education and healthcare affects the quality of labour in the Traditional Area, the number of labour is also affected through the direct loss of lives. While some are killed directly in the violence, some sustained injuries or were afflicted by diseases, illnesses or poverty and may die after the violence subsides. This latter group is often not included in the official figures of deaths caused by the violence. However it is important to include "collateral" mortalities in the statistics as effects of the violence. This unnecessary loss of lives also affects the availability of labour in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

5.1.4 Population displacement effects

The violent intra-chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area also leads to out migration and/or displacement of some individuals and their families. People were forced to become refugees in other places because of the general insecurity in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. The refugees are effectively cut-off from their livelihoods. Justino (2007: 13), has it that conflicts cut off vast numbers of people from economic opportunities and lead to a vicious cycle of displacement and poverty.

In a related study by Hulmey and Shepherd (2003) in Ibáñez and Moya (2009: 10), they asserted that violent conflicts impact in a very detrimental way on displaced people, refugees, who often face destitution, poverty and social exclusion. Displacement has long-term effects on the displaced people's economic security too. A consequence of forced displacement is structural poverty. Displacement may negatively affect not only those who are displaced but also other people, for example, it may have a negative effect on labour conditions especially for those who are vulnerable in the sites of reception (Calderón & Ibáñez 2009: 3, Calderón, Gáfaro & Ibáñez 2011: 1). In Attaboka, one of the towns in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area for instance, teachers who remained in the town during the intra-chieftaincy conflict could not discharge their duties effectively for the fear of being attacked.

Similarly, the youth are the most visible perpetuators of the violence as well as the main victims of such violence. Buckles (1999) asserted that all types of conflicts have both negative and positive consequences; the main consequence of this type of conflict is that it significantly affects both male and female and poses a major threat to

socioeconomic growth and sustainable development Hammil, Craford, Craig, Malpas and Mathew (2009). The ultimate effect of conflict on the youth is death due to their active participation in war. Most of them who have become frustrated by the constant threat to their lives and their livelihoods have relocated to other areas of the country. This out migration of the youth of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has affected the age structure of the population. The population is increasingly dominated by the aged and other dependents, affecting the dependency ratio. This increasingly "dependent population" adversely affects productivity. The out-migration and displacement of people also affects the human resource base and the other areas of development in the Traditional Area.

The settlement of citizens of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area in other places has become an important component in the conflict. Majority of the interviewees witnessed to the fact that some of these displaced people (refugees) have actively been involved in financing and refueling the conflict. People living outside the traditional area may have less interest in peace because they do not have to suffer any of the awful consequences of renewed conflict. As Collier (2000: 14) notes, non-resident financiers of conflicts "sometimes harbour romanticised attachment to the group of origin and may nurse grievances as a form of asserting continued belonging."

5.1.5 Revenue mobilisation effects

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

5.2 The Effect of Livelihood on the Intra-lineage Chieftaincy Conflict

According to Collier et al (2001, p. 4), the lack of economic opportunities in the form of employment and inequality are some of the determinate of violence. The willingness of young people to join in violence might be influenced by their other income-earning opportunities. People are also more likely to resort to violence if they think that their lack of opportunities is as a result of few people monopolising the bulk of the resources. These determinates are prevalent in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area but none of the interviewees attributed the conflict directly to lack of economic opportunities. This is not surprising because Collier (2000:2) findings also show that people would normally refer to only objective grievances (such as historical injustices and government interferences) as the main causes of a conflict in which they are engaged in, because "it is good for public relations". If Collier assertion is anything to go by then it is understandable why respondents in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, who have a stake in the conflict, failed to cite any of these.

5.2.1 Social and economic discontent

The effects of household economies and inequality on the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict can be unravelled by examining such motives as social discontent and the search for new opportunities. The Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has a high rate of unemployment. Agriculture, which is the highest employer, has been adversely affected by farmland disputes, unreliable rainfall patterns and dwindling soil fertility. This means that majority of the people in the traditional area are faced with difficult socioeconomic conditions. Commerce and industry (trade and small-scale), the other major sectors of the traditional economy, also perform poorly, employing only few people. The majority of the people are therefore left discontent with their social and economic lot. The inability of the government, Municipal/District and Local Authorities to solve this discontent leave the majority of the people frustrated and susceptible to aggressive behaviour. For example, Gurr (1970; 37) opines, that if frustrations are sufficiently prolonged or sharply felt, aggression is quite likely, if not certain, to occur.

5.3 Underdevelopment Model of the Intra-lineage Chieftaincy Conflict

The model, which is derived from the empirical data, illustrates the socio-economic effects produced by the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area.

