UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION CONFLICT IN AKUAPEM TRADITIONAL AREA OF GHANA



A thesis in the Department of Social Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences Education, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment

> of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (Social Studies Education) in the University of Education, Winneba

DECLARATIONS

Student's Declaration

I, Ernest Kumi, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published and unpublished works, which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my work, and has not been submitted either in part or in whole, for another degree here or elsewhere.

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Supervisor's Declaration

I, hereby declare the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidance for the supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Isaac Eshun
Signature:
Date:

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all my family: my parents, Mr. Frank Kumi and Madam Esther Yirenkyiwa Offei, and my friends for their immense support to my education.



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I am humbled by the divine guidance and protection that have been bestowed upon me by the almighty God who made it possible for this study to see the light of the day. Many thanks and praises unto His name.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Chieftaincy It is an organized system of leadership within some African traditional settings in accordance with the traditional customs and usages of the area.
- Conflict It is a biological interaction concomitant to disagreement.
- Chieftaincy conflict chieftaincy succession conflict is the disagreement between factions or groups within society(s) due to an enstoolment or enskinment of a chief.
- Aberewatia She is an elderly woman whose role is seen to be the head of all selected/appointed elderly women in an Akan family system
- Mmerewatia They are all the elderly women selected to play crucial roles in the administration of a family.
- Paramount chief The head of all the chiefs in a traditional area. In many places, they are equally known as kings. However, among the Asantes, they are the head of a particular chiefdom who falls under Otumfuor
- Divisional chiefs They are traditional authorities who head the divisions of a traditional area.
- Okuapehene The traditional head of Okuapeman. He is the president of the Akuapem traditional council.
- Okuapehemea She is the counterpart of the Okuapehene. She is seen as the owner of the paramount stools in Akuapem and thus, has a greater responsibility in nominating or selecting the Okuapehene.

ABSTRACT

This study is a contribution to knowledge on the existence of succession conflict within the Akuapem traditional area. The study focused on the dynamics, actors and effects of the conflict. Methodologically, this study anchored on an interpretivist philosophical viewpoint and employed a qualitative approach with ethnographic research design. Thirty-four (34) adults who have lived in the area for the past five (5) years participated in the study. They included members of the traditional council, the Akuapem North Municipal Assembly, the royal gates to the paramountcy and others within the community. Using extreme case sampling, critical case sampling and convenience sampling techniques are techniques used to select participants. Data were collected with the use of interview guide while conducting interview and focus group discussions. Observation was also used as a technique to solicit data for the study. The data collected were analyzed thematically in line with research questions and emerged patterns from the dataset. The study found out that the dynamics of the conflict revolved around causes, nature and frames participants hold to the conflict. The findings showed multiple causes that resulted in the exacerbation of the conflict. The findings also revealed multiple actors who operated in different capacities, and engage in the conflict based on divergent interests. The findings indicated that the conflict has had multiple and complex effects on the society and her people. A major conclusion drawn from the study was that the conflict as hurled within the chieftaincy institution in Akuapem has complex dynamics and thus, has had multiple implications on the stability and development of the society. The study recommended that various measures must be in place by the government and various institutions concerned with the issue as well as the traditional area to address the succession issue and adequately ensure the full functioning of the institution and the society.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The development of a society depends on several factors including her revered institutions. Arguably, Ghana's level of development results from the contributions of several important institutions or structures including chieftaincy. The importance of chieftaincy institution in the pre-colonial, colonial, independence and postindependence era of Ghana has been remarkable. It is an epitome of organized governance in the precolonial era and thus, has proven effective in the political alterations of Ghana. As a continuing traditional structure and practice, many see it as a system that helps to harmonize the country's development and governance efforts. In the view of Awedoba (2009), most chiefs in various communities are agents of development and thus, they are essential to contemporary local governance. It is perhaps, the reason why Ghana has significantly recognized the institution legally, making it a formidable foundation for her proper functioning in the society. The 1992 constitution of Ghana acknowledges the chieftaincy institution in Articles 270 to 277. It states in article 270 (1) of Ghana's constitution that "the institution of chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed" (The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992).

The real importance of chieftaincy is valuable for the functioning of the society. In spite of this claim, issues that have strong implications for the stability and development of the country manifest within the institution. A myriad of these issues has been widely reported. Chiefly, succession conflicts, corruption, land dispute, political interference, authority over resources, are some of the issues that the

chieftaincy institution in Ghana saddles. Succession conflict seems to be a major chieftaincy concern that affects the stability of the institution and the society as a whole. It is a common experience in many parts of Ghana. According to Ahorsu (2014), African states institutions' vulnerability to factionalism, negatively affects their stability and order. The complex interplay between structural factors and specific agents of the society results in the perpetuation of conflicts that in most cases affects the stability of societies.

The development implications of chieftaincy succession conflicts in Ghana are a major cause for worry and concern among Ghanaians. Awedoba (2009) provided instances of chieftaincy conflict in Ghana; chiefly, Ga-Mantse succession conflicts, the Anlo chieftaincy conflict, the Adoagyiri crises, the Tuabodom chieftaincy succession conflict, the Akyem-Swedru chieftaincy conflicts are some chieftaincy issues the country saddles. The numerous but unending conflicts within the institution contribute to the call by many to abolish it. Ahiave (2013) argued that the chieftaincy institution in Ghana has been bedeviled with numerous conflicts, hampering progress and for that matter; the institution is of no relevance in contemporary local governance. However, conflict is a social continuity and discontinuity that is located in the structures of human self and society (Ahiave, 2013). Kokken and Sundell (2017) corroborated that instances of succession have had momentous effects for conflict in a large portion of societies' history. This assertion lends credence to issues of succession particularly, in chieftaincy.

Consequently, with succession conflict being a major issue in the institution, Eshun and Dankwa (2019) are of the view that, issues of recognition or de-recognition, problems of eligibility of succession, influence of queen mothers and political interference contribute to the chieftaincy succession conflicts in most traditional

areas. These are not recent development and neither are they restricted to only one traditional area. Largely, almost all traditional areas have encountered one of these forms of issues or a majority of them during succession of chiefs. Whereas some of the conflicts have been addressed successfully, others tend to be protracted. Therefore, in lieu of the significance of the institution, experiences and recent studies characterize chieftaincy succession in Ghana with numerous issues particularly, conflicts which serve as potential source of instability. Chieftaincy succession conflict is the disagreement between factions or groups within society(s) due to an enstoolment or enskinment of a chief.

The Akuapem traditional area, one of the most noticeable and revered traditional areas in Ghana, over the years engaged in a succession process for a new paramount chief after the demise of Oseadeeyo Nana Addo Dankwa III. It is a normal practice and accepted within the confines of tradition that the paramountcy of Akuapem traditional area rotates among three acceptable royal gates in Akropong-Akuapem. The Sakyiabea royal gate currently have the mandate to present a formidable person to succeed the stool. Not until 12th April, 2020 when a new chief was installed from the Sakyiabea royal gate, the Akuapem traditional throne for the paramountcy has been vacant since 2015. Events surrounding the installation and enstoolment as well as the legitimacy of the "enstooled paramount chief" is in contention. As such, experiences, empirical studies and reports in media suggest a succession conflict that results in social instability, creating a national concern. Chieftaincy succession conflicts are not of novelty however, the one surrounding the chieftaincy succession in Akuapem have generated concerns within and outside the traditional area. Research has not documented rigorously, the issues involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict of Akuapem, and the challenges to the succession. It is therefore

expedient to conduct a research to explore the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area as well as how that has affected the functioning of the chieftaincy institution and the society. The study is essential as it provides relevant data that could be useful to addressing the issue and future occurrences around chieftaincy succession as well as strengthening the functioning of the institution.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Traditional structures, specifically the chieftaincy institution work in order to contribute and harmonize the development and governance efforts in the country. To this end, the importance of the chieftaincy institution has not waned in most parts of Ghana despite the entrenchment of democratic rule and the expansion of state powers since the return to civilian rule in 1992. The institution serves as a formidable structure that contributes to the development and functioning of the society. Rightly put by Prah and Yeboah (2011), the institution has been an important structure in the heat of all political alterations and aspects of the Ghanaian society. Many people still hold their traditional leaders in high esteem and support for the institution of chieftaincy remains high in most parts of the country. This is particularly the case amongst highly established traditional societies such as the Ashanti, Mamprusi, Dagomba, Wala of Northern Ghana and the Akuapem.

The position of a chief is highly acknowledged in many traditional societies, Hence, many people particularly, royals and sometimes non-royals contest for the position. The contest for chieftaincy positions in many traditional areas is very competitive (Awedoba & Odotei, 2006) and thus, attributed to instability of society because of conflicts. Meanwhile, societies over the years have developed procedures based on their customs and traditions through which a person becomes a chief. At the same

time, the Chieftaincy Act, 2008 (Act 759) has outlined procedures and guidelines for Kingmakers on the installation, enskinment, destoolment and deskinment of chiefs. Despite the existing customary procedures and the legal provisions for the installation of a chief, the Akuapem chieftaincy experienced succession challenges, which prolonged the installation of a new paramount chief over a period. In addition, the installation and enstoolment processes and the legitimacy of the "enstooled" paramount chief is in contention. The prolonged succession and contention of the processes involved as well as the legitimacy of the "enstooled paramount chief" suggests challenges of chieftaincy in the Akuapem traditional area because of succession conflict. The citizens of Akuapem traditional area are worried and concerned about the potential of the chieftaincy conflict to have strong security, stability and development implications. Studies abound on chieftaincy conflicts in the area. Yet, research has not adequately been entered to discuss and examine the Akuapem chieftaincy succession conflict over the paramount chief position after the demise of Oseadeeyo Addo Dantwa III. Therefore, this empirical study examined the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area in terms of its dynamics, actors' influences on it and the effects of the issue to the development in the area.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area in terms of its dynamics, actors' influences in the conflict and effects of the conflict on development within the society using qualitative approach.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional area sought to achieve the following objectives;

- examine the dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area
- analyze the actors' influences on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area
- 3. assess the effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area

1.5 Research Questions

The following questions guided the study.

- 1. What are the dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 2. What are the actors' influences to the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 3. How does the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem affect the development of the traditional area?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The thesis is of significance in identifying and understanding issues surrounding the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem. The Akuapem chieftaincy conflict over the position of a paramount chief has great implications for the institution and stability of the society. It has therefore become an issue of national concern.

The study is beneficial to the institutional bodies of chieftaincy. That is, the National and Regional Houses of Chiefs as well as the Akuapem Traditional Council may use the results published in this thesis to inform and reform their practices. This will guide them in devising effective and efficient means of understanding and addressing issues particularly, conflicts within their institution in the traditional areas of Ghana. Consequently, this research informs policy-making and reformation of chieftaincy and development. This will help better the actions and inactions of traditional leaders in various communities of Ghana.

To the people of Akuapem Traditional Area and their society, the study served as a voice to them as it gave them the opportunity to share their thoughts, views and experiences on the chieftaincy succession conflict in the area. The people of Akuapem Traditional Area expressed their views and perspectives as well as their experiences of the conflict, as they are seen to be associated with the issue.

Rigorous documentation on the chieftaincy succession conflict and its related issues over the paramount chief position after Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III, in Akuapem Traditional Area seems inadequate. This suggests that an empirical data provided to complement and fill gaps in existing literature on chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area is essential to give an understanding of the chieftaincy succession conflict over the position of a paramount chief. Therefore, this thesis contributes significantly to literature by examining issues involved in the Akuapem chieftaincy succession conflict over the position of a paramount chief, the actors and their influences to the succession conflict, the dynamics of the conflict and the effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict to the Akuapem society. Hence, useful information or lessons are provided in the study for other researchers on chieftaincy and conflicts in the country.

1.7 Delimitation

The Akuapem Traditional Area in the Eastern Region of Ghana is the confines of the study. In addition, the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area is the focus for the study. The study therefore covers only the people of the Akuapem traditional area.

1.8 Organisation of the Study

The study of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area is organized into five chapters. These five chapters include the following major themes; introduction; literature review; methodology; data presentation, analyses and discussion; and the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

The chapter one of the study, the introduction has eight themes that vividly explains the basis of the study. It shows clearly the need for which the study. The background to the study; problem statement; purpose of the study; research objectives and questions; significance of the study; delimitation or scope as well as organization of the study are the major themes discussed in this chapter respectively.

The literature review discusses the theoretical perspective, conceptual and empirical evidences pertaining to the issue of conflict in Akuapem traditional area. Therefore, this chapter is devoted to the review of emerging themes from the research objectives/questions and other relevant concepts on the issue of chieftaincy and succession as discussed and examined in other scholarly works and publications using thematic approach. The themes reviewed include; dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict; Actors' influences on chieftaincy succession conflict; the effects of chieftaincy succession conflicts.

Chapter three of the study, the methodology and methods, has been organized into several themes including research design, research setting, population, sample and sampling technique, instruments for data collection, procedures for data collection, ethical considerations, data analysis procedure, and positionality. It is about how the study is undertaken.

Chapter four presents, data analyzes and discusses the data presented. It uses qualitative approach to present and analyze data in order to understand issues and data from participants. In addition, the chapter five concludes the thesis by providing summary of findings, implications, conclusions and recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Chieftaincy in most part of Ghana as scholars argue is a probable source of conflict in many communal settings, usually breeding instability and insecurity, which thus, affects the development of the nation (Ahiave, 2013). Several concerns raised by many in the socio-cultural and political arena resort to the functionality of the institution towards development in contemporary times. Chieftaincy succession in Akuapem traditional area has been in the limelight over conflict issues. Review of related literature is important for the exploration of the study. Therefore, this chapter is devoted to the review of literature based on emerging themes from research objectives and questions as well as relevant concepts on the issue of chieftaincy as discussed in other scholarly works and publications. Consequently, this section employs the use of theory as a lens to the study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. Accordingly, this chapter include the theoretical perspective, conceptual review, empirical review and summary of the chapter.

2.1 Theoretical Perspective

Chieftaincy in Akuapem, likewise other traditional areas in Ghana, is regarded as a remarkable institution. Nonetheless, intermittent conflicts within the institution is a cause for worry and concern among many in Ghana. The focus of this study was to examine the conflict hurled within the chieftaincy institution, which scholars argue to be a structure that contributes to the functioning of the society, and the implications of conflict(s) on the society. Therefore, the realistic conflict theory was used to underpin the study.

Realistic conflict theory (RCT) which dates back to the 20th century is a social conflict theory that focuses on contestations and misunderstandings among people or groups. Proponents of this theory include Donald Campbell and Mustafer Sherif. The theory states that conflicts, contradictions and stereotyping exist when people or groups with different interests and goals compete over limited resources such as political positions and power, money, or social status, resulting in negative relations and disruption of social stability (Whitney & Kite, 2010). However, RCT theorists argue that conflicts and negative confrontations can be reduced when parties or groups pursue superordinate goals (Whitney & Kite, 2010). Thus, the theory is used in two domains; to discuss conflict situations; and explore ways of achieving peace.

The basic assumption of the theory is that conflict is an innate human attribute that prevail through the pursuance of goals and interest by people or groups. Strive for attaining interests and goals leads to competition between actors over resources available. When men try to control the scarce resources or attain some social status and prestige, as well as power, conflict is inevitable. RCT theorists argue that the length and severity of the conflict is based upon perceived value of the resource under contention. The conflict can lead to increasing animosity toward opposing actors and can cause feud to develop. The theory explains how hostilities can arise among people or groups because of diverging goals and interests that result in the competition of resources. Theorists of RCT suggest that the cause of conflict usually lies in the relations between actors. Co-operative behaviour reflects shared objectives and interests of particular actors as against others. Thus, solidarity and cohesiveness exist among members of a group who share similar interests as against opposing actors or groups.

Conflict situations develop key issues for change, which advertently, affects the stability of the society. This suggests mechanisms that create issues for development. In corroboration, conflicts that may erupt within social structures resulting from actors' pursuance of interests and competition over resources interrupt the stability of a society. Studying the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area, the researcher used this theory as a lens. Realistic conflict theory therefore implies that in the explication of the conflict within chieftaincy and the society, we could address the dynamics involved in the conflict, the actors' influences and the effects of the conflict. Realistic conflict theory therefore underpins the study.

2.1.1 Relevance of the theory

Realistic conflict theory contributes to social order by investigating deviance such as conflict and contradictions, which results in hostilities in the society. In the view of Loy and Booth (2004), the deviance in the society points out an understanding of the disruption in the society, which usually affects the stability and functional aspects of institutions and the society. Chieftaincy in Ghana is widely seen as a special and remarkable institution (Ayesu, 2013). It thus provides mechanisms such as maintaining culture, which contributes to the development of social system. However, the prevalence of groups, factions and actors with opposing interests and goals creates pressure for competition over limited resources such as power and positions, money, and social status within institutions such as chieftaincy and the society. In the view of White and Kite (2010), the competition over limited resources by groups or people with opposing interests creates conflicts and stereotyping in the society, which adversely affects social stability and relations. Conflicts, with its resultant effects can only be reduced when actors or groups

pursue similar goals and objectives together. RCT recognizes conflicts as an innate attribute of man. The theory therefore identifies and analyzes conflicts within the society by explicating the dynamics involved. It also contributes to the understanding of peacebuilding within the society.

The theory is relevant in contemporary context. As individual actors and groups continue to pursue their goals and interest at the expense of others, conflict is inevitable. More importantly, as long as there is competition of resources where actors ambitiously operate to control, conflict with its resultant effects are inevitable. As functional as the chieftaincy institution could be, the development of groups or factions with opposing interests competing to succeed the throne brews conflict in the traditional area. The theory is therefore of relevance to underpinning the study of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area. Understanding the conflict and its impacts of the structure and the society is necessary to working towards finding peace and promoting stability.

2.1.2 Application of the theory

Realistic conflict theory (RCT) focuses on the ideology that conflict is inevitable in the society because of the competitions over scarce resources by factions or groups who pursue their interests and objectives. RCT thus, analyzes the causes and effects of conflicts within the society. Folarin (2013) argued that people continue to pursue their own best interests even at the expense of others'. Consequently, RCT focuses on the cohesiveness within groups and societies who pursue superordinate goals. Whitley and Kite (2010) indicated that superordinate goals could bring people or groups together and restore positive relations.

The Akuapem traditional area over the years, experienced succession conflict in line with installation and enstoolment of the paramount chief. As RCT implies, emerged groups, factions or actors within chieftaincy and the traditional area compete over specific resources based on their goals and interests. Social structures harness the development and maintenance of the entire system. Chieftaincy institution in Ghana has a functional purpose of promoting cohesiveness and development in maintaining the social system. As argued by theorists of RCT, superordinate goals binds groups and social actors together. Hence, when chieftaincy, which Ayesu (2013) indicated to reflect a sense of bonding, achieves the superordinate goal (bonding/cohesiveness), conflicts and its resultant effects would be reduced. The accumulation of conflicts, tensions and contradictions within chieftaincy because of competitions and pursuance of interests often affects the stability, brewing consequences on all aspects of the society. Therefore, an analysis of the deviance within chieftaincy reveals issues that affect the dominant orientation of the structure.

The concept of succession conflict is a dominant dysfunction within chieftaincy. In the view of Ahiave (2013), chieftaincy in Ghana usually brews conflicts and thus, many tag it as the potential source of instability and disequilibrium in the society, affecting development. It therefore gives premise to locate the research in the perspective of Realistic Conflict Theory. Whitley and Kite (2010) argued that social conflicts including that of chieftaincy succession results from groups' competition for scarce resources such as power, political positions, money, and social status. The succession of a paramount chief in Akuapem traditional area witnessed the emergence of group competitions and struggles for the throne, which prolonged the succession for the paramount chief within the traditional area. Factions within the

conflict pursue their goals and interests, which influence the development and outcomes of the conflict.

Many scholars argue that conflicts are inevitable in the society yet, if we do not tackle and resolve them, disrupts the complex social system. Individual actors, groups or factions exacerbate the conflict in the society while competing for scarce resources. Promotion of stability and efficiency within the structure while reducing conflicts within the traditional area can be achieved when groups or factions pursue superordinate goals. Chieftaincy in Akuapem traditional area is a relevant aspect to the social system however, the contestations due to succession processes is a cause for worry and concern amongst many within and outside the area. Understanding the RCT perspective is necessary to examining the dynamics involved in the conflict, actors' influences and the effects of the conflict. This will help analyse the conflict as well as find lasting peace in Akuapem traditional area.

Conceptual Literature Review: Enormous literature exists to discuss chieftaincy conflicts in the traditional societies of Ghana. These literature amounts to discussing various concepts pertaining to chieftaincy and conflict in the traditional societies. The researcher therefore reviewed literature in this study based on emerging themes from the research question and objectives of the study. The conceptual review of this study included three main themes; dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict; actors' influences on the chieftaincy succession conflict; and effects of chieftaincy succession conflict. Further, sub-themes from the main themes expounds on the on relevant knowledge for the study.

2.2 Dynamics of Chieftaincy Succession Conflict

Many argue that chieftaincy succession conflict is a possible source of instability in the society (Ahiave, 2013). In many societies, the protracted nature of these conflicts has implications towards the development of the society. The dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict in the society therefore looked at the trends of conflict development in the institution in many societies, the factors that contribute to the conflict, the issues and nature involved in chieftaincy succession conflict. The researcher studied the dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict via four (4) basic sub-themes; dynamics of conflict, chieftaincy in Ghana, nature of conflicts, chieftaincy succession conflicts, causes and frames of conflicts.

2.2.1 Chieftaincy in Ghana

Culture has been an important aspect of almost every society as it serves as one of the multiple structures in a complex social system that works towards the solidarity in societies. Chieftaincy as an organ of culture is undoubtedly one of the best-known traditional institutions in many societies in Ghana. Understanding the origin of the institution is necessary to unravel the conflicts (dysfunctionality) in the structure. Much progress has been made in the field of culture and chieftaincy at the normative and the operational levels but clearly the gap in the definition, history, existence and relevance of the institution in Ghana remains wide. Scholarly works abound in defining and tracing the historical antecedents of chieftaincy resulting in expression of its relevance.

Extant literature on chieftaincy contended that the definitions and historical antecedents of chieftaincy in Ghana are broad yet, have some positive connotations in its existence. Meanwhile, some scholars contend that the historical antecedent of chieftaincy has a negative implication to development in many societies. Defining

and tracing the historical antecedent of the structure was necessary to the development of the study. The argument of Eshun and Dankwa (2019), Owusu-Mensah (2013) and Center for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) (2006) converge on the definition, history and relevance of chieftaincy to the Ghanaian society.

Specifically, Eshun and Dankwa (2019) discussed the meaning and origin of chieftaincy in their book entitled "culture of chieftaincy, governance and development". According to Eshun and Dankwa (2019), chieftaincy is either a position or period of rule. Thus, they viewed chieftaincy as the rank of being a chief or the process in traditional leadership where a person called a 'Chief' or 'Queen mother' leads or rule a group of people in a traditional setting. They argued that chieftaincy in Ghana is a system of ruling in the traditional society. The major argument of their discussion is that the importance of the institution to Ghanaian society just like major structures such as education, the judiciary and many more has rendered it highly recognized. The recognition of chieftaincy institution in Ghana is due to important roles of Chiefs and Queen mothers in the socio-political arena that has contributed to the functioning of the society.

Eshun and Dankwa (2019) argued that knowledge on institution's roots are barely known however, they recognized that chieftaincy has been in existence since precolonial era through to independence and post-independence era and has endured many challenges. The argument of Eshun and Dankwa (2019) can be located within culture and governance discourse. They assumed that chieftaincy is a key structure in the complex social system of Ghana to create balance. The basis of their argument lies in the important historical analysis of chieftaincy through the precolonial, colonial, independence and post-independence era. The fact of their

argument is that, many chiefs have played and continue to play important roles in local communities (respective traditional areas) that complement the actions of the central government. It is perhaps because of this that culminated the decision to establish and guarantee the chieftaincy institution in article 270(1) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana. However, there are instances that the institution has become dysfunctional, affecting the stability of the society. They argued that the institution provides a sense of solidarity among members of the society, but that being said, the structure has had varied history and character as it evolved. Yet, Eshun and Dankwah (2019) see the institution as a necessary tool for stability whiles many see it as an agent of instability.

Consequently, Owusu-Mensah (2013) postulated that chieftaincy of any society is just the custodian of the customary laws that regulate civil behavior in traditional governance of many or almost all societies. Key to his argument, he asserted that the institution has been a resilient one and thus, has survived all alterations in Ghana's socio-political history, which has been necessary for its integration into the governance structure of the country. Secondly, the institution has a critical feature of a defined structure; a structure where gender roles, responsibilities and positions of males and females are well defined in accordance with the traditions and customs of the people. In agreement with Eshun and Dankwa (2019) on the establishment of the institution by law, Owusu-Mensah (2013) recognized the constitutional provision and the Act of parliament (Chieftaincy Act, 2008, Act 759).

His discussion is located in politics and governance perspective. He clearly distinguished the make-up of chieftaincy in the pre-colonial, colonial, independence and post-independence era. He argued that, the institution was a formidable one in precolonial era and thus, its structured has a similar level of social and political

cohesion in their respective communities as were found in Western countries at the time. Consequently, in the era of colonialism, chieftaincy in Ghana lost a bit of control as compared to pre-colonial era. He argued that chieftaincy relied upon British recognition. There was no form of clearly defined authority for the chiefs. The colonial regime changed the face of chieftaincy. More so, independence saw the reformation of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana. Some political leaders rallied upon the space occupied by chiefs after independence (Owusu-Mensah, 2013). There came the need to maintain the institution in the socio-political space of Ghana but under a form of state control. The 1957 and 1960 constitutions therefore guaranteed the institution in accordance with customs and usages. However, the relationship between some members of the central government and the chief were not very cordial. Yet, Owusu-Mensah (2013) sees the institution as a primary spectrum of the Ghanaian society and that no one dares undermine it. Their argument is corroborated by the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) (2006) who asserted that a very large proportion of the Ghanaian society claim allegiance to one kind of chief or another. The basis of their argument is in the study of historical and contemporary advantages of the institution in the Ghanaian societies. The fact of their argument is that the institution serves as a repository of history and traditional ways, as well as the custodians of the indigenous traditions, customs and society of Ghana (Owusu-Mensah, 2013). It has thus contributed to working towards the equilibrium and promoting homeostasis in the society.

Chieftaincy is an important and respected institution that occupies the space created by Ghana's modern political structure in terms of customary arbitration and law enforcement at the communal level. Meanwhile, this seemingly revered institution in the Ghanaian society is bred with issues including conflicts, which Elwell (2013) described as a dysfunctionality of an institution, affecting social cohesion.

Chieftaincy is an organized system of leadership within some African traditional settings in accordance with the traditional customs and usages of the area. In Ghana, chieftaincy serves as a formidable institution that pays its dues to local and national development. As an institution, it guides and regulates the activities of traditional leaders in their local jurisdictions.

Understanding the concept of chieftaincy is relevant to raveling issues in the institution as a structure of the complex social order. The researcher commends scholars and authors cited in the study for their contribution to the growing discourse of culture, chieftaincy, and ethnic conflicts. The arguments of the extant literature are relevant to contemporary chieftaincy issues as it gives an understanding to the journey in which the institution has trended to unearth and examine alternatives to resolving the dysfunctionality of the institution. The concept of chieftaincy; definition and history, helps in tracing the very existence of the structure and the dynamics. It helps to know what needs to look out for in the management, resolution of issues and the transformation of the institution in promoting of stability and development of the society.

The literature of the referenced scholars is related to my work because I sought to look at the conflict in the institution specifically, the chieftaincy institution of Akuapem Traditional Area. Therefore, the meaning and the historical antecedents helps in tracing and understanding issues of the institution, which is key to examining the dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional

Area. Relatively little attention given to historical precepts and dynamics of the institution are issues that extant literature fails to identify. Therefore, tracing the current conflicts to the history and dynamics of the institution is necessary for rigorous documentation and filling of the knowledge gap in these areas. Thus, an understanding of the meaning and the history/nature and dynamics of the institution whiles tracing it to the conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area would ensure effective examining of the conflict, identifying all factors to it and thereby providing relevant knowledge for its resolution.

The institution of chieftaincy has great effects on the development of Ghanaian society. Many see it as an epitome of culture that gives an identity and meaning to lives in traditional areas. Yet, the institution has seen a considerable degree of conflicts in many traditional areas of which Akuapem traditional area has not been excluded, being a spotlight of the issue. What aroused the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional area and why does it still linger? I agree with the authors who recognized the institution as one that has influenced development in many local areas. Consequently, there has been a considerable degree of politicization of the institution even though they are not to partake in politics in the country. It is therefore necessary to address the issues of the institution within the society.

2.2.2 Chieftaincy and the Akuapem State

Scholarly works abound on the existence of chieftaincy institution and the making of Akuapem state. The chieftaincy institution has a functional orientation to the creation and existence of the Akuapem state. Ayesu (2013) argued that the Akuapem state was a creation of the chieftaincy institution and thus, the lives of community folks revolve around it. Considering the evolution of the state,

Kwapong (2017) indicated that the Akuapem history and her paramountcy could be viewed from analysis of the autonomous tribal groupings and the establishment of a unified state.

Hitherto, Akuapem was known as multiple independent or autonomous groupings, predominantly Guans, under the leadership of various shrine-priests (Kwapong, 2017). However, during the 17th century and the early 18th century, people of the present day Akuapem (the multiple Guan groups) experienced tyrannical rule by the King of Akwamu and his subjects (Kwapong, 2017). Help from Akyem Abuakwa warriors led by Prince Safori, enabled the aboriginal groups to overcome the Akwamus in the 1730s hence, the 'Abotakyi accord' was enacted by all tribal leaders, which made the Akyem warlords overlords of the aborigines (Kwapong, 2017). This suggest that a bond enacted by the 'Abotakyi accord' permanently recognized the leadership of the Akyem warlords and established the Akuapem state with diverse groups. The assistance provided by the Akyem warlords upon their request effectively liberated the aborigines and functioned as a spur in uniting the individual groups and pioneering the Akans (Asona groups) as the head of the new centralized state (akuapem).

Ayesu (2013) corroborated that the chieftaincy institution in Akuapem is a foreign culture that was diffused into the Akuapem hills by the Akyem warlords leading to the defeat of the Akwamu imperial rule. Hence, in his view, chieftaincy in Akuapem presents a sense of remarkable culture that binds the diverse groups even though there is a conspicuous distinction between the rulers and the ruled. Under the arrangement of chieftaincy and the new state, hierarchical organisations under family, groups, villages and towns were placed under a traditional political and military administration (Ayesu, 2013). Thus, the state was established to function

in a manner that engendered a strategic cooperation of a multi-grouping society under a centralised system.

The 'Okuapehene' who is the paramount chief of the traditional area heads the Akuapem state. In the view of Ayesu (2013), the paramount seats (Ofori Kuma and Gyankorama stools) for both male and female counterparts are located in Akropong, which serves as the capital for the traditional area. Thus, the belief that the leader of the Akyem warlords brought a 'black stool' that engendered passion and determination among warriors to overcome their enemy and establish a new kingship rule in the new state was affirmed. The new king seized the opportunity to reorganize the new state into political units and wings that modelled the Akan chieftaincy organization (Kwapong, 2017). Ayesu (2013) confirmed that below the Okuapehene were five divisional chiefs. Thus, the divisions were seen as important groupings for the new Akuapem state. It can therefore be argued that the chieftaincy has been practiced by all the groups but based on their own history, traditions and culture. Hence, successions to such traditional offices were modelled along maternal lines for the Akans and paternal system for the Guans. The eligibility of any Okuapehene and Okuahemea is through specific houses who are descendants of the early occupant of the first consecrated stool (Brempong, 2000). Meanwhile, succession to the position of a paramount chief has been a worrying factor that contributes to instability in the society (Ahiave, 2013).

In line with the genesis of chieftaincy and Akuapem state, chieftaincy has a functional role in preserving the Akuapem state as it helped establish and preserve the society in the past. This seems to be a result of the organised system used in the administration of the traditional states. However, Ayesu (2013) argued that flexible chiefly practices have enormous impacts on the institution. Extant literature on

chieftaincy and Akuapem state are duly recommended for their contribution to knowledge. What remains a gap is the dynamics of the conflict within the system in Akuapem traditional area.

2.2.3 Akan rules of succession

In the view of Kwapong (2017), succession results from tracing the direct genealogy and connections of an individual. Brempong (2000) postulated that the application of rules of succession in Akan communities establish traditional rules that give rise to the succession to stools. In his argument on chieftaincy succession processes in Akan communities, Brempong (2000) indicated that the Akan is a grouping of multiple societies, distinguished by their well-defined territories and distinctive dialects. Thus, the Akan is an aggregation of towns and villages as well as satellite settlements that have basic leadership formats. The traditional leadership of Akan societies are known as chieftaincy. According to Brempong (2000), the right to succession in chieftaincy, any traditional office, or stools for leadership in an Akan society, are regarded as the corporate property of the matrilineal descendants of the real or presumed founders of the chiefdom or state. Kwapong (2017) corroborated that the system of succession and inheritance by the Akan unlike other ethnic groups in Ghana, are through the mother's line and thus, referred to as a matrilineal system. The descendants are known as royals or aristocrats (adehye) who are seen to possess the qualities to compete for traditional offices when there is the need for it (Brempong, 2000).

It is obvious from discussions and scholarly works that in all Akan societies, matrilineal descents of a particular group known as royals engender one to succeed a throne. The mode of succession becomes an issue when the need arises but different actors (royals) challenge for their rights. Brempong (2000) indicated that

the royal lineage in Akan societies was guided by two rules that tended to enhance lineage unity. He expressed that rules of seniority and alternate succession formed the rules of succession. Thus, senior men and women among the royals were expected to precede the juniors. Again, alternate succession, as Brempong (2000) pointed as another rule implies the circulation of succession to an office among segments of a lineage. His argument suggests that until brothers of a higher generation within the royal house or family have been exhausted, nephews or the younger generation cannot succeed a stool. This is particularly true when men of older or higher generation are seen to be 'fit and proper' for succession. However, it is obvious from different accounts on conflicts in our traditional areas that these rules are flexible and are usually not followed strictly.

Succession in Akan societies are engineered through consultation processes among elders of the lineage (Brempong, 2000). Thus, hereditary and succession in Akan societies do not necessarily condone that first-born children inherit or succeed traditional stools. Brempong (2000) argued that the rule of primogeniture is rejected in Akan societies, combining the hereditary with selective principles is the norm in Akan societies. Only maternal relatives of the founder of the town and occupant of the first consecrated stool of a polity have exclusive rights of succession to the stool however, consultation among the head of the major units within the state is necessary (Brempong, 2000). Therefore, succession of a chief is usually an outcome of consultation among specific traditional heads representing the ruling house and the ruled. It can be argued that the elements of negotiation and elective processes engenders the flexibility of the process (Brempong, 2000).

Without a clear knowledge of a family organisation and succession rules of a polity, it is impossible to understand fully the organisational system of the society.

It is thus, necessary to examine and understand the rules of succession in the Akan communities as it provides relevant information that serves as a foundation for the study on succession conflict over the position of a paramount chief in Akuapem traditional area. The existence of customary procedures on succession provides guidelines for selection/nomination, installation and enstoolment of chiefs however, through various offers to kingmakers by possible candidates particularly, unqualified men, legitimate successors or true heirs are denied their rights. Extant literature on succession processes and rules in Akan communities, as Brempong (2000) expounds, generates a clear sense of its flexibility, breeding room for manipulation and conflicts in our traditional areas.

2.2.4 Succession to the paramount stool in Akuapem traditional area

Chieftaincy in Akuapem is seen as a remarkable institution that has contributed to the formation and preservation of the state (Ayesu, 2013). Kwapong (2017) corroborated that the Akuapem history is marked by the emergence of chieftaincy in the society. Their arguments suggest that the institution of chieftaincy has been an important structure that has contributed immensely to the development of the society. The Akuapem state is a heterogeneous society and comprising of diverse ethnic groups with histories, cultures, traditions and dialects, established in the 1730s (Ayesu, 2013; Kwapong, 2017). Hitherto, the inhabitants of Akuapem are predominantly Guans and Akans. Thus, historical antecedents to the establishment of the Akuapem state reveals multiple groups living in the society with diverse social structures or systems.

Nunkunya (2003) sees succession as the transmission of property. In the view of Kwapong (2017), the predominant groups within Akuapem exercise different succession systems and procedures since the adoption of chieftaincy as a system of

traditional administration. Scholars such as Brempong (2000) and Ayesu (2013) corroborated that succession to traditional stools among the Akans are different from other groups in Ghana such as the Guans. The Akan group located in Akropong (the paramount state of the traditional area) occupies the paramount stool position (Okuapehene) (Ayesu, 2013). Hence, succession to the paramount stools are only through the Akan system. Largely the Akan members practice the maternal system whilst succession and inheritance through the father's line or paternal system is known to the Guans in Akuapem (Kwapong, 2017).

Under the arrangement of the Akuapem state, the 'Okuapehene', the head of the traditional area was the sole property of specific families from Akropong-Akuapem, who are of the 'Asona' descent (Ayesu, 2013). Thus, the section of Akuapem who migrated from Akyem occupied the paramount stool hence, matrilineal succession processes was used. In this sense, Brempong (2000) argued that royals along matrilineal descents of the real or presumed founders of the capital town of the state or village assumed the paramount stools. In the case of Akuapem, Kwapong (2017) identified that three royal house primarily have entitlement to the paramount stool. Ayesu (2013) indicated that only male and female royals from the Nketia, Ama Ogyaa and Sakyiabea royal families occupied the paramount stools (Ofori Kuma and Gyankorama stools). As an Akan society, Brempong (2000) argued that rules of seniority and alternate succession formed the rules of succession. Thus, senior men and women among the royals were expected to precede the juniors. Again, circulation of succession to an office among segments of a lineage ensured the selection of a rightful candidate. This suggests that until brothers of a higher generation within the royal house or family have been exhausted, nephews or the younger generation cannot succeed a stool. This is

particularly true when men of older or higher generation are seen to be 'fit and proper' for succession. However, many scholars including Kwapong (2017) and oral traditions expound on the appropriateness of the candidate chosen from a particular royal house as the most important quality for the paramount stool, rather than his generation even though it might be the first to consider. This raise concerns about kingmakers selecting individuals who are said to be educated and have higher status or money. It is obvious from different accounts on conflicts in the traditional area that these rules are flexible and are usually not followed strictly (Brempong, 2000).

Consequently, the existence of royals for the paramount chief position became too large and thus, succession was open to confrontations regarding who was the next person to rule (Kwapong, 2017). Hence, there was a need for a resolution on succession to the paramount stool. Kwapong (2017) indicated that the legislative instrument (L. I 32) dated 7th June, 1960 directed that succession to the paramount stool of the Akuapem state shall be on rotation among three ruling houses in the Akuapem State in the manner following; Nketia House; Ama Ogyaa House; and Sakyiabea House. This seems to be because of the expansion of maternal descents from the earliest occupants of the consecrated paramount stool. However, the L. I as indicated by Kwapong (2017) do not explicitly specify the succession rules within a particular royal gate. Only oral traditions exist as to what qualifies a person from a particular royal gate to be selected for the next stage of king making (Kwapong, 2017). It is only when the candidate has been presented to the kingmakers for scrutiny that he can be disqualified based on the specifications of the L. I 32 (Kwapong, 2017). Hence, the rules of succession within the royal houses seems flexible and can be subject to manipulation. However, with the

paramountcy being an Akan community, most scholars including Ayesu (2013) comment that maternal succession processes are used for installation and enstoolment. Yet, the Sakyiabea royal gate who have the mandate to present the current paramount chief engaged in confrontations that has extended to other parts of the traditional area, over who ascends the paramount stool. It is in the right sense to ask, what caused the confrontations among members of the gate? Is the issue about choosing a wrong candidate?

The extant literature reviewed in the study have contributed enormously in understanding the rules of succession in Akan societies particularly, among people of the paramount state in Akuapem. With the existence of maternal rules of succession and the qualities established in oral traditions and the existence of the L. I 32, conflicts over succession to chieftaincy positions persist. It is therefore necessary to fill this gap.

2.2.5 Dynamics of conflict

Conflict prevention continues to be an important focus for stakeholders in the society particularly, those involved in conflict prevention and management, development agencies and academics over decades now. Much progress has been made in the field of conflict prevention with much focus centered on conflict analyses. Herbert (2017) in his "topic guide to conflict analyses" made crucial analytics on conflict analysis. Conflict analysis is a structured process of analysis to understand conflict (Conflict Sensitive Consortium, 2012; Herbert, 2017). Herbert (2017) argued that conflict analysis focuses on the conflict profile, the actors and their perspectives, the structural and proximate causes of conflict and the dynamics of how these elements interact. Fisher, Abrahim-Abdi, Ludin, Smith, William, and Williams (2000) corroborate the argument of Herbert (2017) that conflict analysis

examines open conflict, surface conflict and latent conflict. Key to the conception by Herbert (2017), conflict analysis includes understanding conflict situations is an important process to finding lasting peace in conflict afflicted areas. His argument focused on analyses that ravel the dynamics to conflicts. He assumed that the trends to a conflict help provide understanding to issues of the conflict, which could be beneficial in finding a lasting peace. Herbert (2017) postulated that focusing on dynamics, helps understand 'why' and 'how' the conflict is escalating, intensifying, decreasing, spreading, contracting or being in a stalemate. He posited that an analysis of dynamics ensures effective and efficient understanding of issues and trends or nature to the conflict and the interaction of the elements involved in the conflict. The fact of his argument is that conflict analysis provides a comprehensive and easily accessible assessment of issues to the conflict. He argued that conflict dynamic analysis could prioritize issues that gives better understanding to the conflict and thus results in providing a lasting peace. Yet, most conflict situations as the one in Akuapem still lingers. What dynamics are involved in the conflict in Akuapem traditional area? What are the trends to the chieftaincy dispute in Akuapem traditional area?

Juma and Mengistu (2002) on the report of the "nature and dynamics of conflict in Africa" assessed peacebuilding capacity of African institutions. Their main argument centered on conflicts in Africa, which has diverse issues that posit different trends to the conflict situations in Africa. Juma and Mengistu (2002) argued that the sub-regions have certain characteristics that shape the dynamics of conflicts in its own locality. Thus, in the quest to resolve conflict, prioritizing an understanding of issues and trends as well as the parties to the conflict in the specific areas is necessary. They argued that understanding these dynamics is

critical to any effective intervention strategy. They assumed that beneath the conflict situations in Africa, one need to understand issues and emerging trends and deal with it for any intervention to prevail. Juma and Mengistu (2002) argued that the accentuation of crises and conflicts in Africa are by deep-rooted environmental problems related to resource access. The bases of their argument lies in the comparative analysis of conflict situations in Africa noteworthy, Sierra Leon, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, and Nigeria. Understanding the nature and dynamics of each conflict in the local sect gave significant clue as to the trends and issues of conflicts in some African countries. Yet, conflict persists in Africa. I agree with the authors that there is the need to look at conflicts by the dynamics of the conflict in their locality.

Ghana has been recognized as a relatively peaceful country, which saw the country rank 6th on the 2015 Global Peace Index (GPI) among 44 countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa. This suggests a relatively safe and stable country in the region. Meanwhile, there have been instances of conflicts in the country. Mayer (2012) in his publication on "the dynamics of conflict resolution" expounded that, there is an urgent need to understanding issues of conflict. Key to his argument, Mayer (2012) postulated that effective handling of conflict is based on an understanding of its dynamics, which includes the nature of the conflict. Thus, providing a framework to understanding the dynamics of conflict situation creates a lens that promotes better focus to conflict. His argument rallies on the assumption that conflict is natural, inevitable, necessary and normal. How we handle conflict is more of a problem rather than its existence. He argued that most people enter conflict situations with certain assumptions about its nature. Though these assumptions are

sometimes helpful, they are at times blinders that limit our ability to understand what lies behind a conflict and what alternatives exist for dealing with it.

Conflict dynamics is operationalized in this thesis as the process of understanding the breadth and depth of a conflict situation in an area by knowing the "how" and "why" of the conflict through a comprehensive study or analysis of the nature, trends, issues, and causes of the conflict situation.

2.2.6 Nature of conflict

Conflict prevention continues to be an important focus of many conflict actors. Many argue that the society is a possible arena for conflict. It is thus, inevitable in the social life of man (Ahorsu, 2014). Human conditions have shown that conflicts abound in the complex social system. What has been a contention in scholarly works is the definition of conflict. However, the understanding of the concept is crucial to knowing its nature at hand as well as its associated issues. The discussion of conflicts in much literature shows a disagreement between people, however, there is a contention among scholars, on the nature of disagreement that people view as conflict. As such, many authors have contributed to the extant literature on conflict. Noteworthy, Sulemana (2009), Keator (2011, 2012), and Obeng (2015), belong to a group of authors who significantly expounded on conflict. Their major viewpoint centered on the argument that; conflict is an escalation of dispute, which was not resolved effectively.

Accordingly, Sulemana (2009) discussed that, conflict is a disagreement between two individuals or groups with opposing interests. Gedzi (2009) in his discussion on conflict and dispute corroborated that conflict involve disagreements over incompatible issues among parties. Not far from the discussions of Sulemana

(2009) and Gedzi (2009), Obeng (2015) indicated that conflict is a disagreement between two or more people. Their comments agrees that misunderstanding among individuals or groups over issues that result in incompatible interests is seen as conflict.

Interestingly, Keator (2011) argued that conflict is a severe form of dispute and thus, if left unchecked can escalate and cause devastations. The argument of Keator (2011) is premised on the assumption that conflicts are based on non-negotiable terms in a lengthy period. In corroboration, if the negotiations of a simple disagreement do not meet the required agreement it can escalate into a conflict, which to Keator (2011), is a severe form of any misunderstanding, which may often last a longer period, and usually becomes hard to negotiate. The source of his argument is rooted in the analytical study of conflict literature noteworthy, Burton (1990) who argued on differences between conflict and dispute contended that conflict is deeply rooted in issues that are not negotiable. It is usual to perceive the nature of conflicts as highly tensed, which can cause devastations. Hence, Obeng (2015) indicated that effectively addressing non-violent conflicts is a priority to avert any violence.

Scholars such as Keator (2011) and Burton (1990) distinguished conflicts from disputes. Meanwhile, Gedzi (2009) argued that, conflict and dispute results from disagreement between two or more parties. Understanding of the conflict situation is due to the airing differences in its nature. Gedzi (2009) sees that what many sees as disputes and conflicts are susceptible to similar resolution processes or methods. Thus, conflicts and disputes intricate since they all involve disagreements and possibly employ same methods of resolution.

Essentially, works on the nature of conflicts and disputes are relevant to the discourse of conflict management as it helps provide an understanding to conflict situation. The consequences of conflicts in many societies have been very strong. One major argument is that even though conflict can cause distress, it can also function positively. The fact of the matter is that it can motivate people to change their situations. It is of importance to acknowledge the contributions of literature on the concept of conflict. The arguments of the extant literature clearly depict conflicts to be antonymous to dispute mainly due to their argument on the nature of the two concepts. Consequently, Gedzi (2009) who seemed to have commented on the synonymity of the two terms did not clearly affirm his position.

As some scholars may try to distinguish disagreement and thus differentiate conflict and dispute, the researcher therefore argues that conflict and disputes are synonymous. Thus, there is no clear-cut distinction between the two terms. As such, Conflict can be operationalized as a biological interaction concomitant to disagreement. Having reviewed extant literature on the two terms, it is highly acknowledged by the researcher that conflict and disputes are two words of the same meaning. The researcher therefore highly affirms the position of exploring the "conflict" situation in Akuapem traditional Area.

2.2.7 Chieftaincy Conflict

The chieftaincy institution is one of the most significant institutions or structures of the society that functions to promote stability and development. Despite its significance, the chieftaincy institution in Ghana has been argued as a potential source of conflict. Literature on chieftaincy conflict by many converge that, conflicts, as a result of chieftaincy has been a major causative agent hampering progress and stability in many Ghanaian societies. Extant literature on chieftaincy

conflict identifies power play and structural inefficiencies as key causal factors to many chieftaincy conflicts or ethnic conflicts.

Ahorsu (2014) argued in his concept paper "A post-structuralist approach to the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis in Northern Ghana" that traditional structures and practices ambivalently play valuable roles in governance, security and development but often contribute potentially volatile fault lines engendering violent civil strife that undermine social cohesion. His work is located within conflict management discourse, which looked at the intractable conflict between the Abudu and the Andani families for royal supremacy and the dilemma confronting the relevance of chieftaincy in Ghana. He assumed that conflict has it traces in the crossgenerational structural continuities of the society. It is believed that the transition of culture generationally bares structural lags that continue to inflame conflict situations in traditional societies.

Ahorsu (2014) argued that the sources and dynamics of the conflict studied are found in the dominant norms, values, traditions and common history of the society. Conflict in itself is an inevitable structure of the complex social system and thus may bring about change, however, needs to be resolved before the system is destroyed. Noteworthy, the recent chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area appeared to be resolved, yet, the installation and enstoolment of the new chief paramount chief was ensued with multiple confrontations from opposing parties. Recent development is yet to conclude that the issue has been resolved with furtherance of challenges to the legitimacy of the chief. Ahorsu (2014) indicated that the struggle to become a chief might turn violent, when people contest the historical, political, economic and social circumstances surrounding the establishment of the chieftaincy institution in a particular traditional state.

Consequently, when there is government involvement in support of one group against the other in a bid to serve their own interest as well as when the rules of succession become unclear, conflict becomes immanent (Ahorsu, 2014).

Aganah (2008) argued that chieftaincy conflicts are largely localized, with resulting effects felt in the traditional area. Yet, the conflict's social, political, economic ripples become prevalent beyond the conflict zone. However, there is little or no documentation on the rippling effect of the chieftaincy dispute in Akuapem on other communities.

Understanding conflicts, specifically chieftaincy conflict is an important activity to raveling the issues within the structure as well as resolve the dysfunctionality, which eventually results in promoting cohesion or stability. The extant literature on conflicts and chieftaincy conflicts are of importance to achieving the feet of resolving or shaping the functionality of the chieftaincy institution and the society. Understanding chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana helps to know issues in ethnic conflict situations that have been overlooked and those that needs addressing. The extant literature is related to my study because I sought to explore a conflict in the institution, specifically, the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area.

The convergence of traditional structures and practices harmonize the country's developmental and governance efforts as expounded by Ahorsu (2014). They specifically promote and sharpens the institutional efforts in the countryside and informal sectors where the presence of bureaucratic institutions is limited. However, with continuing conflict situations in the institution, many argue for its abolishment. Conflict is an inevitable social aspect of life. It thus manifest in almost

all lifestyles. In many situations, conflicts have been a bane to development. However, some conflict situations have also engendered development in societies and thus, the researcher sees it to be unavoidable. The arguments of extant literature in this section attest to the fact that conflict in any form or kind exists in a social order or organization. However, conflict if left unchecked can degenerate into worst scenarios that may undermine social cohesion. Noteworthy, the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area between members of the Sakyiabea royal gate for royal supremacy in Okuapeman is one that stands to affect the stability of the traditional area. Meanwhile, extant literature has made it clear on the overwhelming effects of intractable conflicts. Yet, the conflict in Okuapeman lingers in spite of efforts made by main actors and external actors in resolving the conflict. Why has the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area over the paramountcy still persist? I agree with the authors of the extant literature in this section who argued that chieftaincy conflicts affect the development, cohesion and distort the relevance of the institution. However, the basic agreements of the authors rely on the negativity of chieftaincy conflict to the society. Have there been any positive implications of chieftaincy conflicts?

2.2.8 Causes of conflicts

An array of scholarly discussions on the causes or factors of conflicts abounds in literature to ravel the multiple but complex situation that seem to affect the stability of the society. Ethnic conflict as indicated by Britannica (2020) is one of the major threats to national and international peace and security. Actors fight over 'issues' in a complex and multi-causal situation. Therefore, it is useful to understand the causes, influencing factors, and outcomes, and to differentiate the sources of tensions or divisions that affect large or small numbers of people at the local,

subnational, national, regional and international levels (Department for International Development, DFID, 2015). Understanding of the antecedents to these conflicts have become necessary for raveling issues that pertain to the development and existence of conflicts. Britannica (2020) showed that conflicts could have underlying causes and proximate causes. Underlying causes include structural factors, political factors economic and social factors and cultural and perceptual factors (Britannica, 2020). Herbert (2017) agreed that there are underlying causes of conflicts, which serves as root cause, and proximate factors, which contribute to the development of the conflict. Most conflict situations are rooted by both underlying causes and proximate causes Britannica (2020). The overarching question in the studies of ethnic conflict is what are the underlying causes of conflict?

2.2.8.1 Structural causes

Herbert (2017) indicated that structural causes of conflict, argued as underlying factors are long-term or systemic causes of conflicts being it violent or non-violent, that have become built into the norms, structures and policies of a society. Weak or failed systems in the state often provide foundation or become an impetus for ethnic conflicts (Britannica, 2020). It thus suggests that conflicts are likely if the changes in structures are associated with the deterioration of the social structure or system as a whole. Groups' rivalry can lead to mobilization of multiple parties, which can lead to general hostilities, and armament of groups involved in the conflict within the state (Britannica, 2020). Hence, it the structural causes are from the interactions and changes in the structural aspects of the society.