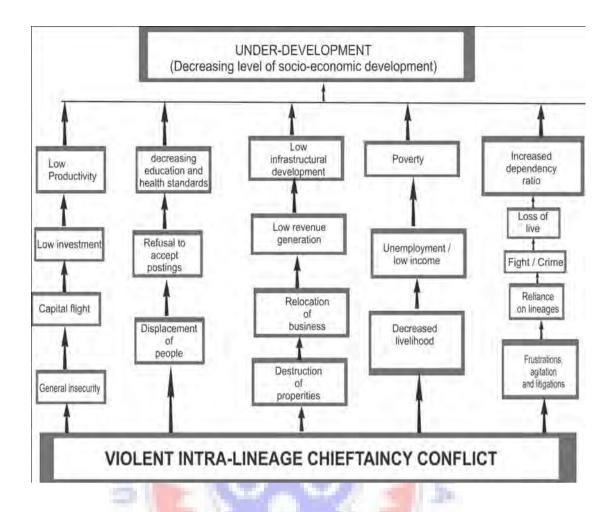


Figure 5.1. Analysis of the Effects of Intra-lineage Chieftaincy Conflict

Source: Researcher's Construct, 2015

Conflicts lead to general insecurity associated with property and lives of residents. This leads to low investment in the affected region as investors feel insure to invest due to the fear of losing their investment. The outcome is the outflow of capital from the region to more secure areas denying the region of the needed investment. Ultimately, low productivity has occurred culminating in the low level of economic activity and income generation.

Consequently, conflict has the potential to destroy both the physical and non-physical infrastructure. As a result, people including teachers and nurses are displaced. New professionals also refuse to accept postings to the conflict areas for fear of being

victims. The communities are deprived of the needed human capital to move forward education and health. This has eventually led to the decline in education and health standards.

All over the world, conflicts result in the destruction of vital infrastructural facilities such as transport systems and hospitals. Vital infrastructure can be destroyed which creates an atmosphere of insecurity that causes businesses and people to relocate. Once businesses relocate the local authority is unable to generate the needed revenue for infrastructural development leading to low quality of such facilities.

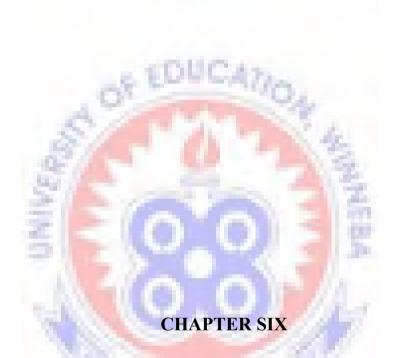
Related to relocation of businesses is the effect of unemployment which is directly related to income levels. The loss of employment means residents lose vital sources of income for meeting household needs. Social wellbeing and livelihoods decrease with no income source and the ultimate effect is poverty.

The agitation created by the conflict most often lead to unnecessary litigations over land ownership and property. This creates frustration among the youth who want economic opportunities. Above all, these frustrations drive individuals and interest groups to lineage solidarities in a bid to defend what they consider to be their "birthrights". This revives lineage rivalry and deepens lineage consciousness among the different royal lineages, each of which recruits their youth to perpetrate the violence. This leads to loss of lives and the destruction of social cohesion. The vulnerable ones tend to depend on the few who have some economic resources to provide for their needs. This violent conflict has emerged over time because other extraneous forces (political support for one royal group and/or role of migrated financiers) complicate the issues.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has examined the mutual impact of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict and socio-economic development in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. These have been discussed in three parts. The first part looked at the effects of the conflict on the socio-economic development and household poverty of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. The second part looked at the impact of underdevelopment and household poverty on the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. It is obvious from the analysis that the intralineage chieftaincy conflict breeds violence and insecurity which impacts negatively on investments in agricultural production, commerce and industry in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. Many people also have their assets destroyed and their livelihoods disrupted by the violence. It has also become evident that the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict has adversely affected health care delivery and education in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area. The above negative effects of the conflict have ensured that many more people are pushed into poverty. The analysis has also shown that the lack of development and household poverty in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area are important consideration in the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. The lack of development results in social and economic discontent and drive individuals and interest groups to lineagebased solidarities in a bid to compete for limited resources. This activates lineage rivalry and deepens lineage consciousness among the various groups. A vicious cycle of violence emerges over time as the different groups see one another as competitor and other extraneous forces as political support and the role of non-resident financiers are brought to play. It is important to note at this stage that though underdevelopment and household poverty do not always lead to conflict, they can become major catalyst in a conflict that might have been introduced by other factors, fuelling and refueling the conflict, as the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area case shows.

The third part presented a model that illustrates the correlation between the cycles of violence, insecurity and underdevelopment as a result of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts.



SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This study of the Sefwi Wiawso intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict has two main aims: first, to examine the effects of the violent conflicts on the socio-economic development of the Traditional Area and, second, to make recommendations on how the conflicts can either be resolved peacefully or managed and contained. The data has been analysed to ascertain the effects of the cycle of violence. An underlying assumption in the thesis is that the recurrent violence has negative effects on the socio-economic development of the Traditional Area. This assumption has been envisaged by examining the impact of the violent conflict on household poverty, commerce, agriculture, industry, health, education and governance. In this concluding chapter, the research findings are summarised and recommendations towards the resolution of the conflict made.

6.1 Summary

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

- The finding with respect to the general effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflicts in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area are that
 - a. some aspects of individual and communal livelihoods in the Traditional Area have been negatively affected;
 - b. the conflict has led to the militarisation of the youth, indiscipline, political chaos and insecurity;
 - c. the violence and insecurity has in turn retarded the socio-economic development of the traditional area.
- 2. With reference to the Traditional Area's economy, the research found out that
 - a. production in agriculture, commerce and industry have been adversely affected;
 - b. disruption in transportation networks, and the inability of many farmers to cultivate their farms during periods of violence outbreaks has negatively affected agricultural production;
 - c. the general insecurity has made the traditional area unattractive to investors. Thus many businesses have relocated to relatively peaceful parts of the country;
 - d. the violence discourages heavy investment in all the three economic sectors;

- e. the economic sector is generally dominated by small-scale family ventures that employ only few people, leading to high unemployment rates in the traditional area;
- f. the poverty level has worsened as a result of the violent conflicts.
- The violent conflict has led to the loss of assets, valued at several millions of Ghana cedis. The destruction of assets has
 - a. affected people on both sides indiscriminately through arson and lootings
 - b. aggravated household poverty in the Traditional Area through the loss of livelihoods and displacement of many people;
 - c. disrupted the educational and health sectors as resource persons (teachers and health workers) turn down postings to the traditional area.
 Since education and health are important determinants of poverty, this disruption contributes to the entrenchment of poverty in the Traditional Area.
- 4. The resultant insecurity diverts the attention of government and the Municipal/District Assembly from tackling pressing developmental issues relating to the restoration of peace and order. Meagre state resources are spent to maintain peace and order, and to give immediate social relief to victims of the violence.
- 5. The research also found that the endemic household poverty and inequality in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has on its part affected the dynamics of the chieftaincy conflict. (a) The lack of opportunities has engendered social and economic discontent among the people. (b) Core litigants and interest groups appeal to lineage solidarities to mobilise followings among their people to make

claims for new opportunities. (c) One lineage seeks to apply violence to upset the other lineage's dominance in local politics and economy; and the other lineage is also using violence to reestablish their former dominance.

6.2 Recommendations

Respondents gave varied and divergent views on how the conflict can be managed or resolved successfully. Their recommendations are: (a) the need for effective dialogue by the various stakeholders; (b) the rightful "heirs" should be allowed to occupy the "stool"; (c) political parties should stop interfering in the chieftaincy conflict; (d) the Regional House of Chiefs and the National House of Chiefs are the appropriate authorities to resolve the conflict; and (e) the need for education on matters relating to chieftaincy conflict. Some respondents argue that the conflict cannot be resolved and recommended that the two factions (lineages) should be forced to step aside for other legitimate lineage to occupy the stool.

6.2.1 Recommendations based on the findings

- 1. The following recommendation should enable the feuding factions to contain the conflict so as to go about their normal political and socio-economic daily routines without the danger of further violent outbreaks:
 - a. there should be a clear documentation of the line of succession;
 - availability of the line of succession to all the lineages and provision of education for all groups;
 - c. the need for both factions in the conflict to display tolerance and understanding;
 - d. the need to enter into effective dialogue

e. both sides must make compromises and concessions, one way of achieving this is considering power sharing.

In summary, coping with socio-economic uncertainty caused by violent conflict shows specificities linked to the conditions of each conflict. High levels of uncertainty and insecurity drastically reduce the urgency of individuals affected by the conflict. The decreased levels of control of individuals over events that might affect them, their limited access to reliable information, the changing social and institutional context, the lack or limited availability of resources on which one can rely on due to the conflict, the decreased level of calculability, are all factors that render decision-making very difficult. All options one might choose in the context of a violent conflict may imply

taking high risks.