2.2.8.2 Political factors

Ethnic conflicts in particular are likely in states where contestations of power and representation of political institutions becomes a problem. Herbert (2017) argued

that political to issues, involving power, contestation between actors and the shaping of institutions for the benefit of some (and at the expense of others) become a worrying factor for conflicts to emanate. The existence or lack of existence of stable relations within the political arena of a society have a bearing on whether conflicts are likely to occur and thus, most violent conflicts may become violent if claims of the various parties are incongruous (Britannica, 2020). The existence of political issues appears as a cause for conflict development.

2.2.8.3 Economic and social factors

According to an argument in Britannica (2020), economic problems such as slowdowns, stagnation, deterioration, and collapse of state economic structures serves as sources for tension and hostilities which can lead to destabilization within the society. Discriminatory economic systems in which various groups are faced with inequitable economic access usually generate resentment and contribute to tensions and destabilizations Britannica (2020). Conflict may have political motivations but be prolonged by economic and social motivations, creating disincentives for peace (Berdal & Keen, 1997).

The development and existence of conflicts in traditional societies are shaped by multiple factors that result in the complex dynamics involved. The existing literature on the causes of conflicts expounds on issues that contribute to the exacerbation of conflicts in the society. Yet, the causes of conflict in Akuapem traditional area seems unclear. Herbert (2017) argued that it is important to employ a systematic, contextual and dynamic approach in analyzing and understanding the development of conflict over time while looking at the causes and outcomes of it.

2.2.9 Frames of conflict

Effective mitigation, management or resolution of conflicts requires the understanding of how parties to the conflict acknowledged and defined or framed it (Pinkley, 1994). Burgess (2013) indicated that frames are cognitive frameworks or views that are used by people to help make sense of complex information and situations. That is, individuals or groups establish meanings from situations and circumstances that one finds himself or herself. According to Kaufman and Smith (1999), frames may drive participants' willingness to act, take a stand or join a group. An understanding of the discussions on conflict frames by extant literature reveals that actors' participation in a conflict may result from how the individual or groups perceive the conflict situation. In the view of Burgess (2013), frames can significantly affect the intractability of a conflict by creating mutually incompatible interpretations of events. Hence, the set of lenses and viewpoint used by parties connotes the development of frames that exist prior to conscious process of making decisions for the conflict. Burgess (2013) argued that an essential element in understanding conflict and conflict resolution is the acquaintance one makes with the conflict frames and how it affects its development.

Several authors and scholars have commented on different frames used by parties for their involvement in conflict. According to Issifu (2014), an individual chooses his or her worldview that makes him or her distinct and so they identify themselves in a social identity category in order to enjoy certain values and opportunities. He argued that social identity becomes the outcome of suitable social comparisons made between the members of such groups and other social groupings. His argument is based on analytical study of the social identity theory. He argued that the basic assumption for the identity is that ethnic conflict has its root cause from

social identity. Stronger ethnic groups seeing their strength tend to dominate and exploit weaker groups, which most often lead to violent conflict. The argument is corroborated by Burgess (2013) that, disputants view themselves as having particular identities in the context of a conflict situation. Understanding the identity frames to the conflict gives clearer view to the dynamics of the conflict.

Consequently, large amount of literature analyzes conflicts based on resources. Issifu (2014) argued that resources in a conflicted area becomes a key issue or frame for analyzing conflict situations. Social groups tend to struggle over limited resources. He argued that, in spite of the scarcity of resources, some ethnic groups or usually, one group tend to have more access than other groups and this often led to ethnic conflict.

Studies on frames of conflict are essential to understanding the development of conflict situations in traditional societies. The contributions of authors and scholars to the literature of conflict frames are commended as it provides relevant knowledge for an understanding of how individuals and groups perceive conflicts that exist in the society. Research have shown that conflict frames promote an understanding of why the conflict exist, what actions are important within the conflict and why parties act in the way they do. In the view of Burgess (2013), frames act as sieves through which people analyze information to the conflict, determine their positions and take actions. In spite of this argument, little or no information exist on frames of the conflict in Akuapem traditional area. It is therefore pertinent to ravel the frames that contributes to the dynamism of the conflict in the area.

Conflicts emerge and bear certain characteristics because of a complex interplay between very specific structures and actors involved in the perpetuation the conflict. The overall discussion on the dynamics of the conflict raveled the necessity for exploring the nature, causes, and frames of the conflict. Issifu (2014) argued that ethnic conflicts have less violent outcomes and a positive result to resolution when we consider the dynamics of it. Extant literature expounded on understanding the dynamics of conflicts within social structures. Arguably, it is important to understand the dynamics of conflict. It helps in adopting the approaches or mechanisms appropriate for resolving conflicts. Understanding of the dynamics of a conflict reveals its nature, trends, and factors contributing the conflict.

Literature on dynamics of conflict relates to my work as I sought to study the dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. Rigorous documentation of the dynamics on the conflict in Akuapem traditional area need to be understood. Thus, understanding of the conflict dynamics in the area will help in promoting resolution of the issue. Conflicts, often than not cause society to be saddled with ways to adequately respond and manage its outcome. Yet, most conflict tends to be intractable. What are the dynamics that shape the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional area? I agree with the extant literature on the need to prioritize the dynamics to a conflict. The dynamic analyses should focus on latent as well as manifested issues, trends, frames of conflict and the nature of the conflict to identify potential outbreaks of violence.

2.3 Actors' Influence on Chieftaincy Succession Conflict

Who are the actors to the chieftaincy succession conflict? This question is an overarching one that most conflict analysts, academics and those interested in

conflict resolution pursue. Analyzing conflict actors, their interest and motivation, actor characteristics and relationships of actors is crucial to understanding the conflict situation and raveling peace in many conflicted areas. This section of the review has sub-themes, which expounded main actors to conflicts, external actors, actor characteristics, aims, goals and motivations and relationships of the actors.

2.3.1 Actors and actor characteristics in conflict

Actor analyses are an essential element to consider in conflict analyses. Conflict prevention process should include actor analyses, detailing the main actors, incentives and disincentives of the actors and identifying the 'power brokers' and possibly the external actors to the conflict. Arasli (2011) argued that the global landscape of actors particularly, non-state actors have been continuously evolving in the recent globalization impact. It is therefore essential for conflict analysts to examine and analyze the actors to a conflict in the quest to understand and unravel the dysfunctionality in structures that affect the stability of the society. Arasli (2011) contended that understanding actors to a conflict and the trends to which they operate is necessary for conflict resolution. Herbert (2017) corroborated the argument that analyzing conflict for comprehensive accessible assessment will essentially promote efficient solution if key issues like actor(s) are considered.

Herbert (2017) argued that actors are those concerned with the conflict and have influences in the situation, which should be viewed separately. Conflicts usually emerge with the presence of either parties, who are directly or indirectly involved (Herbert, 2017). His assertion is corroborated by Prah and Yeboah (2011) and Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo, and Gyamfua-Abrefa (2016) who discussed that, actors are all those concerned with the conflict. Actors are not those only perceived to be actively engaged in the conflict situation. Usually, the effects of the conflict

situation can be harsh on bystanders hence, Herbert (2017) recognized actors as those who are influenced and/or affected by the conflict. In many conflict situations, actors to the conflict are not solely based in the conflicted area or community of the conflict. Herbert (2017) argued that actors can be local, national, regional or global who may have competing interests and must make trade-offs. In corroboration to his argument, Arasli (2011) asserted that actors particularly, non-state actors are a constellation of different groups operating on different agenda and on different scale worldwide. Therefore, Herbert (2017) argued that in conflict analysis, the actors that influence conflict and peacemaking are essential to resolving the conflict situation. Therefore, actors can be operationalized in this study as individuals or groups who are perceived to have connections and influence on a conflict situation.

Different dimensions exist to analyzing conflicts actors. Arasli (2011) argued that, there are territorial and structural dimensions to studying conflict. Yet, these dimensions of analyzing conflicts, in the view of Herbert (2017) can be effective with conflict analyses tools. Noteworthy, the actor-mapping tool and the onion actor analysis are essential tools to be used.

Similarly, Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo and Gyamfuaa-Abrefa (2016) contributed to the discussions on the need for actor analysis. In their literature, "Approaches to conflict prevention: some societal issues to consider", they argued that conflict prevention in a society should be understood as a technical social process which requires the services of people with social competencies and technical expertise acting together with parties at the right time to achieve success. They acknowledged the need for external actors who could help resolve conflict. Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo and Gyamfuaa-Abrefa (2016) argued that conflict prevention theory should

focus on what or who should prevent conflict? They again posited that where and how conflict will be resolved is necessary. Actors are participants who are motivated by interests, needs and identities. Adzahlie-Mensah et al. (2016) postulated that conflict prevention should include actor mapping. Actor analysis draws relevant tools to identify the actors and related issues. They assumed that an organised system of conflict prevention, which details the elements, particularly, actors are crucial to conflict prevention. Their source of argument is based on comparative approaches to conflict prevention. Actor mapping in the sense of Adzahlie-Mensah at al. (2016) should consider political culture of the actors. They argued that a typical actor mapping process begins with identifying expectations and incentives driving the desire of actors in the conflicts. The assertion is corroborated by Higgins, Benier, Shenderovich, Bedford, Mazorolle, and Murray (2015) who argued that in order to understand what is at stake for individuals or groups involved in the conflict, actors' interest, needs, goals and concerns must be classified. Actors' perspectives on conflict and its development need to be considered.

Consequently, identifying external actors, usually those willing to build capacity for peace are important. Adzahli-Mensah (2007) argued that successful prevention, resolution or peace building starts with the energies provided by those who are opposed to hostilities in the community afflicted by conflict. Nonetheless, Adzahlie-Mensah et al. (2016) argued that in as much as there are community peace setters, there are spoilers that needs to be identified. They argued that mapping potential spoilers is important to the analysis because they can block or sabotage the prevention process.

One critical step in mapping is to assess the potential role of the different actors and contributions each actor or group of actors can make to the conflict prevention process. Conflict can sometimes be a positive factor to change of a society. Adzahile-Mensah et al. (2016) argued that young individuals who are usually perpetuators of conflict could sometimes be the driving force for change if they do not fight. External actors like political leadership, professionals from the potential conflict zone, opinion leaders, women and religious leaders provide immense support to conflict prevention. Yet, ethnic conflict occurs in many traditional societies of Ghana, of which Akuapem traditional area has been the area of concern recently.

Uexkull and Petterson (2018) who discussed actors and actor characteristics in armed non-state conflicts corroborated discussions by extant literature cited in this thesis, on the need for actor analysis in conflict prevention. Essentially, their argument corroborated Adzhalie-Mensah et al. (2016) on external actors. The actors and their influence to a conflict, similar to issues over which the actors involve in fighting usually shapes the causes, dynamics and consequences of conflict. Uexkull and Petterson (2018) argued that actors and actor characteristics, such as assistance received from foreign patrons, are known to greatly affect conflict dynamics and risk of recurrence. Karlen (2017) who asserted that civil wars that see external supporters providing logistical assistance or weapons are more likely to recur supports their argument.

Uexkull and Petterson (2018) assumed that the issues to the conflict and the actors or actor characteristics shape the dynamics of many conflicts. Their argument is premised on gaps identified in extant literature on actors and actor characteristics in intra-state and inter-state conflicts.

Uexkull and Petterson (2018), argued that for non-state conflicts, where organized non-government groups fight, systematic information about the issue at stake and the motivation to the conflict lack so far as there are little information and systematic data on the actor characteristics. Thus, analyses on actors and actor characteristics are crucial for understanding the issues to conflict. With actor characteristics, the external support to warring parties as well as the identity features of the group should be noted (Uexkull & Petterson, 2018). To this end, Wig and Kromrey (2018) identified that there is usually ethnic identity of communal groups involved in conflict. Uexkull and Petterson (2018) consequently identified identity feature of actors in analyzing actor characteristics. Noteworthy, religious identity and livelihood of the people are identity features they saddles. Notwithstanding the identities, they argued that external support received by warring parties particularly, government actors contribute to the escalation or deescalation of the conflict. The growing nuisance of conflict in many areas affects development of the society. It is agreed with the authors that the data on actors and actor characteristic allows probing into specific issues upon which the parties to the conflict fight as well as the support that promotes the recurrence of the conflicts. Nonetheless, conflicts in our localities persist with little knowledge on actors' characteristics related to mobilization and behaviour of warring parties.

2.3.2 Actor fragmentations in conflict processes

Pearlman and Cunningham (2012) contributed to the discussion on actors in their paper, "non-state actors, fragmentations and conflict processes". Their argument centered on non-state actors, be they in conflict with each other or with existing states and the fragmentation of these actors, which usually affects the peacebuilding processes. Hence, Pearlman and Cunningham (2012) asserted that non-state actors

are organized political groups, not directly connected to the state but pursuing aims that affect vital state interests. They assumed that non-state actors have unique objectives and capacities that should be looked at separately in intra-state conflicts where there seem to be fragmentations among the actors. It thus suggests that each actor or group of actors to a conflict possess specific aims or goals that may align them or shift allegiances. Their argument is based on comparative empirical studies of how actors can splinter, proliferate, merge and splinter again. Focusing on the causes, consequences and dimensions of fragmentations in non-state actors, Pearlman and Cunningham (2012), argued that scrutiny of actor fragmentation aids in understanding the conflict processes by explaining when new actors are likely to emerge or when they will matter in the conflict process. Thus, in trying to solve conflicts, some settlement can cause people to fragment which can cause obstacles to concluding the settlement. They argued that attention to fragmentation yield better understanding of conditions under which we are likely to witness new actors to the conflict. Consequently, understanding actor fragmentation unlocks the complexities of collective identity and the contingency of the linkage between collective identity and collective action.

Pearlman and Cunningham (2012) argued that the strength of ethnic character promotes solidarity that can be used in preventing conflicts. In such situations, reverence to fragmentation within identity-based groups however, reveals sure limits to the extent to which all members share similar preferences, respond to the same incentives, or recognize the same authority structure. However, groups who share ethnic identity are likely not to coordinate in achieving goals. Citing examples from Sri Lanka and Kashmir, Pearlman and Cunningham (2012) discussed those factional elites' defects in the search for peace against what

threatens their survival. Further, they argued that understanding of actor fragmentation enhances knowledge about conflict processes by helping to clarify conditions that likely support resolution as well as those that do not support it. As such, spoilers appear to be a major concern. Pearlman (2009) corroborated this assertion as he postulated that fragmentation not only creates opportunities for factions to challenge a peace settlement but also shapes their very incentives for doing so. Understanding the fragmentation of actors to the conflict is crucial to understanding conflict situations. Yet, knowledge remains insufficient on the actor fragmentation in the Akuapem chieftaincy conflict.

Enormous amount of literature and debate has focused on analyzing and understanding actors and actors' influences as key component to conflict analyses. Credit is given to the authors of extant literature on actors and their related issues as their contribution provide relevant information to the actor analysis. Understanding conflict actors is an important process to conflict analysis. It aims at providing a comprehensive and easily accessible assessment of the issues contested. It helps in knowing and drawing mechanisms for allegiances from those who serve as capacities for peace. Conversely, actor analysis concentrates on spoilers who seem to trigger the situation of conflict and thus hinders any process of peacebuilding. Actor analysis helps to know who the main actors are, the external actors, the interests, concerns and motivations of the actors and the relationship among the actors. Understanding these issues are crucial to knowing what capacities needs to be built in solving the conflict situation. The extant literature on actors is related to my thesis on chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area as I sought to look at the actors involved in the conflict as well as their characteristics.

Individual actors or groups with opposing views usually perpetuate conflicts. Usually, it breaks down relationships in the society. Yet, many ethnic conflicts like the Akuapem chieftaincy conflict persist. Who are the actors to the conflict? What are the motives or incentives to the conflict? What is/are the relationship(s) between the actors? Several attempts in resolving these ethnic conflicts including, the Akuapem chieftaincy succession conflict, nonetheless, the conflict still lingers. Extant literature argues on the presence of spoilers to the peace process in almost every conflict situation. They are the most frequent threat to peace implementation. Who are the spoilers in Akuapem chieftaincy conflict? Consequently, there have been a dramatic rise of groups who seemingly dedicate to working with citizens of conflicted areas in finding lasting peace. Meanwhile, scholars have discussed the unimaginable and unintended consequences of triggering or exacerbating conflicts by actions taken to prevent it. Are there any external actors to the conflict in Akuapem? What role(s) do they play? I agree with the authors of the extant literature on actors that there is the need for actor analysis as it reveals the issues and the dynamics to the conflict.

2.4 Effects of Chieftaincy Succession Conflicts

In the view of Hammill, Crawford, Craig, Malpas and Mathew (2009), conflicts have enormous consequences to the development and sustainability of the affected area. The manifestations of conflicts in our locality bare multiple consequences to the warring parties, bystanders (usually, women and children), and the society. Awedoba (2009) catalogued the consequences of violent conflict at the community level to include heavy loss of lives, injury to affected and innocent bystanders, destruction of public and private properties, ruined social relations, polarization and factionalism of every aspect of social life, exodus of community members to safe

areas, as well as low productivity. The chieftaincy institution as a basic structure in the Ghanaian society is argued by many to be bedeviled with numerous conflicts that hamper its progress and that of the society (Ahiave, 2015). The consequences of these conflicts are enormous and have been expounded in literature. Four subthemes are reviewed under this section.

2.4.1 Economic effects of chieftaincy succession conflict

Conflicts in many situations constitute an impediment to the economic development of the society. Evidence emerged shows that conflict takes a toll on the development and welfare of the population that are subject to continued conflicts, usually in its violence form (Ib \acute{a} ñez, 2016). Understanding the effects of conflict on the individual and the community is crucial to enable those concerned with conflict prevention to engage in the activity of reducing the impact of conflict and thus ravel peacebuilding.

Usually, the results of ethnic conflicts of which chieftaincy conflict is included have been argued to take negative toll on the economic development of many societies. It has been argued as a bane to many communities as terrifying and untold hardships have been experienced throughout the history of man. Ib \acute{a} nez (2016) argued that the economic costs of conflicts are enormous. Peace of conflicted areas is usually maintained at the cost to the state (UNDP, 2012). Ib \acute{a} nez (2016) contended that conflicts usually cause destructions and market limitations. Most ethnic conflicts in Ghana results in the destructions of state and private properties which diverts revenue that could have been used to build new capacities for development in repairing and rebuilding destroyed properties. The argument is corroborated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2012) who indicated that different types of conflicts have different effects on the economy,

however, one of the major effects of the conflicts on the regional economy is the fact that scarce resources (both private and public) are diverted from further development and channeled for maintaining security. Debrah, Owusu-Mensah and Gyampo (2014) contended that conflicts and its associated clashes usually result in destruction of properties, both private and public. When passions of people are inflamed by conflicts, properties, which are worth huge sums of money, are destroyed causing delay in developmental agenda. Many conflicts, which usually culminate into violent clashes, result in reconstruction and rehabilitation of destroyed facilities and infrastructure, which become additional burden for the government and other stakeholders. The destruction of social infrastructure like schools, water and health facilities during violent conflicts severely affects the development of education and health in the region affecting the local labour force needed for production and distribution.

Consequently, people are maimed or killed; markets shrink because of higher transaction costs and reduced demand for goods and services. According to Ibáñez (2016), the economic consequence on individuals commits them to change their behavior towards market and other economic activities. The larger proportion of the population dedicates most of their efforts on avoiding victimization and increasing their chances of survival. In the view of Ibáñez (2016) the dynamics of conflict affects the income of people living within the conflicted area which may exacerbate poverty situations. This notwithstanding, Arias, Ibáñez and Zambrano (2014) discussed that conflict imposes costs on economic activities. Justino (2011) who argued that the adaptation strategies amidst conflict might induce inefficiencies in production and increment in costs corroborates their argument. The facts of their

argument are that most conflicts especially, violent ones are associated with lower productions and revenue generation.

Canterbury and Kendie (2010) argued that given the intensity and violent nature of some conflicts in Ghana noteworthy, conflicts in the Northern region over kingship, it is enough to draw the conclusion that conflict undoubtedly retards the progress of development. In corroboration to this assertion, Debrah, Owusu-Mensah and Gyampo (2014) asserted that conflicts bring economic stagnation since economic activities would be disturbed. Production, distribution and consumption of agricultural and industrial activities are affected negatively. During conflicts, farms, factories, and social amenities such as dams could be destroyed, affecting productivity; protracted conflicts also force both skilled and unskilled personnel into exile (Obeng, 2015). Thus, families, groups and even entire society may be scattered over different places, robbing their native communities or countries of labour force.

2.4.2 Social effects of conflicts

The potency of conflicts to be destructive is omnipresent in almost all social aspects particularly, in all human interaction as indicated by several studies including UNDP (2012), and Rohwerder (2014). Conflict is viewed as a generic process that has its own dynamics in the social arena. There is a consensus in literature that conflicts have resulting effects on; safety and security of community members, the relationships among members, and education and health aspects of the society. The UNDP (2012) discussed the effects of conflicts citing examples from the Konkomba and Nanumba conflict. The discussion of the UNDP (2012) pointed out that conflict results in much negative social effects, which can lead to the breakdown of societies.

Rohwerder (2014) argued that conflict with its accompanied violence can be viewed as a major causal agent of poverty in many societies or perhaps it is seen as an agent that intensifies poverty. Further, it intensifies the risk of accessing quality health care in the society. According to Rohweder (2014), damage to infrastructure, institutions and the destruction of assets in the area of the health and education sectors affect the provision of quality health care and education. The destruction of social infrastructure like schools, dams, and water and health facilities during violent conflicts severely affects the development of education, health and other social services in the conflicted area. This is further exacerbated by the refusal of professionals to take up postings to the conflict area, affecting the delivery of quality health and education services (UNDP, 2012). Consequently, Obeng (2015) contended that during conflicts that are characterized by violence, there might be spread of diseases and injuries that might overwhelm the health facilities. Specifically, violent conflicts sometimes result in some actors polluting community resources such as water bodies and crops, which cause diseases. Notwithstanding this argument, conflicts may result in the death of people leaving dead bodies particularly, infected ones to decompose and cause disease outbreaks through its stench (Obeng, 2015).

Whitley and Kite (2010) argued that conflicts usually result in hatred, animosity, suspicion, fear brewing from social tension and insecurity. Usually, these factors exacerbate conflicts in the society. Evidentially, the UNDP (2012) reported on the Konkomba and Nanumba conflict that according to some estimates, close to 2,000 people were dead. At least 423 villages were burnt or destroyed. Some towns were 'ethnically cleansed'. The conflict left over 178,000 internally displaced people, out of an estimated population of close to 700,000 for the entire region. The

development of peace in the society is largely dependent on the feeling of safety by citizens. The idea of adequate security being provided in the community gives a sense of safety to many citizens. Yet, in many conflict situations, people become frightened and traumatized. It is therefore in the right direction that the UNDP (2012) reported that conflicts lead to internal displacement of people and migration of the youth to the southern sector (in the case of the Northerners) in search of jobs and security. On many occasions, this results in increasing rate of vulnerability in the society. In the spirit of insecurity, economic activities are withheld. It is therefore not surprising as many literature converge that conflict usually leads to poverty.

Social relationships are usually broken when conflicts escalate in many societies. Obeng (2015) asserted that during conflict situations, families, groups and even communities may be scattered causing breakdown in the ties or cohesion that have been created for long. Awedoba (2009) contended that one of the consequences of conflicts particularly, violent ones in the community is ruined social relations, polarization and fictionalisation of every aspect of social life. This argument is corroborated with reference to ethnic conflicts by the UNDP (2012), who asserted that conflicts create severe division and mistrust between ethnic groups.

2.4.3 Political effects of conflicts

Chieftaincy in Ghana is at the center of several types of communal conflicts particularly, those related to ethnicity succession to traditional political office and the struggle over land (Tsikata & Seini, 2004). In the view of Tsikata and Seini (2004), conflicts though localized, when it breaks out in a specific area sometimes, spill into the national political arena. Thus, opposing parties in the conflict muster what political forces that there is with many politicians taking an increasing interest

in the conflict especially, the ones surrounding chieftaincy. The view of Obeng (2015) on the breakdown of family ties as members of the society scatter can also correlate with the loss of a nation-state as conflicts may affect the legitimate authority of the society. This is corroborated by the UNDP (2012) report, which argued that conflicts lead to internal displacement of people and migration of the youth. The displacement and migration of capable and young individuals for future leadership roles in a way implies a breakdown of political will and participation of the members of the society. In most scenarios, these migrants seek for refuge in other state creating a burden to be politically managed by the host state. Meanwhile, these conflicts and its associated violence due to chieftaincy continue to persist in most traditional stats of Ghana.

The effects of conflicts are enormous and at times are detrimental to the development and growth of the society. Extant literature on the effects of conflicts argued that the consequences of conflicts in societies have been strong on the stability and development of the afflicted area. However, conflict can have some positive connotations to the society. It may be directed towards reshaping loose structures and fixing injustices that needs to be addressed. Meanwhile, societal structures may be hurled with contradictions and conflicts that affects the stability of the state (Elwell, 2013). Nonetheless, the effects of the conflict in Akuapem traditional area over the paramount chief position are yet to be documented. How does the conflict in the traditional area affect the society and her member? Raveling the consequences of the conflict in the traditional area is key to understanding the conflict that affects the institution and the society as whole.

Empirical Review of the dynamics of the conflict, Actors' influences and Effects of the issue: This section dealt with the systematic review of literature that answers

questions on a particular phenomenon. The empirical review in this study focuses on researched works and articles that exclusively deals with data gathered by the researcher using specific approaches to research. The works of several scholars and authors have been reviewed based on specific themes generated from the research questions. Three basic themes were reviewed. Accordingly; dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict; actors' influence on chieftaincy succession conflict; effects of chieftaincy succession conflict on the society. These themes are further divided into sub-theme upon which empirical literature are reviewed.

2.5 Dynamics of Chieftaincy Succession Conflict

The dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict are discussed enormously in literature. Discussions in extant literature on the generated sub-themes; conception of chieftaincy, chieftaincy conflict and dynamics of chieftaincy by scholars and authors under the dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict in the society expounds intensively, concerns of dysfunctionality in the institution that affects the development of the society.

2.5.1 Chieftaincy in Ghana

Tonah (2012) empirically studied "the politicization of chieftaincy conflict: the case of Dagbon, Northern Region". He argued that chieftaincy, in spite of its presupposed function as a structure to the complex social system, has some form of dysfunctionality. His key argument is that, the institution in Ghana has gained considerable amount of recognition and importance over the years. Meanwhile, rights preserved for a small group of privileged persons is being scrambled for by contemporary elites and basic traditional elites (royals), affecting the functionality of the institution. The view of Hagan (2006) corroborated Tonah's (2012) assertion as he postulated that the chieftaincy institution has become highly competitive with

educational qualification and professionalism being a yardstick to the title in many traditional settings. The new development has preempted non-royals, but highly educated and with high degree of wealth and professionalism; claim to certain chieftaincy positions. The work of Tonah (2012) is positioned within the conflict management discourse. He argued that the emergence of new elite groups' aside traditional elites and the expansion of capital economy have transformed the institution which has made it more competitive. Tonah's (2012) argument is based on the assumption that members of the institution particularly, chiefs and queens have been recognized as agents of development. However, there has been reduced ability and tendency of many chiefs in lobbying and making requisition of resources from their subjects for communal development; therefore, chieftaincy titles whether high or low are given to wealthy, educated and politically influential persons who can use their contacts to raise funds for development of the local areas. Based on comparative analyses on chieftaincy and politics since the colonial era, his work can be justified. The fact of his argument is that chieftaincy in almost all traditional areas of Ghana was a preserve for small privileged persons who claim to be patrilineal or matrilineal descendants of the founding members of traditional communities. However, the post-colonial and post-independence era has seen the emergence of new political systems and social groups, which has contributed to the transformation of the chieftaincy institution, largely because of the transfer of major powers from chiefs to the newly created political systems. The work of Tonah (2012) is applicable to my study because his findings acknowledged the essence of chieftaincy institution. This is due to roles the many chiefs play in lobbying for developments in traditional states. Yet, it is marred with conflicts and to the worst

of it; the politicization of the conflicts has been a greater issue. Most conflicts affect the stability and development of the institution as well as the state.

2.5.2 Chieftaincy conflict in Ghana

Ahiave (2013) in his thesis presented to the University of Ghana, Legon; "Conflict and Conflict resolution in Ghana: The Case of the Dagbon conflict", contributed to literature on conflict and conflict resolution in Ghana. His study employed mixed method approach where he sought used both qualitative and quantitative ways in collecting and analyzing data to offset the weakness in either the qualitative or the quantitative approach. Data collected were both primary and secondary, which aided in his empirical study. Primary to his argument, Ahiave (2013) contended that peace in Ghana is vulnerable to intermittent communal violence and ethnic conflicts such as chieftaincy conflicts.

He studied the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict. His study revealed key issues to the conflict and the institution. Ahiave (2013) argued that the chieftaincy institution is bedeviled with numerous conflicts and thus, been hampering progress of many societies. With the prolonged nature of the conflict in Dagbon, Ahiave (2013), argued that the conflict has been continually protracted even though there have been several efforts in resolving it. His argument is traded on the assumption that there are 'spoilers' to resolving the conflict. Arguably, many conflict situations destruct the peace, stability and growth of the society yet; some people or actors also benefit from the conflict situations. His work is located in the conflict management discourse. He argued that understanding of the conflict situation and impacts of it could prove effective to propose remedies to chieftaincy conflicts. His argument is based on historical analysis of the Dagbon conflict. Nonetheless, there

is a gap of knowledge on the research design used for the study as the study failed to identify and explain a particular design in the methodology.

However, the facts gathered in his argument is that many chieftaincy conflicts have been protracted, recurring across decades or even centuries. He argued that structural factors in the society fueled and sustained most of these conflicts. Socio-cultural, political and economic factors inflamed and sustained the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict (Ahiave, 2013). Understanding and resolving the key questions to the conflict is the only way to ravel peace in the area. Meanwhile, the Dagbon conflict appears to be recently resolved with several stakeholders and external actors playing a part in it. Nonetheless, it is only hoped that the conflict in Dagbon is not protracted since it is unclear as to how the citizens and natives of the area perceive the resolution.

The empirical study of Ahiave (2013) posited the institution of chieftaincy to be raveled with conflict situations that affects the development of the institution and the society. Awedoba (2009), Boafo-Arthur (2003) and Issifu (2015), corroborated the argument of Ahiave (2013) that the institution of chieftaincy has become a causative agent for communal conflicts usually succession conflicts. It has thus, been seen as a probable cause of instability in the society. He assumed that succession to political offices (including that of chieftaincy) is susceptible to conflicts. The conflicts in many parts of Ghana specifically, the Dagbon conflict is intractable due to institutional/structural and behavioral lags of the parties involved. The study is of relevance to contemporary issues of ethnic conflicts as it provides information on the generic and specific causes of ethnic conflicts particularly, ones related to chieftaincy. It deals with the intervention processes that are necessary for conflict resolution. His work is related to mine as I sought to explore a chieftaincy

succession dispute. A search into this issue will prove crucial to understanding the issues involved in the conflict and thus contribute to providing lasting peace.

Conflicts usually escalate mutual fears, anxieties, and insecurities. His dangers of protracted disorder should not be underestimated. Yet, chieftaincy conflicts continue to prevail in many societies. Why is chieftaincy conflict a common type of conflict in the society? I agree with the author's point of depoliticizing the institution and its associated conflicts.

Issifu (2015) on the topic "an analysis of conflicts in Ghana: the case of Dagbon chieftaincy" contributed to literature on ethnic conflicts using qualitative approach to research. He argued that the Dagbon conflict has been protracted duly because of lack of justice, political interferences, mistrust and the relegation of traditional conflict resolution methods. His source of argument is based on the comparative analysis of the conflict resolution in Dagbon and Rwanda's traditional Gacaca conflict resolution system. Dwelling into some implications of the Dagbon conflict, Issifu (2015) explained that the conflict has had several effects on the society, affecting stability and equilibrium due to the numerous atrocities resulting from the conflict in the region. Yet, ethnic conflicts based on chieftaincy continued to occur in the region. With recent development of resolution to the Dagbon conflict, it is yet to be known by many as one to a lasting peace in the area.

Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) critically examined the narratives of contestants over the contested oral tradition in their empirical studies "chieftaincy succession dispute in Nanum, Northern Ghana: interrogating the naratives of the contestants". Their quest was to answer perplexing questions on the procedures in selecting a Bimbilla Naa; the legitimate authority in selecting the Bimbilla Naa; the ritual and

who to perform the rituals for the selection and installation of the Bimbilla Naa. The study employed a qualitative approach where he combined qualitative methods; observation and interview in obtaining data about the Nanum chieftaincy conflict. However, their empirical literature did not specify the type of research design used for the study. The study was carried out in the Nanum traditional area.

Primary to the argument of Anamzoya and Tonah (2012), the conflict is a power struggle between two contestants to the Bimbilla skin from the Gbugmali royal gate; however, it is a contest for power between the most powerful kingmakers of the Nanum traditional area. Their work can be located in the discourse of conflict as their study emphatically examined the Nanum conflict in the light of its narratives. The basic assumption of their argument is that behind the contest of chieftaincy title, there is a power struggle between the major kingmakers in the traditional area. Conflict is inevitable in societies and without doubt, chieftaincy conflicts resulting from power struggles have been the most predominant one in Ghana. Halawayhi (2008) contended that, in the activities leading to the burial of a late Naa and the selection and installation of a new Naa, certain roles are traditionally allocated to the kingmakers but with utmost importance given to two major kingmakers; the Juo Naa and Kpatihi Naa. Awedoba (2009) contended that the Juo Naa and supporters of opposition to the Kpatihi Naa contested the selection and enskinment of the Bimbilla Naa, which was first done by some kingmakers led by Kpatihi Naa. The fact of the argument is that it is difficult to determine the cultural guidelines, rules, or statutes of succession. It thus reveals the changing traditions and malleability of roles amongst office holders in Nanum.

Understanding the underlying issues to the many chieftaincy conflicts is necessary to raveling peace in the traditional societies. It reveals the elements or factors that

inform the dynamics of a conflict. Their literature is important to contemporary works on chieftaincy conflict as it reveals the underlying elements that inform the intractability of the conflict. My work is related to theirs as I sought to explore the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. Nonetheless, their study focused on the Nanum tradtional area. The researcher commends Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) for their contribution to literature on chieftaincy conflicts. Essentially, their work revealed serious underlying elements and factors that contribute to the conflict. Nonetheless, their work has a gap on the design employed for the study. The chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area is yet to be rigorously documented. Therefore, understanding the issues to the conflict would ensure effective means to achieving peace.

Chieftaincy conflict has been tagged the major source of instability in Ghana. Yet, many as a relevant component of the society deem the institution. Meanwhile, the high and fierce nature of competing for chieftaincy positions in many traditional areas culminates in many inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts. Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) concluded in their studies that; the chieftaincy institution in the area portrays a weak structural system; there is manipulation of oral tradition by the very people in charge of the conflict because the criteria for selecting the Naa are not duly codified. Will these same results be manifested in the study of the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem? I agree with the authors that given the ease with which elders and kingmakers can re-interpret the past, alter their roles and manipulate the process of selecting and enskinning a king,

Oduro-Awusi and Afro (2013) in their work "chieftaincy dispute in Akuapem traditional area: a search for solution", employed a qualitative approach to studying the conflicts in the Akuapem traditional area. Their focus was studying the

major causes and effects of chieftaincy conflicts in Akuapem traditional area. However, their study dealt into the inter-tribal conflicts that occurred in the past within the traditional area.

The primary argument in the study was that the chieftaincy institution has been a relevant aspect of the Ghanaian society since time immemorial. However, conflicts have been a major problem in the institution. They argued that conflict is not a novel issue to the structure. Their work can be located in the conflict and conflict resolution discourse. They assumed that chieftaincy conflict escalating in the traditional areas with poor resolution poses problems resulting in the disruption of the highly noted respect for humanity and peaceful coexistence among people in the area. Examining the chieftaincy conflict in our societies is essential to finding lasting peace and unity among the people of Akuapem traditional area. Duetsch (1998) posited that conflict is a pervasive aspect of life but most people have developed only meagre skills for handling the difficult conflicts they confront. The contractual history of inhabitants and chieftaincy of the traditional area becomes the source of his argument. The growing development of societies has seen the transformation of the locality and the institution, which has been highly contested. They argued that understanding the underlying elements (causes and effects) of the conflict and tracing the historical perspective pertaining the formation of the traditional area is essential to finding lasting peace. The findings of their work revealed that the Akuapem state is the Akuapem state is a heterogeneous, with two major ethnic groups who came together because of war. Consequently, the causes of the conflict in the traditional area have been about dispute over land, succession to a throne, misappropriation of stool properties and succession to a stool.

Their work traced the historical antecedents of conflicts and organization of the traditional area. Their work is of relevance in contemporary literature on chieftaincy and conflict as it reveals the relevance and historical perspectives of chieftaincy. Understanding the erstwhile conflict situation in Akuapem traditional area is of relevance to understanding the nature, issues and context of the current chieftaincy conflict in the area. It is important to commend the authors of these empirical studies as their work gives insight into the makeup of the traditional area, the erstwhile conflict situation and the causes and effects of the conflict in the traditional area.

The consequences of chieftaincy conflicts have been strong on development in conflicted societies. Human relationships, properties, productivity and human lives are usually affected negatively. Yet, ethnic conflicts continue to emanate and develop in many traditional areas. A worthy question to ask is that, what are the causes and effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area? Their work failed to address some issues in methodology; the research design, philosophical underpinnings, the sample and sample size as well as method of data analysis were not addressed. Their focus was mainly on addressing the causes and effects of the conflicts as well as tracing the makeup of the traditional area. Meanwhile, many issues relating to the dynamics such as, the nature, trends of the conflict as well as actors and actor influences were not addressed in their studies.

2.5.3 Dynamics of conflicts

Relative peace enjoyed by many in Ghana has accounted for the assertion that the Ghanaian society is one of the peaceful societies in Africa. However, there exist enormous conflict situations like the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area, which has a possibility of affecting the developmental agenda of the society.

Conflict prevention has been the focus of many stakeholders in the society. Herbert (2017) views the understanding of conflict dynamics to be an important aspect in raveling peace in the society. Accordingly, empirical data abound in the field of conflict and conflict management on the need to analyze the dynamics of conflicts in our communities in order to ravel peace and achieve social cohesion.

Mahama and Longi (2013) provided a historical analysis of conflicts in Bawku, Dagbon, Chuchuliga and Konkomba in their article "conflicts in Northern Ghana: search for solutions, stakeholders and way forward". His work employed the use of secondary data and content analysis. In their discussion, they mainly argued on understanding of the dynamics in conflict to ensuring effective management of conflict and securing peace. The resulting issues, trends and/or nature of a particular conflict situation appear to be paramount to resolving and finding lasting peace in the society. Their work is located within conflict management discourse. Their argument is based on the assumption that the best way to manage conflict is to first understand the dynamics of conflict. They argued that such understanding is useful to determining the approaches that are suited for managing a particular conflict situation. Their argument is based upon their qualitative historical analysis of four case studies on Northern Ghana conflicts. They argued that the approaches used by intervening parties or groups to resolve the conflict were similar, however, these intervening approaches worked in some of the cases and failed in others. They argued that unless the underlying issues in the Bawku and Dagbon conflicts are dealt with, it would be difficult to securing peace in these areas. The only way to unearth the underlying issues in the conflict is analyzing the dynamics involved in the conflict. Meanwhile, recently the Dagbon conflict appears to be resolved. However, it is yet to be known how the people perceive the peace process in their

land. Understanding the dynamics of the conflict and these interventions is necessary for the search of lasting peace in the conflicted area. It also helps in adopting and designing the approaches or mechanisms appropriate for resolving the conflicts. The consequences of these conflicts have been so strong on development in areas that experience it. Yet, the Bawku conflict remains unresolved. Why is the Bawku conflict still proving difficult to resolve?

Penu and Osei-Kufuor (2016) in their work "understanding conflict dynamics: identifying 'attractors' in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict" argued that while Ghana has been praised as generally peaceful, it is obvious that violence occurs time to time in conflicts that may be ethnic, religious, economic or political in nature. The major argument made by Penu and Osei-Kufuor (2016) is that the success of peacebuilding efforts during conflicts relies heavily on the ability of peace-building agents and conflict managers to understand the dynamics of conflict. They asserted that peace-building efforts could be achieved by analyzing the dynamics and complexities to the conflict. Their argument is supported by the assertion of the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCRD) (2013) who argued that peace-building is a complex and continuously changing term with several key characteristics including, the long-term nature of the process, the interdependence of the actors and the multidimensional nature of the process. Resolving conflict needs to be based on understanding the dynamics of the conflict (Penu & Osei-Kufuor, 2016). They argued that the understanding of the conflict dynamics has implications for the success of peace-building efforts. Their argument is based upon the dynamics of the long-term intractable ethnic conflict between the Nkonya and Alavanyo in the Volta region. They assumed that ethnic conflicts have interwoven factors that brings the dynamisms and complexities to the conflict.

Therefore, any peace process to a conflict should be informed by the dynamics to the conflict.

The fact of their argument is that, there are elements that serve as positive attractors and negative attractors to Nkonya and Alavanyo conflict. They argued that the context of the Nkonaya-Alavanyo conflict is multidimensional and thus, the understanding of the elements has implications for raveling peace in the area. The argument of Penu and Osei-Kufuor (2016) supported the assertion of Tsikata and Seini (2004) who postulated that structural rigidities has contributed to the multidimensional nature of conflicts. They argued that understanding the underlying issues of conflict in Nkonya-Alavanyo is essential to securing peace in the areas. According to them, the only way to unearth these underlying issues and resolve the conflict amicably is by analyzing the dynamics involved and pays attention to new and specific approaches that transform the conflict. Meanwhile, the Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict appears to be protracted. What is/are the cause of the conflict protraction?

Their work expounded that understanding of the dynamics is essential as it reveals specific factors or issues that underline the complexities of a conflict using exploratory qualitative study. It is therefore relevant to contemporary conflict studies as it focuses on identifying and understanding the factors that inform the intractability of conflicts in the society. Their work is related to my work because I sought to analyze the dynamics of the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area.

Issifu (2015) corroborated the argument on conflict dynamics by extant literature in his empirical studies; "An analysis of conflicts in Ghana: the case of Dagbon

Chieftaincy". His primary argument is that the key step to conflict resolution is to understand the intractability nature and dynamics of the conflict phenomenon; and to employ traditional conflict resolution system. He argued that conflicts happen when a particular set of factors and conditions converge. Relating to his studies on the Dagbon conflict, he assumed that viewing historically noted ethnic animosities in only one direction is insufficient to finding lasting solution to conflict situations. In this sense, understanding key issues and the nature of conflict is crucial. He argued that limiting explanations of ethnic conflict solely to primordial causes implies a degree of ignorance and prejudice towards the societies affected by conflict. A comprehensive understanding of the dynamics including the nature, causes and actors of ethnic conflict is essential (Issifu, 2015). Thus, external actors or those concerned about the issue must move beyond just discussions of mental issues to search for more holistic explanations.

The facts of his argument are that the intractable nature of the conflict goes beyond the primordial factors. Thus, lack of justice, political interference, mistrust and the relegation of traditional conflict resolution methods are reasons why Dagbon conflict is protracted. Issifu (2015) asserted that ethnic conflict usually has more than one facetted factor that converge to result in the issue. Therefore, finding a lasting solution require a thorough understanding of the dynamics involved in it. He argued that there is no single causative issue to ethnic conflict. Clearly, analyzing the dynamics of conflicts identifies high stake distributional issues. He therefore expounded some high-stake distributional issues. Particularly, frames based on theories that analyzes and supports conflicts. Noteworthy, the identity frames and resource frames were discussed. Accordingly, the identity frame is expounded as associating oneself with a particular group, association or society. According to

Issifu (2015), an individual chooses his or her worldview that makes him or her distinct and so they identify themselves in a social identity category in order to enjoy certain values and opportunities. His argument is based on analytical study of the social identity theory. He argued that the basic assumption for the identity is that ethnic conflict has its root cause from social identity. Stronger ethnic groups seeing their strength tend to dominate and exploit weaker groups, which most often lead to violent conflict. In addition, he argued that resources in a conflicted area become a key issue or frame for analyzing conflict situations. Social groups tend to struggle over limited resources. He argued that, in spite of the scarcity of resources, some ethnic groups or usually, one group tend to have more access than other groups and this often led to ethnic conflict.

Methodologically, the researcher employed a qualitative approach in gathering and analyzing data on the issue. His study emphatically employed both primary and secondary data. He therefore used observation and interviews to gather the data in the Dagbon traditional area. However, his work did not state clearly the research design used for the study.

Analyzing the dynamics to the conflict and its intervention is necessary for the search of lasting peace in the area. It helps reveal the existing factors that converge to inform the dynamics of the conflict. It thus reveals that though factors to conflicts can be general, understanding the dynamics can reveal specific elements that are peculiar to the society. This therefore may require specific intervention methods noteworthy, traditional intervention system to resolve the conflict. As I sought to explore the dynamics to the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area, the work of Issifu (2015) is relevant to my studies. The dynamics

of the conflict are yet to be documented. Understanding of the dynamics to the conflict in Akuapem traditional area would ensure effective conflict resolution.

The underlying elements of conflicts inform the dynamics of conflict situations in the society. In the quest to resolve conflicts, the focus should be on analyzing the dynamics peculiar to the conflict. For sustainable peace, specific traditional approaches by the traditional authorities can be used to tackle the underlying elements of the conflicts. The Dagbon chieftaincy conflict appears to be resolved with the enskinment of a new chief. However, what remains a gap is whether the resolution is a lasting one or the conflict has just been protracted. I agree with Issifu (2015) that understanding the dynamics of the conflict phenomenon and applying traditional resolution methods is key to conflict resolution.

2.6 Actors' Influence on Chieftaincy Succession Conflict

Ethnic conflicts are manifested as a contestation between multiple actors based on different frames. Who are the main actors? What are their roles to the conflict? What are their interests, opinions, goals and motivations? Are there external actors? What is the relationship between the actors? These are concerns of many who are involved in conflict analyses and resolution. Addressing these concerns are crucial to raveling peace processes in conflicted areas. Enormous empirical literature has been entered into the field of actors and actors' influence on ethnic conflicts.

2.6.1 Conflict actors

Conflict actors are an essential component to conflict analyses. Actors can be said to be those involved in conflict. Upon review of literature concerning conflict analyses, little empirical data on actors and actors' influences exist in the broad spectrum of conflict analyses and discussions. Hence, there is the need for an

extensive review of actors to the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area to contribute to knowledge the role of main and external actors to a conflict.

Faanu (2016) in his thesis; "dealing with traditional conflicts: a review of the actors, mechanisms and dynamics of the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict in the Northern Region of Ghana", looked at third party or external actors, their roles and mechanisms employed in the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict and how actors perceived their work. His work employed a qualitative approach to research with it associated case study design.

Key argument by Faanu (2016) is that in the realization of conflict resolution, external actors (usually, state and non-state actors) work to promote peace and thus change the behaviour and attitude of disputants. Meanwhile, Herbert (2017) argued that most internal conflicts have world external actors, backing the main powers to the conflict and thus, affects the capacity for peacebuilding. However, Faanu (2016) argued that a better understanding of actors influencing and shaping intrastate conflict and mechanisms employed by external actors to mitigate the conflict is necessary for conflict resolution. He argued that usually, there is friction between tradition and modern democratic practices in the process of king making causing it difficulty. However, there is the need for resolution to avoid the society being plunged into chaos or destruction. His work is located in the conflict resolution perspective. He assumed that in most ethnic conflicts unbiased and independent third-party actors are needed for effective resolution of the Dagbon conflict. Webel and Galtung (2007) argued that in the effort of external actors helping resolve conflicts, the external actors have to build effective rapport with the disputants. He argued that external or neutral actors' ability to mitigate conflict depends on the legitimacy of the neutral persons, the mechanisms/strategies of resolution employed and how such persons are perceived to overcome the deadlock.

His argument is based on the actors' influence on conflict resolution and mechanisms used to solve the Dagbon conflict. The facts of his argument are that both state and non-state actors and mechanisms have been employed in solving the Dagbon conflict. Accordingly, the Wuako commission and the committee of Eminent Kings were established by the state. Consequently, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Faith Based Organisations and NGOs have been categorized as part of non-state actors contributing to the development of peace in the area. The influences of actors affect the development of the conflict; its execration and resolution. However, he argued that the mechanisms employed by external actors to the conflict are different depending on their capacities.

The work of Faanu (2016) is relevant to contemporary studies of conflict and conflict resolution because it gives a clue on the role of external actors and their influence to resolving conflicts. Consequently, his studies focused on the mechanisms that were employed by external actors as well as how local members in Dagbon viewed the presence of external actors in resolving the conflict. However, their work overlooked the main actors to the conflict and whether, they contributed to solving the conflict. Nonetheless, their work is related to mine as I sought to study and understand the actors in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. The main actors as well as external actors are yet to be explored and documented. Thus, an understanding of the actors to the conflict and their influences would ensure effective ways of addressing some issues to the conflict. Thereby, resolving the situation in the traditional area.

The rippling effects of the Dagbon conflict have been enormous. It is worth mentioning that the seemingly peaceful nature of the area is crucial to safeguarding lives, properties and promote productivity. However, it is worth asking that; is the seemingly calm and peaceful environment in Dagbon because of the work of the eminent chiefs? Was the work of the external actors effective? Were there other relevant external actors, involved in the resolution process? What were the contributions of the main actors in resolving the conflict? I agree with the Faanu (2016) as he argued that the roles of external actors, their mechanisms of conflict resolution and their legitimacy in the conflicted area are crucial components contributing to the development of peace.

2.7 Effects of Chieftaincy Succession Conflict

Aganah (2008) researched on "the effects of chieftaincy conflicts on local development; the case of the Bawku East Municipality". He employed qualitative approach to research in studying the effects of chieftaincy conflicts in Bawku East Municipality using case study design.

His basic argument to the study centered on the idea that chieftaincy conflict in the Northern and Upper East regions specifically, Dagbon and Bawku have extremely been violent. His work is located in the conflict management discourse. He assumed that conflict has negatively affected the socio-economic development of the Bawku East Municipality. Osei-Tutu (2008) contended that though chieftaincy conflicts are largely localized and the associated violence hardly spills over into neighbouring traditional states, the conflicts social, political and economic ripples become felt beyond the conflict zone. Jonsson (2007), in a CRISE working paper on traditional leadership and ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana, claimed that conflicts destroyed resources and development project. The facts of Agana's

argument are that chieftaincy conflict in the area affected security and safety, economic activities, properties, and social services negatively. Aganah (2008) argued that conflict in Bawku has adversely affected the safety and security of people. The increased number of death and injury in the area has caused fear and panic among many. His findings revealed that the perennial violence claims several lives in the municipality. Consequently, conflicts in Bawku have adversely affected production, market and investment in agriculture, the dominant economic activity in the Bawku East Municipality. The conflicts in the municipality costs farmers' income. Consequently, his findings revealed that commerce and industrial activities are also affected negatively. Empirical data gathered by Agana (2008) expounded that there is destruction of private and public properties, which causes delay in development. Usually, there is displacement of lives. Many people escape the perennial violence and its negative consequences in Bawku East Municipality. Again, his work revealed that the conflict affects the allocation of institutional structures. Asontaba bricks and Tidita bricks relocated to Bolgatanga from Bawku East Municipality (Marley, 2008).

The empirical data has shown that the chieftaincy conflict in Bawku East municipality revealed negative impacts of conflicts that need to be resolved. The work is relevant as conflict continue to the challenge the society and the institution. His work is related to mine as I sought to explore the effects of conflicts in the Akuapem traditional area because of the chieftaincy succession conflict. The strength of their work can be located in the organization and the theories used. Conflict is having been argued to have enormous negative effects on the society and on individuals. Yet, the conflict in Bawku is proven difficult to resolve. Why is the Bawku conflict being difficult to resolve?

Conflicts, especially violent ones, in a society has many rippling effects on the society's developmental agenda and perhaps, on individuals living in the society. Meanwhile, the activity has been seen to be inevitable in our societies. However, understanding the effects of conflict is an important process to finding the need for conflict in the society or resolving the conflict situation whiles we provide lasting peace in the community. Understanding the need for analyzing the effects is necessary for finding effective and efficient solutions to conflict. By analyzing the effects of the situation, it helps understand the consequences of a particular type of conflict situation in our traditional societies. The effects of conflicts cannot be generalized, as being the same to all conflict situations across the world, even though there can be similarities and transferability of some effects in different locations of conflicts. It is acknowledged that different conflicts might occur in different situation and thus, understanding the effects of these specific conflict situations underscores the need to device specific strategies for resolving conflicts and address situations that appear to be overlooked. The extant literature on "socioeconomic effects of conflicts" relates to my work because I sought to inquire into the socio-economic effects of conflicts in the Akuapem chieftaincy succession dispute. The socio-economic effects of the current succession dispute over the paramountcy have not been rigorously documented. Thus, understanding of the effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area would give light to the consequences of the situation and thus, contribute to finding lasting peace in the area.