6.3 Areas for Future Research

- 1. The inability of the researcher to interview the chiefs, the queen and the king makers in the design of this study, a further development could be a design that would interview the royal lineages and the king makers in addition to the other community members. This would help give further insight into the results from the individuals of the traditional area on the effects of the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict.
- 2. A balanced and fairer representation of the effects of the violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on socio-economic development of the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area would be achieved with a much greater sample size. It will be significant to extend the study to all other communities which have experienced intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the traditional area.
- 3. In considering the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on socioeconomic development of individuals of the traditional area, this study measured individuals' development by considering social and economic development in the traditional area. A scaling up of this research to include all aspects of the individuals' life as affected by the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict would be more representative.
- 4. Considering the unique role played by the chieftaincy institution in national development and local communities, a scaling up of this research to compare results from all the traditional areas across the country would be a great catalyst to the advancement of the chieftaincy institution.

6.4 Limitations

One of the limitations of this study was the fact that the study was limited to only twenty (25) participants from five (5) different communities in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area, hence the views of the participants may not necessary represent all the views of the inhabitants in the Traditional Area.

More so, access to women especially married women respondents was a problem. This is due to the sensitive nature of the study. It made it difficult for me to achieve gender balance in the sample and as such, made the sample male-dominated. Another limitation was the inability of some participants to express themselves well in English Language. As a result, some interviews were conducted in Ghanaian Language (Twi) and responses written in English Language. Even though I understand the Ghanaian Language (Twi) spoken by the respondents, the translation could not be exact responses and could lead to loss of data.

In addition, narrative design may not always stand alone for evidence and support for the conclusions of a report. One of the weaknesses is that the text is by its own nature linguistically subjective that is difficult to quantitatively access in an objective manner since it is subjective. That is personally meaningful. The findings of a study could be influenced by the personal opinions and beliefs of the researcher, leading to subjectivity. Being a member and having stayed in the traditional area for the past 14 years, I had develop some understanding and had some preconceived notions about the effects of violent intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict. Therefore, there could be possible temptation to allow the interpretation of the interviews to fit these understanding and preconceptions rather than allowing the data to speak for itself. Hitherto, I avoided relying on initial perceptive interpretations rooted in my own personal experience.

6.5 Main Contributions of the Study to Knowledge

With regards to socio-economic development of individuals, a number of studies have been carried out in relation to conflict and sustainable development of localised communities as envisaged in chapter two of this study. However, localised studies such as this one have been few.

- This study has therefore filled the gap relating to the effects of intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the socio-economic development of the traditional area, the country, the continent and the world as a whole providing relevant materials for reference for future research into the study or into other related topic of interest.
- 2. The results of this research provides an important empirical knowledge and adds to the body of knowledge needed for programmes, policy formulation and decision making towards the transformation of the chieftaincy institution at the traditional, regional and the national level.
- 3. The results having been disseminated to the stakeholders could be an important source of reference for the management and resolution of communal intralineage chieftaincy conflict in the chieftaincy institution.

6.6 Conclusion

Some concluding observations should to be made about conflicts in Ghana. The first is that Ghana's violent conflicts, unlike the conflicts in neighboring countries, are little known outside the country because they are not of the kinds that attract the attention of the international media. The Global Peace Index Report (2015, p.8, 13) by the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) placed Ghana on the 54th position in the world and 6th position in Sub-Saharan Africa. The snap shot of the global state of peace indicate that Ghana is relatively peaceful because the conflicts experienced in Ghana are not the ones

attracted to the global media. Nevertheless, the ubiquitous chieftaincy conflicts have reduced the general peaceful outlook of the entire country in recent times.

The second observation is that a specific conflict can either have different motivations or can be exploited for different purposes. Leaders can draw ethnic sentiments into political conflicts, just as social grievances can be colored with political interpretations. Thus, this study shows that the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict (like other conflicts everywhere) is caused by a combination of several dynamics and local contestations as the conflict degenerates into perennial outbreaks of violence when fuelled by a complex set of political, social and economic factors.

The third observation is that the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict in the Sefwi Wiawso traditional area has affected livelihoods negatively. It has led to loss of life and property as well as displacement of persons. Successive governments have allocated more resources (fiscal and personnel) to maintain security. This increase in government expenditure has reduced the resources available for the improvement of general life conditions of the people. This has resulted in mass poverty; unemployment and inequalities of income and opportunities.

Finally, in seeking to resolve the conflict therefore, a combination of several factors will equally be needed. It is my hope that the implementation of the recommendations will play a significant role in managing the conflict and eventually, lead to its permanent resolution.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

SECTION A BIO DATA

- 1. Gender.....
- 2. Code.....
- 3. Age.....
- 4. Occupation....
- 5. Qualification.....
- 6. Marital status.....
- 7. No. of children.....

SECTION B

INTRA-LINEAGE CHIEFTAINCY CONFLICT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLE

- 8. How did the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict affect your family relationship with others?
- 9. How did the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict affect employment opportunities, household poverty, provision of health and educational services?
- 10. What are the effects of the intra-lineage chieftaincy conflict on the livelihood of the people?

Thank you for your co-operation.