Asamoah (2014) engaged in a qualitative study on the ethnic conflict that occurred between Nkonya and Alavanyo in the Volta region. He employed a case study design to studying "ethnic conflicts: a threat to Ghana's International Stability. A

case of Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict in the Volta region". The study examined why the conflict persisted for decades despite numerous intentions for resolution, and the effects of the conflict on communities involved.

Primary to his argument, constant reoccurrence of ethnic conflict poses a threat to the peace and stability of Ghana. He argued that Ghana's peace has been envied by many countries; yet, occasional ethnic violence particularly from chieftaincy has put the stability of the nation in limbo. Their work is located in conflict and conflict resolution discourse. He assumed that conflict have had devastating effects on the society. The source of his argument is based on a case study of the Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict. He argued that conflict has persisted for decades despites numerous intentions for resolution and thus, has had several effects on the society. The findings of his studies revealed that the conflict has affected social, political and economic values of the society. His studies also revealed that the Nkonya-Alayanyo conflict is a parcel that reveals dispute over a piece of land for over a decade now. The land, which has been argued as a traditional heritage, that needs to be protected and secured, regardless the effect. The fact of the argument is that the consequences of the Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict has been devasting; affecting the socio-economic and psychological aspects of the lives of people living in these communities and placing them in a perpetual state of insecurity.

The empirical study of Asamoah (2014) is very useful to contemporary study of conflict and conflict resolution as it provides a broad insight into the ethnic problems among Africans today. His work asserted that the issues resulting from ethnic conflicts are not solely limited to one area, but are also prevalent in other ethnic communities. A major strength of his work stems from his recommendation that to overcome the challenges of ethnic conflict, constant tolerance and

understanding in times of covert or overt aggression from one another is necessary. Consequently, he argued that, concessions, compromising and commitment by external actors to ensure lasting peace in the conflicted area can help resolve the challenge.

Their work is related to the study of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area as in the researcher explored the effects of the conflict. The effects are yet to be rigorously studied. What are the effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area? The findings of this study are crucial to raveling the problems associated with the conflict. If conflicts are left unchecked or unresolved, it could extend beyond the communal borders. In the light of finding the effects of the chieftaincy succession conflicts, recommendations will be made.

Conflicts have enormous effects on the development of a society. Meanwhile, the kind of effects that is driven by conflicts in ethnic societies has been a major concern for many. The consequences of conflicts have been hard on development in the areas of relationships. Toonen (1999) asserted that the "guinea fowl war" of 1999 in the Northern region affected inter-ethnic cooperation. It also affects lives, properties and productivity. Yet, ethnic conflict especially, chieftaincy conflicts continue to persist in our traditional societies. It is important to acknowledge the extant literature on their works on the effects of conflicts to development. Nonetheless, the effects are focused only on the negative aspects of conflicts. Are there any positive effects of conflicts? I agree with the extant literature that contends that conflicts can be context specific and thus, the effects can be specific to a society. However, some effects can also transcend to other societies.

2.8 Summary

This section of the study reviewed literature based on themes that emerged from research questions in chapter one as well as relevant concepts related to the issue under discussion. Hence, conceptual and empirical review was resort to. The first part of the section dealt with the theoretical underpinning to the study. The Realistic conflict theory (RCT) was used to explain the conflict within the chieftaincy institution and the society. The theory underscores that conflicts, contradictions and stereotyping exist when people or groups with different interests and goals compete over limited resources such as political positions and power, which results in negative relations. Thus, the theory stresses on the idea that conflict is part of the social order, which usually arises because of the pursuance of interests.

Consequently, emerging themes from research questions and concepts related to the work were revied under conceptual review section. Accordingly, the chieftaincy institution, conception of conflict, chieftaincy conflict, dynamics of conflicts, actors to conflicts, and effects of conflicts were reviewed. The section revealed gaps in extant literature, which needs to be filled.

Again, empirical review was done under this section. Based on same themes drawn from research questions, the researcher reviewed empirical literature. The empirical literature reviewed, were relevant to the context of this study as it provided relevant information to studying the issue. However, issues of; the dynamics of chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem traditional area; actors to the conflict in the traditional area and their influences; and the effects experienced as a result of the conflict are gaps in literature. It was therefore the aim of this study to contribute empirical data to these issues.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Methodology is a framework that clarifies and delineates the study, and establishes the requirements to fit the research needs (Kilani & Kobziev, 2016). It deals with grand philosophies, approaches and assumptions that guide the research. It therefore justifies the research methods (research design, population, sample and sampling techniques, instruments, data collection procedures and analyses) and its applicability based on the approach adopted. Methodology in this study is seen as a framework, which is associated with a particular philosophical underpinning, and or paradigmatic assumption that is used to conduct the research on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area.

3.1 Philosophical Underpinnings

In the view of Creswell (2014), philosophical ideas influence the practice of research hence, the researcher needs to consider a philosophical worldview that ought to be brought to the study. Research philosophy is argued as the basic set of beliefs that guides the study of a phenomenon (Guba, 1990). The researcher's philosophical worldview is dependent on interpreting the abstract descriptions of meanings formed from human experiences and perspectives. Therefore, interpretivism is the philosophical worldview of the researcher. Myers (2008) argued that interpretivism is a philosophical viewpoint that allows researchers to interpret elements of the study because access to reality is based on social constructions. The philosophy is of relevance to the study because individuals usually develop subjective meanings of their experiences to a phenomenon or context. These meanings are varied and multiple hence, it allows the researcher

who operates as a social actor to appreciate the differences between people as well as societies. In addition, the focus of the philosophy allowed the researcher to employ multiple methods in order to reflect different aspects of the issue within the context.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The researcher's paradigm is based on ontological and epistemological positions (Cresswell, 2014). Accordingly, ontology addresses the question; what is reality? The researcher therefore, believes that the nature of truth or reality is subjective and thus, is seen as multiple depending on the individual's perspective. Therefore, subjectivism becomes the ontological position of the researcher. That is, the nature of truth or reality as identified by the researcher is relative to the one holding or perceiving the truth. Consequently, epistemology addresses the question; how can one know reality or truth? It refers to how an individual understands knowledge or truth, how he or she understands his or her thinking process and the understanding of how others think of him or her. It thus considers how one can examine and know reality. The researcher believes that reality can best be known when it is interpreted to discover the underlying meanings. Therefore, the researcher seeks the interpretivist epistemology. The research paradigm is essential to underlying the approach adopted for the study.

3.3 Research Approach

Babbie (2012) contended that research approach is a systematic manner through which data is collected and analysed. It can therefore be argued that, research approach is a broad spectrum of plans and procedures that present detailed methods for the study. Informing the decision of an approach to the study is the paradigmatic assumption the researcher brings to the study. Based on the paradigm of the

researcher, the chieftaincy succession conflict is studied using the qualitative approach. The qualitative approach offers an in-depth study and understanding to issues. In the view of Berg and Howard (2012), qualitative approach to research is based on the meanings, concepts, and descriptions social actors bring to a particular interaction. This is to help examine and understand the issue in Akuapem Traditional Area using multiple methods. Consequently, the qualitative approach offers the researcher the opportunity to explore issues involved in the study of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area effectively.

3.4 Research Design

Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011), contended that a research design is a framework of strategies or methods of inquiry uniquely designed to fit the nature of the research and guide the conduct of the study. In this regard, the ethnographic design was used to examine the issue based on its context thus, Akuapem traditional area. Allen (2017) argued that ethnography is a qualitative research design that allows the researcher to study a social or cultural group with the aim to understand specific issues within it. The adoption of this research design was necessitated as the researcher sought to understand the issue in relation to the context of the society. Hence, the design was appropriate for the study as it allowed for adequate interpretation and in-depth understanding of issues within the context of the Akuapem traditional area.

3.5 Research Setting

The study was based in the Akuapem traditional area, in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Being the context under which the issue is studied, the traditional area is described as one of the most revered states in Ghana. The Akuapem Traditional Area covers a large area, about 450 square kilometers, in the Eastern region of

Ghana. It comprises about 30 main towns and about 200 satellite towns, villages or suburbs. However, traditional governance system categorizes the traditional area into 17 traditional states under five main established divisions, with the highest traditional seat in Akropong-Akuapem in the Akuapem North Municipality (Akuapem Kingdom, 2019).

It is important to establish that the traditional area of Akuapem transcends one municipality; it includes all the towns in the Akuapem North Municipality and the Okere District as well as large part of the Akuapem South Municipality. The divisions have operated effectively and harmoniously for the stability and development of the state however, occasional conflicts among the divisions and within the chieftaincy system of contribute to several challenges of the traditional area. The Akuapem traditional area is populated largely by two ethnic groups, namely Akans and Guans, however, recent development in population issues have seen the area becoming more of a cosmopolitan (Akuapem Kingdom, 2019). Located within the tropical rain forest, the Akuapem traditional area is largely covered by a range of forest vegetation amidst humid weather. The traditional authorities and the municipal assembly together administer and protect lands of the traditional area.

Consequently, the proximity of the traditional area to the nation's capital and some major commercial nerves of the country allows socio-economic interaction between the traditional area and the neighbouring business hubs in terms of trade, movement of, and access to goods, services and larger market. The economy of Akuapem traditional area is based on three major activities: commerce, subsistence agriculture and small-scale industries. With the numerous states within the traditional area, several market days exist during which local agricultural products

(such as crop vegetation, livestock, and poultry) as well as manufactured products and services are traded. The traditional area serves as an important commercial point for tourism within the country. In addition, crop production, livestock and poultry production are essential agricultural activities in the area. However, the agricultural businesses are not done on a very large scale. One-man and family-run businesses are also an important economic venture in the traditional area. These kinds of businesses are characterized by diverse small-scale industries; sawmill, weaving and dressmaking, animal feed production, hotels and restaurants, food joints and many more. The associated conflicts in the society can have long-term attributions to the economic development of the society (Akuapem Kingdom, 2019).

The chieftaincy institution, which is guaranteed in the 1992 constitution of Ghana, has been encapsulated in the traditional area together with the district and municipal authorities instituted by the state under the local government law (PNDC Law 207, 1988) to provide local administration. Chiefs, in the traditional area serve as custodians of custom and traditions in the area and thus are held in high esteem by members of the traditional area. The dominant social structure of the area is made of both patrilineal social structure of the Guans and the matrilineal structure of the Akans. Invariably, the paramountcy (Ofori Kuma stool) of the Akuapem, which is occupied by the Akan society, make use of the matrilineal social structure. Three royal gates namely Nketia Obuo royal family, Ama Ogyinae royal family and Sakyiabea royal family occupy the paramountcy of Akuapem traditional area, by customs and tradition in a rotational manner. The Sakyiabea royal family currently has the mandate to provide the paramount chief for the traditional area. However, it

is by this process of succession that has bred conflict in the Akuapem traditional area.

The chieftaincy succession conflict has been a source of worry in the traditional area particularly, in Akropong, where the conflict is paramount. The Akuapem traditional area has long been an important centre for tourism and culture. The traditional area clearly appears not to have benefited from the current situation of conflict over the paramountcy. It was therefore deemed beneficial to contribute to the knowledge base via an empirical study on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. The Akuapem traditional area was therefore, chosen as a case study to aid the researcher explore the dynamics of the conflict, and actors' influence to the conflict and the effects of chieftaincy conflicts on development.

3.6 Population

Population of a study as Zuure (2018) argued is the number of people or objects exhibiting observable traits that can be linked to the research. It can be expounded in this study that population is a group of individuals or objects that are matter in the study. The population of this study included all adult members of the Akuapem Traditional Area including members of the traditional council, kingmakers, royals of different gates, and individuals who are concerned with chieftaincy and development. I considered this population to be well placed in providing relevant information to the study of the issue.

3.7 Sample and Sampling Technique

For the purpose of credible empirical study, obtaining adequate sample is fundamentally necessary. Providing enough and adequate data is crucial to credible empirical study. Yet, evidence from literature posits that there are no explicit rules for sampling in qualitative study (Faanu, 2016). However, most qualitative scholars argue that saturation of data in a qualitative research is necessary and sufficient. Therefore, adequate number of participants were engaged until optimum data was acquired for the study of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem.

It was impossible to involve all the adult members of the Akuapem traditional in this study because of time and financial constraints. However, it was relevant to gather adequate and necessary data. Therefore, I considered it appropriate to conduct the research while covering traditional leaders, royals and individuals within the Akuapem traditional area on the development of chieftaincy and its issues in the society as well as those who have responsibilities in promoting development in the society. The sample was made of thirty-four (34) participants, out of the entire population for the study. The sample consisted of three (3) members of the Akuapem traditional council, four (4) members of the Akuapem North Municipal assembly, nine (9) members from the different royal gates to the paramountcy, six (6) kingmakers and twelve (12) other adult members in the traditional area.

The sampled groups were considered appropriate because they are well placed to provide relevant data to the study. Members of the traditional council and kingmakers staffed the traditional administration of the area and have responsibilities to the chieftaincy institution as well as have crucial roles in the selection, installation and enstoolment of the paramount chief. In addition, the inclusion of members of the Akuapem North Municipal Assembly was necessary since they played a role in ensuring order in the area where the conflict is paramount. Consequently, their involvement helped ascertain the consequences of the succession conflict on the municipality and the assembly. The community folks

had personal experiences as either being supporters of either faction or experienced the consequences of the conflict. Relevant data from participants were obtained until a point of diminishing return.

Multiple types of purposive sampling technique were used to sample participants for the study. Extreme case sapling under purposive sampling was one of the sample techniques used. Using extreme case sampling, the study included participants from the traditional council of the area and the Akuapem North Municipal assembly. This is because; members of the traditional council and the municipal assembly were seen as people with high pedigree and possessed unique characteristics and relevant knowledge on specific aspect of the issue. Their involvement generated key data on the issue under study. Further, critical case sampling was used to sample participants from the royal gates to the paramountcy. This type of technique was relevant as it sampled different participants from different contexts who provided diverse information or knowledge to the study. Subsequently, convenience sampling was employed to choose participants from the multiple groups based on the researcher's convenience. All members of the traditional council and kingmakers, members of the royal gates, and other adult members in the traditional area had the potency to be included in the study; however, their participation was based on the researcher's convenience. This was necessary because it allowed for easy and speedy inclusion of participants.

3.8 Instruments for Data Collection

The researcher collected Qualitative data, which is essential for the study. It thus, included primary and secondary data. Primary data for the study was collected using the instruments of semi-structured interview guide. Interview guide was used to gather primary data on the issue to be studied via the methods of interview and

focus group discussions for members of the traditional area. Review of related concepts on the issue of conflict helped acquire secondary data for the study.

3.9 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was ensured in the study. Polit and Beck (2014) argued that trustworthiness is essential to ensuring confidence in data gathered, analyzed and interpreted. It also deals with the quality and relevance of the instrument and methods used for the study. The researcher ensured trustworthiness of this study through ensuring credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability.

Accordingly, credibility as an element of trustworthiness rallies the richness of data for the research as well as the quality obtained for the study. It thus explains that important and relevant data needs to be collected for the study. The researcher therefore adhered to credibility as an ethical issue. Hence, triangulation of data via the use of multiple methods or data sources were employed to ensuring accuracy of findings and thus, develop comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton, 2002). Under this study, triangulation of method of data was adopted to ensure credibility of the research findings where each method was expected to complement and fill the gap in other methods employed in data collection. Notwithstanding this, member checks were employed to ensure the credibility of the data gathered. Participants of the study reviewed the data obtained from them via focus group discussion and interviews. Thus, participants were generally given the chance to verify their statements and fill in any gaps from earlier interviews and discussions.

Consequently, dependability as an element of trustworthiness was adhered to.

Zuure (2018) viewed dependability as the consistency in research findings and thus,
relates to reliability. This suggests that research findings could be repeated when

conducted in a different context. This is measured by the standard of which the research is conducted, analysed and presented. In ensuring dependability, each process in the study was reported in detail to enable an external researcher who may repeat the inquiry achieve similar results. In addition, I adhered to the rules and principles regarding methods of collecting data. This was to establish that, if any other researcher conducted the same study with the same methods and instruments, similar results would be obtained.

Further, transferability was adhered to in the quest to ensuring the trustworthiness of this study. Zuure (2018) indicated that, transferability generalizes study findings and attempts to apply them to other situations and contexts. It can be associated with generalizations in quantitative study. This implies that, the research study can be transferred to other contexts. In the attempt to ensuring transferability, the researcher noted the specific details of the research situation that can be linked to other jurisdictions. Notably, the conflicts in Dagbon, Nkonya-Alavanyo conflicts are some connections drawn during discussions of the study.

Trustworthiness of the study called for adherence to confirmability. Confirmability questions how the research findings are supported by the data collected. This is a process to establish whether the researcher has been biased during the study; this is due to the assumption that qualitative research allows the research to bring a unique perspective to the study. Under this study, I ensured confirmability by presenting and interpreting the original data gathered from research participants to establish the credibility of the research findings. Thus, the data presented and analysed are a true reflection of the views of research participants.

3.10 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher employed multiple methods of data collection in the study. Interviews, focus group discussion and observation were employed in the explorative study of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area.

3.10.1 Interviews

Prior to the collection of primary data, the researcher sent an introductory letter to participants to create an awareness and seek their consent for the interview. Indepth interviews were organised for participants to express their thoughts, feelings and values pertaining to the conflict based on semi-structured interview guide that had open-ended questions. This form of interview is believed to be essential for collecting data concerning the chieftaincy succession conflict in the traditional area, as it enabled participants express their thoughts and feelings on the issue and its implication on the development of the traditional area and neighbouring societies. The semi-structured interview guide had questions that were strictly drawn from the objectives/questions and concepts of the study for easy categorization. Interviews allow the researcher to examine the experiences, emotions, thoughts and opinions of participants on the issue at stake thoroughly and adequately.

The participants together with the researcher scheduled the interview at a convenient time. The researcher therefore recorded participants' responses with the aid of an electronic voice recorder during the interview. Additionally, the participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and freely respond to what they were going to be asked.

3.10.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion (FGD) is another method used in collecting primary data from participants on the issue of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem Traditional Area. Two focus-group discussions (FGD1 and FGD2) with six (6) participants each from the twelve (12) adult community members were organised for the study. On scheduled dates, participants were taken through discussions at two selected venues. Open-ended questions on the themes; dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict; actors of the conflict; and effects of the conflict were discussed. Through the discussion, participants of the FGD shared knowledge and experiences on the Chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. The researcher facilitated the discussions.

3.10.3 Observation

It is a common practice that qualitative researchers employ observation as a method of data collection. Engaging in ethnographic study, employing observation as a medium of data collection is crucial (Mathew & Ross, 2014). Observation therefore, represents one of the main media through which primary data is collected. By observing, the researcher lived in the Akuapem traditional area and interacted with adult members of the community who have lived and experienced the conflict in the past five years. The role of the researcher as a participant observer enabled the researcher to understand the conflict based on the trends, relationships of the actors and its role on development of the society. I only needed to follow the development and existence of the situation in the area. Patterns of behaviour and relationships among members of the community as well as means of thoughts and feelings expressions were observed. In addition, traditional practices

that resulted in the conflict was observed. The observation allowed the researcher to complement data gathered through interviews and focus group discussion.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are important aspects to every research. It is an inherent component to the development of a research study. It thus suggests that the rights of participants are invariably important and sensitive component. According to Berg and Howard (2012) researchers have the obligations to their participants and thus, need not to cause harm to them in the course of the study. Several important issues are important in research and thus, needs to be respected (Crang & Cook, 2007; Clifford, French, & Valentine, 2010). In upholding respect for participants, an introductory letter is sent to the respondents to establish a rapport with them and seek their consent to be interviewed before data collection starts. The researcher also informed respondents about their rights and responsibilities in the research process.

Based on respect for anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher avoided to disclose the identity of respondents in any form. The researcher is committed to protecting participants' identity. Further, the identity was devoid of any linkage with their personal responses. Hence, pseudonyms were used. Thus, participants' identities were coded. Coding for traditional council members included TCM 1, TCM 2, and TCM 3. Similarly, kingmakers were coded as KM1, KM2, KM3, KM4, KM5, and KM6. Members of the Akuapem North Municipal Assembly were coded as AM1, AM2, AM3 and AM4. Consequently, other adult participants including those from the three ruling houses were coded using local names, which do no coincide with theirs.

3.12 Reflexivity and Positionality

Clifford, French and Valentine (2010) defined reflexivity as an essential, crucial and conscious thinking as well as analytical scrutiny of oneself as a researcher. Thus, it allows for self-awareness on issues that need to be questioned. Reflexivity allows for the acknowledgement of the researcher's limitation and biases. The researcher therefore reflected on the importance attached to the issue. It was therefore an act by the researcher to scrutinize and evaluate stages of the research in order to limit biases to the study.

Positionality on the other hand describes how the researcher's identity influences, the potential biases, and the researcher's outlook of the world. In the view of Coghlan and Brydon-Miller (2014), researcher's stance or positioning to the social and political context of the study may affect every phase of the research. Therefore, as a native and a royal of the Sakyiabea family in Akropong-Akuapem, I am aware of the prolonged nature of chieftaincy succession in the traditional area, therefore, my position in this study is seen as an insider. Again, I acknowledge that my level of education may influence the data to be gathered. However, power relations were well managed. The researcher wants to explore and understand the issues surrounding the chieftaincy succession in Akuapem Traditional area since he is only aware of the conflict without being privy of possible issues that may contribute to the dispute. Therefore, in acknowledging that my insider position can influence data to be collected the focus of the study will be adhered to limit any influence and biases.

3.13 Data Analysis Procedure

Barton (2012) posited that data analysis is the process of describing and interpreting data in relation to the research questions under consideration in the study. Data that

was collected in the study therefore was analysed qualitatively. Hence, the thematic analysis of data in qualitative study is employed in analyzing the field data. In categorizing the data for coding processing, themes were identified linking them to theoretical concepts for analysis. Dey (2003) holds that such classification and description of data helps to see how concepts are interconnected. In order to make the coding necessary for efficient analysis, the researcher made coding decisions at the early stage of the interview through interview notes and questions designing. Through transcribing the recorded data after the interviews, patterns emerging from the data were categorized, and analysed based on those themes that emerged from the patterns.

3.14 Summary

This chapter of the study expounded the processes, strategies, frameworks and guidelines to the study. It thus suggested the methods, which the researcher used in organizing and exploring the issue of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area based on the philosophical assumption adopted by the researcher. The study addressed issues of methodology, research approach and design, setting of the study, the population, sample and sampling technique, methods and instrument of data collection as well as ethical issues to the research. Consequently, positionality and reflexivity were addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

In examining the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area, the study sought to uncover and understand the issue in terms of the dynamics involved, the actors' influences and the effects of the conflict in the society. Hence, it was pertinent to ask critical questions while examining the conflict situation in Akuapem. The questions included; what are the dynamics involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem? What are the actors' influences in the conflict? How does the conflict affect the community? This chapter presents and discusses the results obtained through administering research questions via the instruments and methods adopted for the study. The discussion indicated how they interact with extant literature and the theory. The presentation and discussions were done under themes that emerged from the research questions and data obtained from the field study in the research setting. The themes were further broken down into sub-themes for critical discussions and effective understanding of the conflict.

4.1 Dynamics of the Conflict

Understanding conflict requires analysis of issues and relevant elements that drive and shapes it. The dynamics of a conflict explains how the variables in conflict change over the cause of time. The dynamics revealed in the study underscored the understanding of conflict situation in Akuapem traditional area. This explains a cause of action to mitigate the issue in the traditional area. In exploring the dynamics of the conflict, participants were interviewed on the causes, nature and frames of the conflict. The results in these variables interact to show a multiple but complex and complicated dynamics involved.

4.1.1 Causes of the conflict

An important element to understanding the dynamics of the conflict in the Akuapem traditional area was analyzing its causes. Participants of the study agreed to the issue of conflict existing in the area. Most of them indicated it as a worrying factor to the stability of the society. Therefore, the reasons to the conflict in the traditional area were discussed. Some comments from participants included:

"There is a contention of who is to be declared as the paramount chief in the Akuapem traditional area. For me, I can say we have a paramount chief in Akuapem and he's in the person of Oseadeeyo Kwasi Akuffo III but we all know there is some rift in the community which has brought a little tension" (TCM 1, 2021).

"I can say there was a first installation of a paramount chief by the Queen and then a second installation of another person who is hailed as the Paramount Chief now. As I said earlier, we have a matrilineal system. So, the two individuals who were in the process of being installed, both hail from the same royal family with the current chief said to be the uncle of the one whose process was annulled" (TCM 2, 2021).

The comments from TCM 1 and TCM 2 who are members of the Akuapem Traditional Council indicated that there have been contentions over the enstoolment of a paramount chief in the traditional area. Participants' views confirm my experiences during observations that the issue in the Akuapem traditional area is one that hovers around succession of a paramount chief. This implies that there has been the problem of chieftaincy succession conflict in the area. The argument confirms that peace in most Ghanaian societies as indicated by Ahiave (2013) have been vulnerable to most intermittent conflict usually because of chieftaincy. It can be argued that the conflict is an ethnic conflict however, opposite to an inter-ethnic conflict as several studies on conflict and peacebuilding by scholars such as Ahiave (2013) and Asamoah (2014) show. Further comments by most participants confirmed and clarified that the major cause of the conflict was about the

succession to the highest political seat in the traditional area. Comments from a member of the kingmakers stated:

"...the dynamics are that when a stool is vacant, they lookout for a candidate from among the royals and here we have three of them; the Ama Ogyinae, Nketia and Sakyiabea royal houses. It is the turn of the Sakyiabea house. Therefore, if there is any conflict at all, it is coming from that gate not the other two. When it happens like that, I think the changing situations is because of the understanding the modern people have today concerning chieftaincy as against the established norms the old people laid down. Here, I see that we just rally behind someone and that is the end, if it is not approved, we are not ready to compromise, that should not be the process. They should allow them to go through the system and after they have finished with everything, we all agree to the candidate that they think qualifies to be the chief. That is how things are supposed to be done. So, the whole thing is about the enstoolment of the paramount chief" (KM 1, 2021).

A traditional council member also commented that:

"We all know the challenges that have been around the paramountcy over the past few years before the current occupant was able to ascend the throne. Even so, there are many who disagree with what went on during the enstoolment. The process of one chief was quashed based on the challenge by the opposition and a new thing was supposed to be done but the other team also installed their chief, which seemed distorted because what the court issued was not done in that manner. We have two groups or individuals with the support of some people challenging for the highest throne in all the Akuapem lands" (TCM2, 2021).

The installation and enstoolment of a paramount chief in the traditional area as indicated by participants of the study have bred conflict. Both cited comments from participants (KM1 and TCM2), revealed a contestation over the paramountcy position in the traditional area. Their comments are confirmed by a petition filed to the Judicial committee of the Eastern Regional House of chiefs in 2018 by Nkrabeah and Associates law firm on behalf of the Aberewatia of the Sakyiabea royal family, seeking to quash the enstoolment of one candidate which was supervised by the Queen. This seems to suggest that contestations over the paramountcy position have been the main cause of the conflict in the traditional area. Further, expressions by participants suggest that chieftaincy succession, as the

main cause of the conflict seems to be rooted in several key causes that resulted in its complexities.

4.1.1.1 Power struggle

An apparent dataset of the study elicited through exploration of reasons for the conflict in Akuapem traditional area was the struggle over the paramountcy throne. It also showed a contestation over who has the power or authority to select a candidate for the position. Contestations over who has legitimate right to the throne which saw the installation of two chiefs as well as who has the authority to select a candidate, which participants commented that some individuals selected their choices for the process of enstoolment as a major cause to the chieftaincy conflict.

A Typical comment from TCM 3 stated:

"Well, the simplest answer I can give is that, it is within the Sakyiabea family and in the family just like all the other gates, we have 'mmerewatia' who selects the candidate. I know that in the families many go through the process of vetting and voting or selection. However, in their case, I understand there are two who were actively involved in the final stages of selection and that is where the problem started because now both were initiated into the process of chief making which isn't supposed to be. We can't have two chiefs".

During the first focus group discussion (FGD 1) with six (6) participants from among the twelve (12) adult community members, Kofi commented that:

"We heard the family had chosen one person but then another name also popped up. There were even three names but one dropped out leaving the two. There could have been an agreement but you know how power looks like in the eyes of men. It did not happen that way; they both were involved in this confusion as created by the two groups. In fact, the groups are about the two of them and maybe the queen but I think the queen has a choice amongst the two so...but if they had chosen only one person we would have lived in peace".

Responses from TCM3 and Kofi indicated that the vacancy of the paramountcy position which was to be occupied by the Sakyiabea royal gate saw a contestation of two leading candidates from the family, whose parties believed would be a good fit for the position of the paramount chief in the traditional area. The comments indicated that in the earlier stages of selection, several royals may be engaged but,

in their case, two candidates seemed to be the preferred choice of stakeholders in the process. This implies that the conflict started within a particular royal family because of choosing a candidate for the position. The findings here correspond with the work of Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) on chieftaincy succession dispute in Nanum that power struggle is seen as a major cause of conflict.

The views of the participants support my experiences during observations. It was observed that most people are involved in this conflict along the lines of the two candidates. It became apparent through my observation that the contestation of the paramountcy position is based on the concept of intergeneration, appropriateness of candidates and service to the throne, which makes one popular. In the second focus group discussion (FGD 2), the researcher engaged the second set of six (6) participants from among the twelve (12) adult members of the community. During the discussion, Kwame commented that:

"...again, this was done according to generations. If he goes and the kingmakers assert that he is not of good record, the family chooses another person, maybe from the same generation or the next if the previous generation has no befitting males for the position. The one who was earlier in the process of installation is the nephew of the newly installed chief. It isn't right for the nephew to be installed whiles his uncle or the generation before him hasn't taken their birth right yet".

This suggest that the selection of the paramount chief was to be done according to generations of royals who are fit at a particular point in time. This implies that until brothers have been exhausted, nieces cannot ascend a throne to a particular chieftaincy position. This is a typical case of the Akan tradition.

However, Ama commented that the appropriateness of the candidate matters more.

She expounded that:

"We talk of one being an uncle and the other being a nephew but the most important thing is the appropriateness of the person. Therefore, we talk of 'fit

and proper'. The person should be fit for the job and when he goes through the processes, there are people who will check his appropriateness for the thing. So, it is not just about being older or young. I also know the next in line needs to serve the throne and in that, the candidate is groomed for the position".

Ama indicated that even though generations of royals count in the selection of the candidate for the position of the paramount chief, the appropriateness of the position is the most important thing in the installation process. The comments seem to suggest that the contestation over the paramountcy has some roots in the perspectives of kingmakers and members of the community on the qualities of the royals and their servitude to the throne, which qualifies a candidate for the position of the paramount chief.

Participants' views suggested that only one could be the paramount chief. The comments indicated that the conflict seemed to have been because of the contestations of the two candidates who were known to be the heirs to the throne. Meanwhile, Kobby from the Sakyiabea royal family indicated that seven (7) elderly women known as 'mmeapanyin' including the 'aberewatia' (head of the elderly women) of the family voted on the two candidates. He stated that:

"...the queen gave the family the opportunity to choose from among the two candidates. In their house, there are elderly women who do this. They are known as the mmeapanyin and in their family; they are seven (7). These women casted lots and five (5) of them went to one candidate who was in the first process of being installed and was accepted by the Queen and the Asonahene whiles, two went to the other candidate who has been installed as the chief. This was before the death of Nana Dokua I. When the new queen came, she made them start the process again but it resulted in the same 5:2 votes in favour of the one who won in the first process. So, the process of installing the chief started but unfortunately, the other faction also started theirs so there were two people in the making of a paramount chief which is not acceptable".

Kobby, noted that the process of installing the paramount chief started with choosing one candidate for the position via voting or casting of lots by women who have been tasked with such duties as 'mmeapanyin' (elderly women) with their

head being the 'aberewatia' (head of the elderly women). His view seems to suggest that majority of the 'mmeapanyin' voted for one candidate who was accepted by the Queen and the 'Asonahene', hence, initiated the process of king making for the acclaimed winner during the casting of lots. However, it was also indicated that another candidate was initiated into the process of king making, which led the contestations over ascension of the throne. It implies that the contestations by the two candidates to the throne have resulted in the factions created within the conflict. The argument supports the view of Keator (2011) who argued that conflict is a misunderstanding between individuals that usually becomes hard to negotiate.

The complexities of the conflict seemed intensified following the high level of power struggle over who selects the candidate for paramountcy position in the Akuapem traditional area. TCM 3 highlighted that:

"Our issue became prevalent when the queen sided with one faction and installed Odehye Kwasi Akuffo which was challenged by the Aberewatia of the Sakyiabea house and her group in court of the Regional House of Chiefs because she said she wasn't informed about the process which later resulted in the installation of the paramount chief we have now".

Further, TCM 2 indicated that:

"The queen installed a chief but the aberewatia of the current ruling house says she has also appointed another chief".

TT, a participant in the first focus group discussion (FGD 1) also indicated that:

"...the queen appealed against the decision by the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs with the goal of being declared as the rightful authority to select a candidate for the position".

Pastor, a member of the second focus group discussion (FGD 2) commented that:

"So, I think it started from who enstools who and why the person needs to be enstooled..."

The solicited views from participants including TCM 3, TCM 2, TT and Pastor denoted that the authority to select a candidate for the installation and enstoolment

became a bone for contention by some traditional authorities. These comments seem to indicate that the conflict has also been a result of the contestation over power and authority by some stakeholders responsible for the installation of the paramount chief. The field data expounded and confirmed that the contestation over who to select a candidate from a royal family to the throne was an apparent cause to the conflict. It is of no surprise that the Abrewatia filed petitions in the judicial committee of the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs in 2018 as indicated in the petition letter signed by their lawyer. Experiences from observations and discussions denote that the opposing faction at the National House of Chiefs filed an appeal in 2020 to quash the ruling of the Eastern Regional House. In an interview with Manu, a member of the Nketia royal family, he commented that:

"In the case of the Queen mother's absence, the mmerewatia in all the three families work in her stead. Immediately the Queen is installed, she becomes the Aberewatia for all the three houses. They have forgotten that the three houses came from one woman, so, the queen is not an outsider to any royal house. Traditionally, the stool is for the women; they choose the men to occupy it. So, if the rotation to the stool lands in a particular family, the aberewatia in that house becomes an obeapanyin since the Queen is around and doubles as a queen and aberewatia. The aberewatia joins the other elderly women in the family to select a candidate. The family then sits and this is by only women who casts lots to choose who they deem right for the candidacy. If casting of lots do not yield any proper results, the queen has the authority, whether she is from the family or not. Even if the family chooses someone, the queen can reject him. That is the power of the queen".

The argument of the Manu indicated the power and authority of the Queen to choose a candidate from a royal family in going through the process of being enstooled as the paramount chief in the Akuapem traditional area. It implies that the queen has the highest authority in the process of enstoolment. However, other participants from the Sakyiabea royal family who seemed to oppose this view that the queen has the role to select and enstool the chief indicated that the Aberewatia

chooses or appoints the candidate. One typical comment of this argument from Koo stated:

"In the Sakyiabea family, the Aberewatia who has had gazette is responsible for selecting a candidate in the family for onward process for installation. However, one obeapanyin in the family lobbied with some people for her son to be installed, forgetting it is the Aberewatia who has the authority and responsibility to choose the candidate...".

The comment suggests that the authority for the selection of the candidate from the family lies in the hand of the Aberewatia. This is in disagreement with the argument of Manu, who indicated that the queen has authority over the selection from the family. One interesting revelation in this comment is the fact that it indicated that the Aberewatia has had gazette. This seems to imply that she operates in her capacity based on the gazette. It can be inferred from the findings that the disagreement over who selects a successor to the highest traditional position, as indicated in the study of Dagbon chieftaincy conflict and Nanum chieftaincy dispute by Tsikata and Seini (2004) and Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) respectively, is seen as a cause for the conflict.

Following the selection of the candidate is onward presentation to the kingmakers who per the views of participants engage the selected candidate in series of vetting processes to ascertain the readiness and appropriateness of the candidate selected. TCM 2 in an in-depth interview hinted on the disagreement of the choice of candidate, which led to division among the kingmakers hence, the installation of two chiefs. TCM 2 commented that:

"...among the kingmakers, the Queen could have lobbied to gain most of them on her side. The thing is, the Queen and the Asonahene are part of the kingmakers. In total, they are eleven. The conflict divided the kingmakers who were supposed to be a unit. Four of them went to one side while seven of them went to another side. The majority opted for the one installed as the chief now while the other people were in support of the one whose process was nullified

by the Eastern Regional House of Chief. So, each faction started with their processes until the whole thing landed in Koforidua".

The comment indicated that two groups emanated among the kingmakers along the lines of the individuals contesting for the chieftaincy position. This implies that the contestation over the paramountcy position emanated because of the disagreement among kingmakers over the choice of candidate. Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) concluded in their study of Nanum conflict that behind the contest of chieftaincy title, there is a power struggle and division among the major kingmakers in the traditional area. This seems to be the case of the Akuapem traditional area. The exacerbation of conflict in the traditional area was further complicated by the contestation of processes involved in the succession of the paramount chief.

4.1.1.2 Contestation of chieftaincy succession processes

The study discovered that the conflict has lingered because of contradictions and disagreement over processes employed by both factions for the installation of a paramount chief in Akuapem traditional area. Participants expounded that different members in both factions engaged in different processes during the installation. For example, TCM 2 responded that:

"The Queen installed one as the paramount chief but the abrewatia of the family in which the chief is supposed to hail from say she has also selected another candidate who has been installed as the paramount chief by some of kingmakers. All of them believe what they did was right. Per what I know and what seems right, if one has not gone through the right processes for the installation, then you can't be called a chief".

TCM 2 indicated that separate installation processes were initiated for the two candidates contesting for the paramountcy position by opposing stakeholders respectively. The comment seems to suggest that the issue of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem over the paramountcy resulted from the challenges and

contradictions in procedures employed by factions for the installation and enstoolment.

Personal observation identified that, most community members narrated issues involved in the conflict with passion and in a way, which shields their activities and interests. Narratives that indicated the contestation of processes involved in the chieftaincy succession processes included:

"...in any Akan community here in Akuapem, when there is a vacant stool, it is the duty of the elderly women known as "mmeapanyin" who elect or select candidate for the position of chieftaincy. Amongst the elderly women in the family, there is their head called the Aberewatia. Therefore, in the case of any absence of the queen, there are mmerewatia in all the three families who work in her stead. One thing is, immediately the queen is installed she becomes the Aberewatia for all the three houses. They have forgotten that all the three houses came from one woman; so, the queen is not an outsider to any royal family. Therefore, if the rotation of the stool lands in a particular family, the aberewatia in that house becomes the obaapanyin and joins the other elderly women in the family to select a candidate. Hence, the queen will send an entourage to the family to provide forth a candidate. The family (mmeapanyin) then sits and cast lots to choose the candidate. If casting of lots do not yield any proper results, the queen has the right to choose, whether she is from the family or not. Even if the family chooses someone, the queen can reject him; that's the power of the queen" (TCM 1, 2021).

TCM 1 further commented that:

In this circumstance, the Queen did not deny or choose anyone she gave the family the opportunity to choose from among the two candidates. Seven mmerewatia casted lots and the majority selected one whom the Queen and the Asonahene accepted. In all our homes, we have the Abusupanyin and the aberewatia. Hence, the Asona family has the Asonahene as the Abusuapanyin and the queen as the aberewatia. During succession, the Queen works with the Asonahene. When the selection is made the Asonahene is the first person to receive him, he does his scrutiny on him to make sure there are no marks nor tattoos on his body. Even at first, the chief was not to be circumcised. No needle nor knife was supposed to touch the chief. The candidate goes through a set of interviews with the Asonahene who then forwards him to the Queen and then recommends him. In this situation, the two candidates came but the Queen didn't want it like that, she told them to do proper scrutiny and bring only one person if all these were done earlier, we wouldn't have had any conflict..."

While clarifying how the current process went, the TCM 1 narrated that:

"...The family selected one person and forwarded him to the queen who did same unto the Asona family. Before that, the 11 members of the Asona family

will report to the Krontihene about the vacancy of the stool and the need to fill it. The krontihene then forwards the news to the queen who will make the necessary process for the selection of a candidate. If she gets the candidate, she then presents the candidate to the Asona group who are the kingmakers. It is a tradition that they go through. When a person comes before the Asona family or the kingmakers they perform further examination on the person to ascertain if he is good enough. If he does not qualify or if he falls short of their criteria then the kingmakers can make a case to reject the candidates. However, you can say that the candidate is not qualified but you will have to prove it but I can tell you that the Queen has a power and authority to reject the allegations when there is no proof. The process can happen on three occasions where the kingmakers decide to reject the candidate. Even so, the queen can decide to enstool the person that she wants this is because we have gotten to a stage where a chief from a different place can say he does not like the paramount chief. During the installation of the paramount chief, the prominent people in this process are the Queen and the Asonahene. Therefore, when the kingmakers are done with their process, they forward the candidate to a different group called gyaasefo and Ankobeafo. People thought after the process done by the kingmakers, they send the candidate to the Krontihene; that was how Nana Addo Dankwa's process was done and people made it a precedent. It is wrong. The chief is supposed to be introduced to some sub-Chiefs (ankobea and gyaaase) where onward processes of slaughtering a sheep onto his feet is done. What has brought the conflicts in the family is that there could not be an understanding amongst members of the family. The process as I have described started with the immediate past Queen but she could not complete the process because of her death. The new queen started the original process of installing a chief but other process by the other group brought about the conflict. They are changing our traditions".

The narrative expounded the processes engaged by one faction to the conflict. The participant's view indicated that key members in the process of installation are the queen and the Asonahene who are the head of the Asona family and the kingmakers and thus, in installing the paramount chief, the queen has the power to select and or even reject a person as a candidate. This implies that the paramount queen in Akuapem possesses the authority to initiate and control the installation and enstoolment of a paramount chief. The narrative seems to argue that the installation and enstoolment process done by the queen was the right one. Meanwhile, other narratives from opposed this view. Typically, TCM 2 narrated that:

"When the stool is vacant, the three royal houses have the mandate to occupy the throne respectively. This is same for the position of the Paramount queen. Currently, the Sakyiabea royal gate has the mandate to occupy the throne. The moment the paramountcy becomes vacant, the Krontihene takes charge of all affairs of the state as the acting president of the traditional council. Hence, when there is a call for a paramount chief, the Krontihene is informed, who then informs the kingmakers and the family from which the paramount chief is supposed to hail from. The Aberewatia upon receiving the information calls for a meeting with all the elderly women called mmeapanyin with whom she will choose the candidate who is deemed appropriate. However, this is not given to anybody in the family. Selection of a candidate is based on family generations. Hence, from the rightful generation, they elect one royal. Only the female royals who are called the "mmeapanyin" headed by the Aberewatia do this process. When a rightful candidate is chosen, the Aberewatia informs the kingmakers (11 in number). The queen is involved at this stage. Therefore, the name is given to the queen, who calls on all the kingmakers to discuss and vet the selected candidate for the paramountcy position. Whether they accept the candidate or not, they report to the family".

He further narrated that:

"Meanwhile, the whole process of electing a new candidate will begin if they do not accept the first one. This can be done on three occasions, after which they turn to another family. Hence, if the candidate is accepted, he is sent to the Krontihene who organizes a mini durbar to receive him upon which he forwards him to the Banmuhene (who does all customary rites for the paramount chief). The Banmuhene parades the candidate through town whiles engaging in all necessary customary rites. The candidate is then sent for confinement in the banmuhene's palace. The Asona people who came here were of the same family so it is within that family that the chief is supposed to go for confinement; the Ankobeahene of Akuapem was the one who received the candidate to be confined in his palace. But during the succession of the immediate past, Chief Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III, there was a bit of an issue within this same Sakyiabea family and the absence of the Ankobeahene, he went into confinement at the Adumhene's palace which wasn't the ideal thing but situation caused that to happen. Therefore, just like what we are experiencing now, the succession of the past chief had many conflicts traditions were twisted a bit. Nonetheless, after confinement, he goes to choose a stool name. This is done before the Krontihene summons all the divisional chiefs to inform them about the candidate and the processes he has gone through".

When asked how the process went, TCM 2 said that:

"At first, swearing in was not done on the very day he came out of confinement but because of certain things like the COVID-19 and the conflict involved in the succession process we did it on the same day. Nonetheless, during the swearing in, he swears to all the divisional chiefs who in turn swears to him in a distinguished manner. This signifies that he is the paramount chief now. If not for the conflict and the COVID, this was supposed to be done as a big occasion where all the divisions and people from different places come to the ceremony. He rides in a palanquin through town. When he gets down, he is guided to swear in the middle of the whole gathering. The Okuapehene has lots of respects and power. He presides over all activities here. Two to three months later, the traditional council meets and this is where the acting

president hands over all activities to him. This is how the paramountcy is arranged".

The narrative is an indication of a divergent process used by a different group for their installation process. In this narrative, the participant expounded on the processes which they believed to be right for the installation of the paramount chief. It opposes the view that the queen has greater control over kingmaking process.

Both narratives seem to imply that contradictions and disagreement over the processes for the installation and enstoolment of a paramount chief in Akuapem traditional area is a causative agent for the conflict. The findings correspond with that of Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) in their study of Nanum chieftaincy dispute that chieftaincy conflict may result due to contestations over installation and enstoolment processes. Yet, both narratives agreed that there are processes involved in installation and thus, multiple but specific stakeholders are responsible for installing the paramount chief in Akuapem.

Meanwhile, it became apparent in the study that contestations over who performs what processes in enstoolment served as a root that affirmed the procedural struggles. Participants indicated that different traditional authorities were engaged in opposing factions' process of installation as against the specified stakeholders established by the Customary Law (Akuapem State) Order, 1960 (LI 32) for coherent king making processes. Two participants' comments from FGD 1 are documented respectively.

"Those who were selected went through various processes done by some traditional authorities and we all understand that these key players who did the processes did so for who they support. Ideally, all are supposed to agree to the candidate that they think qualifies to be the paramount chief and, in that respect, things are seen to be done. However, since both factions went by different processes it is a great question to ask if either of them did it right but, I learnt the Abrewatia petitioned the Eastern Region House of Chiefs" (Paa, 2021).

"In Akuapem, every chief control a particular family or house who performs the traditional duties but because most of the Chiefs are not on the side of the newly installed chief, customs and traditions have been twisted by certain people who have no rights in performing those duties. Even when they were installing him, it was done" (Mensah, 2021).

Specific rituals or customary practices as indicated by Kobby and Koo are designated for particular individuals or families. They indicted that though specific rituals are meant for a particular individual or groups, other traditional stakeholders performed the specified roles. It can be inferred from the comment that challenges over who performed what roles contributed to the conflict. The divergent processes of enstoolment by the different actors of which some were seen not to have any right in performing the specified duties contributed to the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem. This corresponds with the study of the Nanum chieftaincy dispute by Anamzoya and Tonah (2012) who indicated that the ritual and who to perform these rituals for installation and enstoolment is seen as a cause of conflict. However, another participant argued that:

"Circumstances causes traditions to change. During the succession of Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III, there was no Ankobeahene of Akuapem, he went into confinement at the Adumhene's palace, which was not the ideal thing, but situation caused that to happen. So, just like what we are experiencing now, the succession of the past chief had lots of conflicts, traditions were twisted a bit" (Hikah, 2021).

The participant indicated that certain situations could cause traditions to change. The comment indicated that the succession of the immediate past chief witnessed some changes in the traditions of the society with different traditional authorities taking charge of the processes due to some circumstances. Meanwhile, refusal to follow specific and laid down processes as identified in the study of Zongo conflict by Kuupiel (2021) is seen as a major cause of the conflict.

King making, involves particular set of processes performed by specific stakeholders in the traditional area. The findings suggest that the traditional

authorities who engaged in the divergent processes for the two candidates are supporters and sympathizers of either faction who may not necessarily be responsible for the processes. It was revealed that these factions would defend the processes and the individuals who undertook these processes. The dataset confirmed that disagreement between individuals or groups, as argued by Sulemana (2009), tend to result in conflict situations. Hence, the disagreement over the processes and stakeholders who undertook the process of installing the paramount chief in Akuapem seems to be justified as a cause for the conflict in the traditional area. The exacerbation of the conflict however, seemed intensified as parties accused each other for disrespecting traditional leaders, supportive of their faction, as would be discussed next.

4.1.1.3 Disrespect of traditional authorities and key stakeholders supportive of either faction

An important factor to the conflict that became apparent was factions' disrespect to key stakeholders of the traditional society, who were indicated to be supportive of opposing factions. Following the contestations over the processes and rightful individuals to perform the processes involved in the enstoolment of the paramount chief by the two factions, participants indicated that disrespect of traditional authorities who either faction believed are sympathizers or supporters of oppositions seem to have resulted in the conflict.

A typical comment from TCM 3 stated:

"The gross disrespect all over the place impacted this. Now people in this community insult anyone; they insult pastors, queens, kings and anyone they oppose. They handle these things with some measure of passion and if you don't take care, you will have their displeasure." (Field Data, 2021).

Ras in FGD 2 said that:

"...some people have done what is wrong in the eyes of the society. The queen is the one who has the authority to enstool the king. This is the post she has. However, the respect that was supposed to be given her has been trampled upon by some people in the society with the backing of political mechanisms. Disrespecting the queen is something that cannot be tolerated. She gave them all the chance to select the candidate for the position (Field Data, 2021).

In addition, Kobby, in FGD 2 lamented that:

"If they saw the queen in her capacity to perform her duties without interference and respected her as such, there wouldn't be any conflict" (Field Data, 2021).

KM 4 said that:

"The kingmakers are eleven (11); we had a meeting to start the process again after they came back from court because that was what the court said. Only seven (7) members were present because four of them (4) shut their doors to the people that were sent to invite them to the meeting. I mean, it was disrespect to the other leaders because we waited for them and they did not show up without giving any reasonable excuse. They also felt they had majority numbers so they could proceed with the process. Both groups have said some harsh comments against each other. The level of disrespect among even the leaders, I think the young ones have learned and now people are fighting each other because they feel disrespected..." (Field Data, 2021).

Participants from the diverse groups lamented that, disrespect has been core in the conflict, indicating that certain traditional leaders and perhaps, leaders of religious sects have been victims of disrespect in different forms. TCM 3 noted that the disrespect to these leaders have been a cause for the conflict. It was also expressed by KM 4 that there is some form of disrespect among the leaders, which have transcended to the youth and thus causing conflict. Their comments seem to suggest that any form of disrespect that is exerted on leaders who are believed to be supportive of either faction or any other member of the faction, incur the wrath of the affected faction. The comments thus, support my personal observation that people address these issues with some level of passion. A major implication here is that, members of a faction operate based on identity. Hence, disrespect of a member from an opposing faction causes fight.

The overall discussions on the causes of chieftaincy conflict in the Akuapem traditional area under the dynamics involved confirms that unresolved grievances give rise and exacerbate conflicts (Gates et al., 2016). Succession conflicts have troubled societies since ancient times, and many prominent political thinkers have weighed in on the subject of how to regulate it (Kokkonen & Sundell, 2017). Hence, identifying the factors that influence the problems is crucial to address the issues. The findings therefore confirmed reportage and discussions in media that the conflict in Akuapem traditional area is because of the succession to the paramountcy (Kwawukume, 2020; Ghana Business News, 2018). It is argued that conflict is inevitable in the society (Ahorsu, 2007) and thus, may undermine social cohesion if not addressed (Obeng, 2015). Conflicts tend to have many different sources of tension located at multiple levels over time and thus, often interact to ignite and sustain it (Coleman, Vallacher, Nowak & Bui-Wrzosinska, 2007; Penu & Osei-Kufuor, 2016). The argument of Avis (2019) indicated that the contest for power and opportunities where one feels to be excluded creates conducive space for conflict. The findings in the study confirms that, the struggle for power is a key factor to the exacerbation of the conflict. It is argued here that dysfunctionality and great loss will be recorded in the traditional area when laid down processes, and structural mechanisms are not in place for the functioning of the society (Elwell, 2015), and thus, divergent processes exist for the same activity. Further argument suggested that disrespect of authorities and key stakeholders believed to be supportive of either faction, would generate and heighten the degree, intensity and scale of the conflict (Lukenheimer, 2018). The findings suggest that the multiple but complicated factors of the conflict are key to its exacerbation in the traditional area.

Realistic conflict theory (RCT) used to underpin the study underscores the competitive nature of groups in the pursuance of limited resources such as power, which usually results in conflicts due to opposing goals and interests. Hence, the emergence and existence of conflicts within or among structures may disrupt the stability or equilibrium of the social system (Ewell, 2013). Dwelling on RCT, conflict results from the baggage of emotions that we as humans attach to achieving our interests while competing. Hence, the conflict develops as people or groups engage each other in a competition over limited resources in an attempt to control all or majority of it. This usually breeds hostilities in the society. Therefore, the competitions and the pursuance of ones' goals and interests result in multiple sources that create tension in the social system and its structures. The findings of the study identified succession conflict as a major issue in the society and revealed certain factors including competition over the paramount chief position that fuel the dysfunctionality within chieftaincy in the traditional area.

4.1.2 Nature of the conflict

In understanding the dynamics involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict of Akuapem traditional area, the study sought to explore the nature of the conflict. Participants were engaged in questions that sought the length, frequency and trends of the conflict.

4.1.2.1 Length of the conflict

Participants were engaged in discussions to solicit for views that suggested the length of the conflict. Information gathered from participants revealed that the conflict in the Akuapem traditional area has been in existence for long. Meanwhile, most of the participants were unable to indicate the exact year the conflict started. Nonetheless, dataset from few participants attempted to provide the exact year the

conflict started. It was realized that the conflict in the traditional area over the paramountcy has been in existence for about five (5) years. Some typical comments from the participants indicated that;

"The conflict has been in existence with two royals contending for the position of the paramount chief. This was after the demise of Oseadeeyo Nana Addo Dankwa III who died a little over 5 years now. So, I can say the installation process started in about 2017, where the conflict over who is the rightful heir started" (TCM 2, 2021).

During the FGD 1, Anthony and Okraku commented on the length of the conflict respectively.

"...I cannot emphatically say the year which this started but I know the first court case which annulled the installation of Odehye Kwasi Akuffo lasted for three years and immediately they came back from the court, Odehye Kwadwo Kesse's installation was initiated which led to his position at the palace now. It was just recently that he celebrated his one-year anniversary. So, I think it's about 4-5 years now" (Anthony, 2021).

"I will say the conflict started from after the death of the former chief, Nana Addo Dankwa and there was the need for a successor. It was from that time the conflict started. It has been long" (Okraku, 2021).

Again, KM1 in an in-depth interview added that:

"...after the two candidates were engaged in separate installation processes, one faction petitioned the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs. They contested the case in court for more than two years. Maybe three years because we are one year into the installation of Oseadeeyo Kwasi Akuffo III, when they got back from the court. This was done immediately they came back from court".

Participants enunciated that the succession conflict over the paramount chief position in Akuapem traditional area has been around for quite some time. KM1 traced the conflict to the selection and installation of two individuals by separate groups. However, TCM2 indicated that it started around the year 2017. Their comments together with other participants' imply that the conflict has lasted for about five years. TCM2 indicated that the chieftaincy succession conflict emanated after the demise of the late Oseadeeyo Nana Addo Dankwa III, when traditional stakeholders responsible for the nomination, installation and enstoolment started engagement for the selection of a candidate to occupy the Ofori Kuma stool as the

paramount chief. The length of the conflict, as argued by Keator (2011) is seen as an aspect of its nature. Hence, the findings correspond with the study on conflict resolution in Dagbon, by Ahiave (2013) that many chieftaincy conflicts occur over lengthy period.

4.1.2.2 Frequency of the conflict

Knowledge on frequency of the conflict became apparent in the study when I explored the nature of the chieftaincy succession conflict. The dataset from the study indicated that conflicts have persisted in the traditional area on different occasions. Therefore, the chieftaincy succession conflict is not a novel phenomenon. The stability of the society is always altered when these conflicts occur.

KM5 stated that:

"During the installation of Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III in the 70s, there was conflict. In that conflict, it started with some issues in the same Sakyiabea family and later became a conflict between two families".

KM2 also commented that:

"...in 1973 during the installation of Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III, there was conflict which was battled in court for some time just like this one. The ruling came somewhere in 1974. Per what I know it was a similar issue where the queen selected her nephew as the paramount chief but it became a conflict between families".

The comments of KM5 and KM2 respectively indicated that conflicts particularly, one revolving around the succession of paramount chiefs have been experienced by the traditional area before. Nonetheless, their comments indicated that the last conflict over the paramountcy before the current one was in the 1970s. This seems to suggest that the conflict over paramountcy position is not a novel situation. Nonetheless, the frequency of occurrence seems to be low. As against the previous succession conflict, the current issue seems to revolve around one family, which

has transcended to major parts of the traditional area. Other participants' comments indicated that relative conflicts have prevailed in the traditional area. TCM 1 commented that:

"Oh...conflicts have occurred in this area on several occasion. Some on succession but most have been on boundary issues and one, which the immediate past chief did well in resolving. That was, when some divisions wanted to break-away from the Akuapem area and form their own paramountcy".

The comment implies that aside the chieftaincy succession conflict; the traditional area has experienced other forms of ethnic conflicts over the past years. It thus confirms the assertion of Ahorsu (2007) that, conflict is inevitable in society. Thus, the society and its accompanied institutions are seen as possible arena for conflict. Ahiave (2013) indicated in his study on Dagbon chieftaincy conflict that most ethnic conflicts recur across decades. The findings confirm the recurring nature of ethnic conflict in the traditional area. Hence, theorists of RCT argued that the development of conflicts and contradictions because of pursuance of interests by groups or individuals affect the stability of the society. Only the pursuance of superordinate goals would unite groups to fight for a common course (Whitley and Kite, 2010).

4.1.2.3 Trends of the Conflict

The trends of the conflict were a pertinent issue that emerged in exploring nature of the conflict. It underscored the patterns or the directions of the conflict in the traditional area. It gave a clear understanding of how the conflict is manifested hence, its necessity for analyses. I explored ways in which the issue is being contested and whether it has been violent or non-violent. Almost all the participants agreed that the issue of succession to the paramountcy has been contested using legal means. Some typical comments from participants included:

"The whole issue here was that the Aberewatia in the family said she was not informed about the process, so she didn't back what the queen did. That is why I said politics has been the key factor in this issue. It was last year that the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs gave their judgement on the issue. The judgement was that, the old process of installing the chief was nullified and that a new process was to be done. Earlier, there were some few confrontations before they took the whole thing to court" (KM1, 2021).

"The Queen mother went for an appeal to overhaul the judgement of the Regional House of Chiefs at the National House of Chiefs. Meanwhile the other faction enstooled a different chief that was not right. So, because they did opposite of what the court said, they were caught in contempt of the court and was fined by the high court, in default would be jailed" (KM3, 2021).

During FGD 2 with the other adult members engaged for the study, Pastor enunciated that:

"...all I know is that when the first person was in the process of being enstooled, another process was initiated by a second group to install the second person. The queen and later by the Banmuhene and some members of the kingmakers initiated the first one. In relative, the second group petitioned the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs first of which the ruling went in their favor. The ruling was to addressing the fact that the process, taken by the queen and her group was not right and so they should go through the right procedure. They returned here on Thursday, by Friday a new process has been initiated for the installation of a paramount chief by the second group. I understand all the divisional chiefs appended and swore to him. Whether they also went through the right process or not is another issue for contention. What I have heard is that the queen too petitioned the high court and quite recently, the high court ruled against the newly installed one and some individuals who led the process, for the fact that what they did was contempt of court because the committee that sat on the case at the Regional House of chiefs has the power of a high court or so".

The patterns of contention in this conflict as expounded by participants (KM1, KM3 and Pastor) indicated that the contestation has mostly been engaged in court. Participants indicated that the processes and the authority of some individuals in performing certain roles during succession were challenged by legal means. They indicated that one faction petitioned first petitioned the judicial committee of the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs, which saw the annulment of an installation and enstoolment process. The comment of KM1 showed that the ruling by the Judicial Committee of the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs asked traditional stakeholders to start the installation and enstoolment whiles they undergo the right procedures. It

was also indicated that the faction that seemed to have emerged victorious over the first court case engaged in another process of installing the chief, which was challenged by the opposing faction in the high court. Comments from participants further indicated that there are other cases filed at different levels of the Judicial Committee of the high court and the civil courts. This suggest that the contestations of the issue have been one that hovers around legal tussling.

4.1.2.4 Characteristics of the conflict

Further comments by participants indicated the basic characteristics of the conflict; thus, being violent or non-violent. Some participants indicated that the conflict has been non-violent.

For example, during a one-on-one interview with KM4 on the characteristics and trends of the conflict, he answered that:

"Here, it is usually difficult for violence to occur. Considering this conflict, it is within the same family. It is not like a conflict between families or an interethnic or inter-tribal conflict where deadly weapons are drawn for the engagement of conflict. Because this is a family thing, if you draw weapons, it means you will be killing your brother or sister. Again, there's some form of connection among members of the community so, conflicts here don't really turn out as violence".

TCM3 also commented that:

"As for this community, violence doesn't usually occur. Let me tell you something, what is happening now has effects on the community but I can tell you that no one seriously has injured or experienced violence. Well, some are complaining about the force one faction used on them with the help of soldiers and police but for me I have not seen it. I know the conflict is being addressed in courts and apart from that, I have not seen any serious fights in town. We all go to the court and whatever is said we take it and come home. So, I see the conflict not to be violent".

The responses of KM4 and TCM3 suggest that the contestation over the paramountcy position has been non-violent. Yet, in Britannica (2020) indicated that even in non-violent conflicts, the use of tension, and unease confrontations are prevalent. Participants seem to attribute their claim of non-violent nature in the

conflict to family ties; hence, violence rarely becomes the norm. These comments clearly suggest that their experiences in the conflict indicates no violence. Meanwhile, some participants indicated that there has been some tension in the community though it has low intensity. Notable among such comments was that of Kobby during FGD 2. He stated that:

"The nature of the conflict, I will say is a bit violent. On some few occasions, I have seen people drawing weapons, people being injured and this was even when the national security came to seize the palace; and people taking serious actions on words said to them in this conflict. We heard one faction, with the help of some soldiers ransacked some individuals' houses while searching for some black stool".

The view of the Kobby indicated that there have been instances of violence in the conflict. This confirms my experience during an observation that occasional conflicts do occur because of the conflict in the area though it is with low intensity. This seems to suggest that there has been some violence because of a few confrontations by factions in the conflict nonetheless; the intensity of the violence seems to be low. Nonetheless, Obeng (2015) argued that non-violent conflict should be understood and addressed to avoid its escalation as a destructible instrument in the society. The analyses of dataset on the nature of the conflict suggest the characteristics of the conflict in the traditional area. The discussions support the view that the nature of conflicts in most parts of our societies reveal the general characteristics that shape the dynamics involved (Juma & Mengistu, 2002). Ifeoma (2011) argued that the nature of a conflict affects the dynamics involved in the development and sustenance of the conflict. Thus, with the numerous attempts to foster sustainable peace in many regions in Africa (Gilden, 2012), understanding the nature informs the characteristics and the situations in the conflict which provides relevant knowledge for mitigating the situation. The findings of the study showed that conflicts tend to manifest over a period. Hence, Keator (2011) indicated that when it escalates, it often lasts for a longer period as has been experienced in the Akuapem traditional area. Consequently, the frequency of conflicts in the traditional area was indicated in the findings as key to understanding the dynamics of the conflict. The findings confirm the argument by Obeng (2015) that conflicts can be either violent or non-violent; however, if non-violent conflicts are not managed properly, it has the potency of escalating to violent ones, which could serve as a destructive mechanism to the society.

The RCT employed in this study expounds that the length and severity of the conflict is based upon perceived value of the resource under contention. The conflict can lead to increasing animosity toward opposing actors and can cause feud to develop. Theorists of RCT argued that understanding the conflict reveals the basic sources that drives the nature of its manifestation and the consequences. The findings of the study revealed the evolving trends and characteristics that shape the conflict within the traditional area.

4.1.3 Frames of the Conflict

The study explored conflict frames of actors involved in the contestations. Participants of the study were engaged in a discussion on how actors framed the conflict. The essence was to understand the lenses through which factions viewed the conflict situation. The frames significantly influence the participation of actors in the conflict. It thus, influence the dynamics involved in the conflict. Two basic frames, as would be discussed under this sub-section were identified.

4.1.3.1 Process/Procedures

Views from participants reflect that one of the lenses through which parties in the conflict understood or justified the existence of the contestation was on the processes or procedures used for the installation of the paramount chief. Parties to the conflict, as commented by participants engaged in opposing processes for the installation of the two candidates even though specified customary procedures on selection, installation and enstoolment of chiefs exist. The processes or procedural frames as indicated by kingmakers necessitated the conflict in the traditional area.

KM1 commented that:

"All that we want is for the rightful thing to be done so that it doesn't affect us in the future. We have genuine procedures of enstooling the chief. That should be followed. We shouldn't set any wrong precedents for the future".

KM3 also stated that:

"We all cannot be chiefs in our areas. Again, it is based on how our ancestors established the nation that has made it possible to select or elect one person who would lead us in developing the society. It is the system we followed unlike the other people".

KM4 argued that:

"This is not in the Ashanti kingdom that the Queenmother can select and install someone at the same time. In Akuapem, it is not done that way and we won't accept that".

Participants' comments suggest that factions viewed the conflict from a procedural angle. The comments from KM1 and KM3 showed that there are standardized procedures used for the installation of paramount chiefs in the traditional area. However, their comments imply that conflict parties engaged in divergent processes during the installations and thus became an issue for contention. Their comments continued to show that each faction believed their processes were right and thus, their oppositions did not engage in the right processes. In corroboration to the discussion, I observed that some participants defended their factions' activities and

individuals who performed these activities with passion. It implies that factions framed the conflict in a win-lose situation where either of them believed to have engaged in rightful processes as opposed to the other. Meanwhile, some participants commented that there exist a standard procedure, which both factions failed to follow exclusively.

KM1 indicated that:

"...as a society, we have rules that govern us. We do not just do anything anyhow. These things were established a long time ago and it is what we follow. It has been the reason we are still here. The LI 32 has been used for the installation of a paramount chief. We have people who engage in the various procedures for the installation. Things have changed over the years but if we do not do the right thing it will always affect our community".

KM1 argued that there are guidelines that govern the succession of a paramount in Akuapem traditional area. He pointed out that the Customary Law (Akuapem State) Order, 1960 (L.I. 32) prescribes the standard procedures and guidelines as well as stakeholders responsible for the selection, installation and enstoolment of the paramount chief. It implies that without adherence to the customary law by factions, conflicts becomes a norm that disrupts the institution and the society.

4.1.3.2 Justice and fairness

An apparent frame that became eminent during interviews with participants was the feeling of injustice and unfairness. Participants enunciated that, some individuals or groups viewed the conflict to be as a means of fighting for justice and fairness.

During FGD 1, Mike stated that:

"For the conflict, there are two sides which started within the family and now it is like a movement in the whole town. Each side has its own story. The stories could be said to suit themselves but what we all want is that one day we will wake up and see that everything has been settled and everything has been put to its place. It is not right for us to fight ourselves but if justice is not served for all the atrocities, we will not rest. See, the Queen's house was burnt and the culprit was caught but he was released immediately without any

further action taken by the police because there are unseen hands in this. The guy is still walking around and we are just quiet for this moment".

Ohene argued that:

"First, it was the queen's car and house, later they started ransacking people's house with soldiers in the name of looking for some black stool. We talk of conflicts in this community but the security that came has been in this town to protect some people. The queen that was even attacked do not have a single police officer guarding her but there is a combination of police and security for some people. What are you trying to tell us?"

Kofi in FGD 2 also commented that:

"Most people in the community believe that the security personnel in the Akropong are protecting one faction and aiding them to attack others in their homes. That is a cry of unfairness. Again, both factions have had some negative confrontations which could have led to some arrests but I learnt the police in the community said if it's about this chieftaincy issue, it won't go anywhere".

Comments from participants indicated that factions viewed the conflict as a means of achieving justice and fairness in the traditional area. Participants' indications seem to suggest that the believe by one faction to be treated unfairly and unjustly called for the exacerbation of the conflict, which impacts on the functioning of the chieftaincy institution and perhaps the stability of the traditional area. The justice and fairness frame, as found in the study of Dagbon conflict by Issifu (2015) is seen as a major lens used by actors. It can therefore be said that the chieftaincy succession conflict is prolonged because of the feeling of injustice and unfairness.

The discussions on the frames of conflict confirms the argument of scholars such as Kaufman and Smith (1999) that cognitive psychology, communications and decision-making on conflict situations suggest that frames, which filter people's perceptions of a problem can affect conflict processes and outcomes. Frames of conflict significantly influence disputants' participation in conflict situations (Kaufman & Smith, 1999). Thus, frames are used to define a situation and decide how to engage such situations (Burgess, 2017). The discussions confirm the argument of Burgess (2017) that conflicts tend to occur when the phenomenon is

approached in a win-lose situation. Actors engage in conflict to challenge what they see to be a threat to them and thus, frame the conflict in a manner that makes sense to their situation and how they interact (Elliot, Kaufman, Gardner & Burgess, 2002).

The findings therefore confirm the experiences and extant literature that the exacerbation of conflicts is fueled by frames disputant hold over what seems right or superior in their view and the threat to their very existence. The frames by factions in the conflict as Elliot, Kaufman, Gardner and Burgess (2002) argued, are based on their unique interests and mindset and thus affects the dynamics of the conflict. It has been argued that the exacerbation of the conflict would be a great problem to the society when a win-lose situation is framed for the processes of installing the paramount chief (Kaufman & Smith, 1999). The argument of who engaged the "right processes" of enstooling the paramount chief was one lens through which factions viewed the conflict. The process frames reflect views about steps, decisions and participation in conflict and thus, factions in the conflict may be suspicious of efforts by their oppositions to corrode the processes (Kaufman & Smith, 1999). Many argued that justice is key to the development of peace and the functioning of the society (Maiese, 2003).

Justice, as Montada (2013) indicated, seems to be a universal concern however, what is just and fair as against what is unjust and unfair is not universally shared, and thus, the divergent views on it could breed social conflicts. People are unlikely to compromise when they feel unfairly treated (Debrah et al., 2016). The frames adopted by factions expounds the dysfunctionality within the institution, which thus may influence the homeostasis of the society (Ewell, 2013). Hence, understanding

of the frames by factions was necessary to knowing the meaning they give for the existence of the conflict and thus the need for developing alternatives.

Conflicts have been argued as a dysfunctional role of the chieftaincy institution hence, Ahiave (2013) argued that the chieftaincy institution in Ghana has been bedeviled with numerous conflicts; hampering progress and for that matter, the institution is of no relevance in contemporary local governance. To understand the conflict and hence, work towards mitigation, frames of parties involved in the conflict was revealed by the findings.

4.2 Actors' Influence on the Conflict

Studying the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area, the researcher sought to examine the influences of actor(s) who are involved in the conflict. This addressed how actors are shaping the conflict within the institution and in the traditional area. The actions of individuals in the society can be seen to shape the existence of the structures and the society. I therefore engaged participants on the actors' influence on the conflict. In this regard, participants' views were based on; who the actors are in the conflict; capacities and roles of the actors in the conflict; the motivations, interests, or concerns of the actors and the relationship of the actors.

4.2.1 Actors of the conflict

Actors are seen as all individuals or groups who are concerned with the conflict situation. Participants' views indicated the existence of multiple actors who play significant roles in shaping the development of the conflict. Identifying the actors was necessitated by the idea that the contribution of structures in the development and smooth running of the society (Ewell, 2013), is steered by individuals who

seem to be affected by its existence. Hence, identifying and understanding of actors and their influences is a way of drawing attention to the dysfunctional aspects of the structure, which may culminate in effective resolution, and generation of stability.

KM1 indicated that:

"It would be difficult to mention names but I think those involved are the two main candidates. They, I know the conflict started from them. Also, the queen and some kingmakers too are part".

TCM1 commented that:

"Well, the simplest answer I can give is that, it is within the Sakyiabea royal family and in the family, just like all other royal families in, we have the aberewatia who is the head of the appointed elderly women who select the candidate. I am told in the family the royals who go through the process are many but this issue revolves around the two so if there's misunderstanding, it is from their circle".

Kofi in FGD2 stated that:

"I think the actors are the krontihene, the aberewatia and the mmeapanyin and the queen too".

Kobby in FGD2 also indicated that:

"The family has been divided because of this chieftaincy issue and outside the family we have the queen and the Asonahene on one side, the kingmakers being divided, the kronti Division supporting one faction but are not supposed to even be in the process, the Aberewatia in the Sakyiabea family and the Abusuapanyin who are also involved. The divisional chiefs can also be seen as actors in this conflict too".

Manu in FGD1 also revealed that:

"For the actors I can mention a few of them. It started within the family where the chief was supposed to hail from. Therefore, the conflict came between the two contestants but later it transcended to the queen and the banmuhene. In addition to these actors, some chiefs were involved in the conflict. The queen and the other chiefs who are seen as the actors have been divided among the two factions; one supporting the enstooled chief and the other supporting the other candidate whom they believe is rightful for the throne" (Field Data, 2021).

Participants including KM1, TCM1 and Manu agreed that several actors have been involved in the conflict. The existence of the acclaimed actors by participants have shaped the development of the conflict. There seem to be consensus by most participants that the actors involved in the conflict include the selected candidates

for the position of the paramount chief, traditional authorities within the area and some members within the royal family. Their comments imply that the conflict is an intra-ethnic conflict perpetuated by key actors located within the traditional area. Perhaps, it is the reason why Herbert (2017) indicated that most conflict actors are seen to be local. Meanwhile, some participants enunciated that the actors are not limited to the traditional authorities or members of the traditional area only.

Key information from TCM3 indicated that:

"There are government mechanisms including some government officials, state security and some pastors. I can say some individuals in the community are also involved".

Abra from the Ama Ogyaa royal family stated that:

"...we know and we have heard that there are political hands in what is happening right now. Though there are chiefs involved, are some elite politicians who are involved too".

TCM2 enunciated that:

"There are others who have engaged in the conflict from the background. They act differently which affects the issue now. Here, aside the work of those who are seen to engage in the conflict, there are others who serve as stakeholders too".

KM1 commented on the issue by stating that:

"When you go out there, there are a lot of actors but I will say the Houses of Chiefs and the court as well as the state security have had an impact on the development of the conflict".

The comments established the existence of other actors aside the traditional leaders who have been engaged in the conflict. KM1 indicated the Houses of chiefs, court, state security and some politicians serve as stakeholders in the conflict. Conflict actors are seen as individuals, groups or institutions whose interests in the conflict situation influences its outcome. Hence, the involvement of the actors as identified by participants underscores their interests in the outcome of the conflict. In as much the chieftaincy in Akuapem traditional area are shaped by local actors, Herbert (2017) argued that there could be national and international influencers. The

situation is of no difference in Akuapem as participants indicated some national actors in the conflict.

The development and exacerbation of conflicts particularly, chieftaincy conflicts are about contestations between actors (Herbert, 2017). Conflicts do not randomly happen, rather, it is the mobilization of actors that tend to develop and shape the conflict situation (Herbert, 2017), which inadvertently disrupts the stability and functioning of the society (Ewell, 2013). They are individuals or groups who have been argued to have a stake in carrying out the conflict or providing solutions or trying to prevent the conflict (Peacebuilding Center, 2013). Most conflicts are generational issues and as Ahorsu (2007) indicated, it is inevitable in the society. Conflict becomes a detrimental issue, which involves young people who are usually the potential combatant but can also be the driving force for change if they decide not to engage in any violence (Higgins et al., 2015; Centre for Human Rights & Policy Studies, 2016). The findings confirm that the youth are mobilized and involved the conflict situation. Nonetheless, the youth can channel their exuberances towards conflict prevention and become a driving force for positive change. The study argued that several actors including traditional authorities, Houses of chiefs, civil courts, political leaderships and pastors or religious leaders. These actors as Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo and Gyamfua-Abrefa (2016) argued, have critical roles in shaping the development of the conflict.

4.2.2 Capacities and roles of the actors

Actors' capacities and roles became eminent during exploration of their influences on the conflict situation. It was indicated in this study, the roles of actors and their abilities in shaping the conflict. Participants were engaged in discussions based on the question; How would you describe the capacities/roles of the actors in the

conflict? Two key capacities or roles as would be discussed next became apparent in the study.

4.2.2.1 *Main actors*

Multiple actors emanated to shape and influence the conflict situation and its' outcome. However, while employing the methods of data collection in the study, it became apparent that the conflict in the Akuapem traditional area was shaped by some actors' role recognized as 'key' to the conflict.

During FGD 1, Opanyin said that:

"The main actors here are the Queen and the Asonahene on one side and the Aberewatia on the other side. The Aberewatia of the Sakyiabea royal family who disagreed with the process that was being done by the queen and the Asonahene challenged the installation of their candidate in court. I learnt she said they chose a candidate whom she didn't append to".

Papa also stated that:

"The two main individuals are the ones seen to be leading the conflict here. They are the ones who are fighting the thing in court. In addition, I can talk of the kingmakers who have been divided they are mainly seen as key players in the conflict. These people are like the face of the conflict".

Owura in FGD 2 stated that:

"The queen and the two people who want to be chiefs. When they go to court, these are the people we know have been seeking for the court to decide their case for them".

The datasets obtained from participants of the study indicated some individuals or groups who they believed to be key players; they lead the conflict by contesting the positions of opposing factions. Their responses seem to suggest that prime stakeholders indicated as main actors, whose abilities and actions are key are seen to perpetuate the conflict and roles. Main actors, as CDA Collaborative (2013) indicated as 'key people' spearhead the conflict situation in the traditional area. The chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem is seen not to be devoid of key individuals or groups.

The argument corroborates the observations that several actors are seen to have influenced the conflict however; there are some actors who seem to serve as front liners during contestations over the paramountcy position. The conflict is further shaped by the involvement of what some participants expounded as external actors.

4.2.2.2 External actors

The study revealed, the conflict being shaped by not only the main actors but also other actors, which their responses reveal as the external actors.

KM1 highlighted that:

"Some sub-chiefs, I can mention few names like Banmuhene, the Kronti division and other chiefs have played critical roles in the conflict. There are people who do not really show their faces but rally behind some the main people in the conflict. Some are like sympathizers and supporters to either the queen or the Abrewatia. To me I know the sub-chiefs and even some kingmakers who rally support here, some key members in government have been part of the issue. However, they are not the main fighters so as we said they can be seen as the external actors. I know the courts and the Eastern regional house of chiefs have also been involved".

TCM 3 commented that

"There are many who can be viewed from outside but have been involved in the conflict. When it comes to the side of the Aberewatia and the enstooled chief, some politicians in government provide support to them as well as individuals who resides in the traditional area. We know the president was on this side. It is as if one faction has government support. On the other hand, the queen has had external support from some chiefs and private individuals".

Owura, in FGD 2 commented that:

"I remember the case being at different levels of courts if we can classify the Eastern region and National house of chiefs as such. There's also the high court, the security personnel, the clergy, traditional council and some politicians because we all know the president has been involved".

The comments from participants (KM1, TCM3 and Owura) are a confirmation of the existence of external actors in the conflict. The comments indicated the traditional council of the area, the clergy, the houses of chiefs, security personnel and some government officials are some external actors in the conflict whose activities have shaped the conflict situation in the area. It implies that individuals and groups who do not really control the conflict outcome have shaped the situation yet, have some influence on its development. Herbert (2017) sees those whose actions influence conflict situations indirectly as actors.

Some participants confirmed the later stating that some external actors engaged in the conflict, serving as instrument for conflict prevention and peacemaking in the traditional area.

KM1 stated that:

"...the House of Chiefs and the courts are also external actors; they are particular about resolving the issues as they are tasked to. I am aware the security personnel are also there for mitigating any violence" (Field Data, 2021).

During FGD2, Pastor indicated that:

"I know when it started, the traditional council set up a committee to look at these issues. I can't really confirm the name of the committee but I know when it started, there was some committee headed by the Adontenhene to resolve the issue" (Field Data, 2021).

KK from Ama Ogyinae family commented that:

"I remember pastors from Akuapem were mobilized here at Christ church to pray towards peace in the area and at the end of it a team among us were selected to play the role of mediation. As to whether they have started their work, I am not too sure they have started. They needed to do some underground checks and I think that has halted their efforts. When you go forward, you see that it is not as simple as you see it from outside. Therefore, for now they have not been able to meet the factions per say. I think what they are trying to do is talk to individuals so they can build the consensus from that angle before they can bring the factions together".

The comments revealed that there exist different but multiple actors whose activities serve as a means for mitigating the conflict in the traditional area. Their actions as Herbert (2017) argued, serve as capacities for peacebuilding. It suggests that some external actors in their capacities have engaged in some conflict prevention and management processes to mitigate the adverse effect that could accompany the conflict.

The findings corroborate the study on actors in Dagbon conflict by Faanu (2016) who indicated that some external actors work to promote peace and thus change the behaviour and attitudes of disputants. Meanwhile, some participants indicated that, there are external actors who provide support to factions in the development of the conflict.

During the discussion on actors' influences on the conflict, Fiifi in FGD1 expressed that:

"We know that the sub chiefs have their role in enstooling the chief but if they are rallying supports for certain candidates then we know that they have critical roles in this conflict".

Similarly, Pobi stated that:

"When it comes to the side of the Aberewatia and the enstooled chief, some politicians in government provide support to them as well as individuals who reside in the traditional area. We know the president was on this side. On the other hand, the queen has had external support from some chiefs and private individuals".

Whereas some participants indicated that, some external actors' roles involve conflict prevention. Fiifi and Pobi in FDG1, indicated that some external actors provided support to factions for the exacerbation of the conflict in the traditional area. In the view of Herbert (2017), this support can serve as negative factors that increase tensions between people or groups reduce their ability to resolve conflicts in the conflicted area.

In a structured process for understanding conflict, actors and their capacities in the development and maintenance of the conflict needs to be addressed. Conflicts, as Sulemana (2009) argued is a disagreement between individuals or groups. Hence, these individuals or groups are seen as the actors that shapes the development and existence of the conflict. The findings of the study argued that there are main actors, which confirms, Herbert (2017) assertion that in conflicts, some actors can

be distinguished as key actors who can be located in local or national settings. Their roles revolve around having direct impact or engagement in the exacerbation of the conflict. It was also argued in the study that external actors shape the development of the conflict. These actors as seen by Herbert (2017), plays secondary or third party roles in shaping the conflict. Meanwhile, whereas some of these external actors have a stake in carrying out or maintaining the conflicts, others exist for conflict prevention and peacebuilding (Peacebuilding Center, 2013). Hence, the later have the capacity for peace (Herbert, 2017). The conflict in Akuapem traditional area can be seen not to be devoid of these actors.

4.2.3 Motives and positions of actors

The emanation of conflicts as argued by many is because of the contestation of a phenomenon or situation by actors. Meanwhile, not knowing nor understanding the motives, interests, motivations or positions of the actors, derail efforts of peace making and thus, affects the proper functioning of the society. It was therefore pertinent to explore what seemed to be the motives, interest, position and motivations or expectations of actors in the conflict. The results show multiple but complex motives of actors; those who seem to be perpetuators in the conflict as well as others who serve as capacities for peace.

"You cannot engage in this thing if there is nothing for you. I keep asking myself what at all is it that they are fighting about. Afterall, they are one family and even the whole community is about one people. So, I think to them and their sympathizers, there are things to gain" (TCM3, 2021).

"This is a bit sensitive and I keep asking the same question because apart from prestige, I don't know whether the stool has any royalties that they can depend on as compared to places that have golds and other minerals. There, those who are prospecting the minerals have obligations towards the society and for that matter, the overlords of the society where they pay royalties to them" (TCM2, 2021).

"It is really difficult to understand but definitely, there must be some interests or motives but I wasn't to be cautious here because if I say something I am being speculative" (Pastor, 2021).

The comment from TCM3 indicated that parties to the conflict have peculiar motives for their engagement in the conflict. It implies that the positions of actors in the contestations are based on their interest and goals. Actors in the Akuapem chieftaincy conflict, as Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo and Gyamfuaa-Abrefa (2016) argued are participants who are motivated by interest and needs. Hence, the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem is seen to be perpetuated by actors who are seen to attain their interest. Further, participants' views revealed three main motives or interests as would be discussed as follows.

4.2.3.1 Economic interest

The dataset from participants lamented on economic benefits as one of the major motives or interests that connects actors to the conflict. It was indicated that actors' positions in the conflict are somehow based on the economic gains from factions they support or from the conflict itself. Fiifi provided a typical comment on the issue during FGD1. He commented that:

"I can say it's all about their personal interests. Each and everyone involved in the conflict wants their candidate to become the chief. After all, if their choice is installed as the paramount chief, they can get something out of it. Yeah, because they are fighting for their candidate, they will definitely get a fair share when it comes to sharing of money or material things from their course. For instance, those who supported the current chief are not going to be left without being looked after. They get money out of what they do in the conflict. So, usually, it is about money and that I will say is the personal interest I talked about".

Fiifi in FGD1 highlighted that most of the actors are influenced by what they might gain out of the conflict. It was indicated that actors' activities in shaping the development of the conflict are based on gaining some economic reward whiles supporting either faction. Hence, participants' economic positions as indicated in

the findings confirm Liargovas and Tzifakis' (2021) argument that conflicts are complex situations emerging out of a constellation of conditions influencing economic variables. All those material considerations and incentives that prompt collectivities to resort to contestations (Liargovas & Tzifakis, 2021) and the provision of support for factions in the conflict to attain their objectives conforms to the findings of the study.

4.2.3.2 Political Power/authority

One major concept that popped up as a motive or interest of actors in the dataset is the willingness and strive for the paramountcy position and the ability to exert political control in the traditional area. What could be the interest or motivation of actors to engage in the conflict? A typical comment from KM1 was that:

"For me I see the thing to be about power. Well, some supporters get money and some also put their money into it, but if you are putting your money into this then you want something bigger right? However, it is about power. Some people want to display their power as to who selects whom; others want to display their authority in this council. My brother, we all came to meet this and we will leave it someday. We just have to live with the truth".

KM1 indicated that key motives or concerns by actors in the conflict indicated the contest for power in the traditional area by traditional authorities. The comment lamented that the conflict has been about the showcase of power by some traditional authorities over others in installing the paramount chief. This seems to suggest that positions of some actors, particularly the traditional leaders have been because of gaining traditional control or power in the area. Liargovas and Tzifakis (2021) indicated that the contest for political power and control creates a complex situation that allows the existence of conflict. It is no exception in the Akuapem traditional area, considering the findings of the study.

4.2.3.3 Conflict prevention and peace building

Conflict prevention and peacebuilding was commented as an apparent motive of actors. The datasets from participants revealed the need for resolving the conflict and enhancing peacebuilding for smooth existence in the society. This seemed to have been a pertinent concern by some actors who are seen as capacities for peace.

TCM 2 stated that:

"The sub-chiefs, the kingmakers and all the individuals and groups in the conflict have their roles. The Eastern Regional and National Houses of chiefs as well as the other courts are also external actors who are particular about resolving the issues as they are tasked to do".

Pastor disclosed that:

"...you see, in the absence of peace, nothing goes on, you cannot develop. In the reg where Christianity started and especially in Akropong here, if what is happening now is allowed to stay, it means the church will suffer and Akropong in particular will be taken over by people with questionable character. So, if it is allowed to stay, then we are all calling for the doom of the place and that is why we are all making those frantic efforts to bring about peace and when there's peace, we can all rally behind one person as the leader, then we can call for development".

The comments by TCM2 and Pastor indicated that there have been some external actors, whose goal is to bring about peace in the traditional area. They enunciated some few actors whose activities have been about bringing conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Dumasy (2015) indicated that the effects of conflict are far-reaching hence; addressing the root causes and drivers of conflict becomes essential to those who are concerned with the outcome of the conflict on institutions and the social system. Therefore, the findings denote actors who are concerned with the instability of the institution and the society as a whole and thus have taken the position to engage in conflict prevention and peace building.

The discussions support the view that conflict situations usually require the influence, resources and commitment of people and institutions at different times

and with different motives (Dumasy, 2015). Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo & Gyamfuah-Abrefa (2015) indicated that actors are people whose interests, needs, positions or identities are at stake. The findings therefore confirm that identifying, analyzing and addressing the motives, needs or positions of the actors, which appears as the incentives for shaping of the conflict, is crucial for conflict prevention (Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo &Gyamfua-Abrefa, 2015). Higgins et al. (2015) indicated that the of actors' interest, needs, goals and concerns must be clarified. It was therefore argued in the study that the motives of the actors included economic, political and conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The actors shape conflict, which Ewell (2013) sees as dysfunctionality. Hence, understanding the positions and motivations of these actors provides relevant information on developing alternatives to the conflict.

4.2.4 Relationships of actors

One major concept explored to understand the actors' influence in shaping the conflict in the Akuapem traditional area was the relationships of the actors in the conflict. As such, participants were guided to discuss actors' relationships. Comments on the relationship of actors included:

"The relationship is bad. For instance, when the mother of the installed chief died, the opposition group did not attend during the funeral to sympathize with them. In our churches, we have sympathizers of the two groups there. They are all over in the society and even though there's no serious violence, I know within them they are habouring some anger" (TCM3, 2021).

"Since the start of the conflict, the relationship has been bad again. We all know in our hearts that there is something, which could trigger violence just that we are keeping it to ourselves. Even among the chiefs, they are divided. They have whom they support. Some don't even come to the palace again because they don't want to associate themselves with those there and others too don't want to be tagged so they don't even go for gatherings" (KM2, 2021).

"Now the relationship is all about grudges and it also has some political tweak" (TCM1, 2021).

"The relationship is not good. This is not only among the main actors but also in the whole community. I do not associate myself with chieftaincy thing but because my mother supports one group, I lost some friends and I even lost votes during the assembly elections. Because of this, there have been divisions in all social institutions in the community. It is only by the grace of God that this hasn't turned to violence but I know people attack others in low key because of this" (RA, 2021).

The comments from these participants seems to suggest that the relationship of the actors is marred due to the conflict. They indicated that the marred relationship is not limited to only the main actors but transcends in the relationship of some external actors. Their comments thus suggest a conflictual relationship that exist among individuals who are in the contestations. While their comments seem to be about the relationships of actors who are engaged in the conflict, it however does not indicate how they relate with those who serve as capacities for peacebuilding. The relationships of actors in the conflict usually shapes its development and existence as it serve as either a spoiler or capacity for peace. This conforms to the assertion of Herbert (2017) that, actors and their relationships have the capacity to promote peace or hinder, delay or undermine conflict settlement.

4.2.4.1 Allegiances of actors

Under the relationship of the actors, allegiances became an apparent issue to analyse. Participants' views expounded on allegiances or commitment among actors, which have shaped the emergence and the existence of the conflict in the traditional area. Almost all the participants expounded that there have been some allegiances in the conflict and thus has broaden the number of actors involved.

TCM3 said:

"Yes, there have been. Let us take the divisions for instance, since the divisional chiefs and the other traditional authorities have their preferred candidates, or maybe one will say they have their personal interest, they have sided with the group they want. You will see some of them close to their faction always".

KM1 also said that:

"Allegiances have been formed in this conflict. As I said earlier, people have associated themselves with camps so they fight for whatever thing that their camp does".

TCM3 and KM1 during one-on-one interviews enunciated that the conflict has seen the rise of commitments by some actors to the factions they belong in the conflict. The responses indicated that actors in the conflict have their interests, goals, concerns and incentives; hence, they take positions in the conflict by aligning themselves to the emerged factions based on their motivations. It was revealed that the actors in these factions' act in a way that that resort to defending their cause of actions. The comments seem to suggest that some actors are dedicated to a particular faction in this conflict and thus, have contributed or perhaps would contribute to developing and achieving the goals of that faction by being committed to their course. The findings of the study confirm actors, as Pearlman and Cunningham (2012) indicated, constitute pairs of unitary entities that structurally define opportunities to support their interests.

4.2.4.2 Actor fragmentations

Fragmentations of actors in the conflict became an apparent issue during discussion on the relationship of the conflict actors. Key stakeholders in enstooling the paramount chief seemed to have their preferences and interests. This strategically interacts and divide them over who to become the paramount chief, resulting in the emergence and existence of the conflict. For example, TCM1 commented that:

"The kingmakers are supposed to be a unit, even though sometimes when they vote, one may not vote for a different candidate, they take the majority in the end and we all say the kingmakers approved him. However, this is a case where they have two candidates and now the unit has been divided into two with no compromises. They are totally divided and it makes it hard to work as one, which shouldn't be".

The comment is an indication of actors fragmenting, causing the emergence and the existence of factions for the exacerbation of conflict. It indicated that the fragmentation is usually based on the interest of the individual or group of individuals who may align their interest and oppose that of others. Hence, the findings indicated that one major group that has been hit by the fragmentation is the kingmakers. This is a confirmation of my experience during observation that while some kingmakers seem to have enstooled a paramount chief for the traditional area, there are others among them who disapproved the installation. Hence, the comment showed their dissociation from the activities of those who have enstooled the chief. The comment thus suggests that, commitment to a course in the group or unit have been broken hence, individuals who do not align themselves with the installation fragment from the group. Some participants noted that within factions, there have been fragmentations. KM4 commented that:

"...when it started you could see the exuberances in supporting the queen and Odehye Kwasi Akuffo on one hand and some also supporting the young chief and his group. Now there are certain people like the Twafohene and some few chiefs who used to be instrumental for their groups when this whole thing of challenging each other started, but now for some reasons that I cannot say most of them have dissociated themselves from the conflict. You do not even see them coming to town again.

KM4 denoted that within factions, there are actors who have fragmented. It implies that factions are susceptible to divisions when actors within the group do not have aligning interests. Fragmentations of actors has been argued to create and shape opportunities for conflict and thus affects peace in the society (Pearlman, 2009; Pearlman & Cunningham, 2012). Herbert (2017) indicated that actors can serve as spoilers of peace in the society or can be instrument of peace when commitment to the course of conflict are broken.

Conflict actors have been argued as key instruments that contributes to the exacerbation of conflicts. Hence, the overall discussion of the actors' influences on conflict supports the view that the interactions of actors in conflict influences and shapes the conflict (Herbert, 2017). Conflict as argued by (Conflict Sensitivity Consortium, 2012) is the result of a disagreement between actors on the basis of perceived incompatible goals. Most conflicts are about politics and contestation between actors over power and the (re)shaping of institutions for the benefit of some at the expense of others (Herbert, 2017). The findings argued that there are actors whose activities shapes the development of and the exacerbation of the conflict as the CDA Collaborative (2013) argued that they are those who have direct or indirect impact on the conflict. Herbert (2017) argued that conflict result, as actors are mobilized. The findings confirm the existence actors in their capacities as key or main actors and external actors who are described as secondary actors (Peacebuilding Center, 2013). The motives, interest, and concerns affect the positions of actors in the conflict (Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo & Gyamfua-Abrefa, 2015). Burgess (2013) indicated that actors frame conflict situations in a way that influences or make meaning to them. Therefore, the findings confirmed that the refusal to follow laid "laid down procedures" of chieftaincy succession whiles factions engage processes they believe are right and the notion of seeking for justice as denoted by Kaufman and Smith (1999) became apparent frame for the shaping of the conflict. The relationship of actors influences the development and existence of the conflict in the traditional area.

The conflict in the traditional area is view from the RCT. Theorists of RCT argued that conflicts, contradictions and stereotyping exist when people or groups with different interests and goals compete over limited resources such as political

positions and power, money, or social status, resulting in negative relations among people or groups and disruption of social stability (Whitley & Kite, 2010). It thus suggests that actors or groups in conflict are key to understanding the situation in order to address it. As denoted by scholars including Adzahlie-Mensah, Golo & Gyamfua-Abrefa (2015), an understanding of conflict results from analyzing the actors involved. Hence, the findings of the study revealed several actors that shapes the conflict within the structure in different forms. It was argued in the study that some actors perpetuate the conflict hence, affecting the stability of the society. Meanwhile, RCT theorists argue that conflicts can be reduced when actors or groups pursue superordinate goals. Hence, the results of the findings showed that several institutions in the society have been entangled by means of trying to resolve the conflict and create peacebuilding alternative, which can be viewed as a superordinate goal.

4.3 Effects of the Conflict

The study of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area sought to underscore the effects of the issue on the society and her people. This section of the analyses therefore detailed the consequences of the conflict on the society as enunciated by participants in the study.

The effects of the conflict were discussed extensively during FGD1 and FGD2.

During FGD1 Kyekyeku stated that:

"We all see the conflict differently, we are in one way or the other engaged in this conflict but I tell you even though we don't have serious fights that could cause death and maybe serious injuries, it hasn't been good at all. Akropong, where our paramount seat is located experience the effects more".

Nana, who is a member of the Sakyiabea royal family, also commented that:

"...For the conflict, it has brought some adverse effects particularly, in Akropong which is the capital of the traditional area. There are a lot that I can talk of..."

Awuraa in FGD2 commented that:

"To be honest with you, chieftaincy has helped calve the Akuapem society but now, the trends of its issues I don't like and I cannot even say much about it because I do not go near that aspect".

The comments indicated that the conflict has had some effects on the society and her members. Some participants indicated that much of the effects of the conflict has been felt in Akropong, which is the paramountcy of the traditional area. Nana lamented that the consequences of the conflict have been nothing but adverse to the development of the society. It can be inferred from the comments that the effects of the conflict have been inimical. Effects of the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem similar to Asamoah (2014) in the study of Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict are seen as adverse. The effects that emerged from the dataset are categorized under subthemes that are discussed next.

4.3.1 Social effects

Participants hinted that the conflict has had some social consequences on the society. Pertinent issues under the social effects as would be discussed next lamented on the impacts of the conflicts on relationships and social values.

4.3.1.1 Strained relationships and divisions

Strained relationships and divisions in the community was an apparent social effect expounded by participants of the study. The study discovered that the conflict over the paramountcy position has marred the long healthy relationship that community folks shared. One participant indicated that:

"I have said this earlier and I saying it again. Several conflict, years back affected the relationships of the tribes and divisions here. That conflict was between some of the towns. It led to the near secession of some states. It took the leadership of the Ex-president Mahama and Nana Addo Dankwa III for

peace and unity to be restored in the traditional area. The kind of love that existed is no more. There is division everywhere. In the church, among our chiefs, in schools and in all our institutions here because people are torn between the two factions which affects our development" (Nana, 2021).

The data indicated that erstwhile relationship of actors and community members was cordial. The comment showed that the cordiality of community folks has been strained because of the conflict and thus has brought about divisions all over. Factions, as Bukari (2017) argued observe increasing hostilities and divisions that affect social relationships. According to the comment, the divisions have hit institutions as members who seem attached to the community are torn between the two parties over the contestations of the paramount chief. This seems to suggest that cordiality and cooperation has been adversely affected by the conflict. The findings agree with Whitley and Kite (2010) who indicated animosity and social tension are seen as some effects of the conflict. Some comments by participants revealed that the conflict has brought about a situation where the two factions now perform or engage in occasions separately.

TCM3 gave an example of such comments. He stated that:

"Socially, there have been bad effects. This is because people cannot or do not mingle with others in their opposing factions. Even we do not even go to some parts of the community because we know those people are in support of our opposition. Therefore, we do not go to that side again. See, if it happens that there's some form of socialization, like a recent soccer tournament that was organized, people associated themselves based on the factions they belong. If it is not my faction, I won't come and even if for some reason, I am there, you know there would be traits of resentment within my heart which could trigger further conflicts".

Pastor also said that:

"The relationships among our leaders are uncalled for. Even the regular community folks who have associated themselves with this chieftaincy thing have had their relationships broken along the lines of parties involved. Recently, the one being enstooled as the chief together with the first lady's foundation cut sod for a library and ICT project which was good but, we don't want anything to do with them. Besides, the government is even supporting

them. I know there are certain things that they will need our support before they can do but as things are not done properly, it won't happen".

Maa argued in FGD1 that:

"What I see is it has affected family ties. You go to some families and you see a mother and her daughter not talking because they support separate groups. When there's a funeral this faction does not go to that one's funeral and vice versa".

In addition, Ohene during FGD1 said that:

"In Akuapem here...years back, the divisions had some issues where some of them wanted to secede from the traditional area but with the leadership of the immediate past paramount chief and the former president, John Mahama, the Akuapem states were united and the kind of love that was shown at the durbar was massive. The relation was very cordial even with all who are into the conflict now. Now, there is division everywhere".

Comments from Pastor, Maa, Ohene and TCM3 imply that, most members of the community have had their relationships being marred. The findings indicated that the marred relationship and divisions among members of the traditional area and the divisions as indicated by Britannica (2020), affects the solidarity and development of the society. The discussion is no different from my experience during the process of employing observation as a data collection method. It was observed that during the funeral of some prominent persons in the traditional area who seemed to be on one faction or sympathizers of that faction, members of the opposing faction particularly, the traditional authorities did not represent or attend the funeral. Oral traditions denotes that the name "Akuapem" or "Akwapim" has its roots "Akuw Apem" which can be translated as a community having diverse ethnic groups and tribes who agreed to live together to obscure any danger that faces them. The traditional area, who finds strength in unity, now seems to be impounded by divisions and marred relationships because of the conflict.

4.3.1.2 Disruption of social values

The study discovered that one key social effect in the conflict was the undermining nature of social values particularly, respect for others and elders in the community. TCM2 enunciated that:

"A community that was known for respect even when they are trying to insult you is now broken over chieftaincy and as the young generation see and learn, moral decadence continues to grow. The up-and-coming ones are motivated by this syndrome of quick money and with this conflict, which they have been involved, by either themselves or elders of the community, it has worsened the case. Social bankruptcy is on the rise. Morally, it is bad. There are no social or moral values, people speak anyhow and there is gross disrespect all over the place. Even in schools, teachers are unable to correct the students but it's not their fault because in their homes, there is no training. Now the youth in this community insult anyone; the chiefs and queens, the pastors and anyone who comes in their way or do not support their choice. Therefore, socially, things are bad and one has to be careful how you associate and make utterances these days. You may be speaking against someone's group in the conflict or you might be taken on wrongly for associating with one faction. These days, you can be a victim of their problems anytime".

TCM2 lamented that the members of the community particularly, the youth have no regard for social values. He claimed that disrespect and disregard of authorities in the community has become the norm because of the conflict in the traditional area. Hence, it can therefore be argued based on the comment of the participant that the conflict as indicated by theorist of RCT affects the functioning of the structure and the society as a whole (Whitley & Kite, 2010).

The overall discussion on social effects of the conflict expounded that there have been detrimental consequences in the traditional area. The findings conform to the findings of Oduro-Awusi and Afro (2013) that the conflict in Akuapem have had repercussions on the social life of the people and the traditional area. This seems to affect the social cohesion of the society (Prenzel & Vanclay, 2014). It was argued that the conflict has marred relationships and broken cooperation, which seemed to have been healthy prior to the conflict. This confirms Bukari's (2017) assertion that

hostilities and divisiveness or broken relationships stirred during conflicts affect the development activities, as factions cannot present a unified front to pursue common goal and objectives for collective development. Adverse effects on social values such as respect by members of the traditional area, particularly, the youth was argued as an apparent effect of the conflict.

4.3.2 Political effects

Notwithstanding the social effects of the traditional area because of the conflict, political effects also became apparent. The study unraveled the political consequences that emanated in the chieftaincy issue. Participants' views indicated that the contestation over the paramountcy position has affected the political arena in the society. A typical comment from TCM1 stated:

"The whole thing has been about politics. There is politics everywhere. Chiefs are lobbying, parties to the conflicts are lobbying and there is the influence of government so definitely there are political repercussions. We do not even know who the legitimate chief is or whether we have one. When you go out there, there are people who believe there is a paramount chief and there are others believe there is none. The society is in mess without a real leader".

It is obvious from the dataset that chieftaincy is linked with politics. The comment by TCM1 implies that the conflict situation has affected the integration and leadership of the society. It thus, confirms my experience that the conflict in the Akuapem traditional area has had some political tweak and consequences. The finding is similar to that of Whitley and Kite (2010) who indicated in their study that, conflicts affect the legitimate authority and stability of the society. This means that the stability and functionality of the society becomes a problem in the presence of the chieftaincy succession conflict. Some political repercussions as lamented by participants are discussed.

4.3.2.1 Loss of faith and respect for traditional authorities

A key element that became apparent in the dataset was 'loss of faith and respect for traditional authorities and their practices' in the area. Participants' comments seemed to suggest that most custodians of the traditional area experienced hostilities and resentment from members of the traditional area particularly, from either faction in the conflict. Participants in FGD1 discussed that the resentment to traditional authorities is a major issue to the development of the institution and the society. KK expressed that:

"There have been some political issues in this conflict. I can say that it has derailed the authority and respect for our traditional leaders. When we went to koforidua, the judgement was changed at the last minute because some political equipment influenced the decision. The whole judgement was being delayed because the politicians who support the other faction were manipulating it. We learnt politicians should not meddle with chieftaincy and does chiefs do not do politics. If this is happening, this means you are undermining the authority of the chief or influencing his decision. In the traditional area, some chiefs have incurred the wrath of community members. The respect for some of the leaders are no more, because all they know is money. They only think of themselves.

KK alleged that the contestations have had some unseen politicians who engaged themselves in the conflict by providing support to a particular faction and manipulating actions in the development and the existence of conflict. The allegation further indicated that community members express their displeasure in some traditional authorities of the traditional area. Kwame further commented that:

"The powers and authority of leaders in the state have been curtailed. This is derailing the progress in the township. The traditional council here is supposed to consider the progress, challenges and prospects for the traditional area, which they in turn solicit for developmental support from the government. Akropong which is the highest seat and within the highest seat, if the conflict is brewing then how will they even engage in progress of the town. The authority of the state is even shaking for them to sit and take decisions. Now, you see them doing whatever they like. We can't even teach our young ones if this is right or wrong".

Kwame indicated that, the conflict in the traditional area has impaired the ability of traditional leaders in the area to work within their authority. The view seems to be based on the idea that the conflict has disintegrated the traditional leaders in the area. Hence, operating as a unit for the development of the society became a problem. The comment seemed to suggest that some members of the community have lost faith in traditional authorities and their practices. My experience during observation that members of either faction lament on their displeasure of traditional authorities who seem to be supportive of opposing faction, conforms to the comment.

4.3.2.2 Strained support for the dominant political party in the area

The study discovered that the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area has some effects on the support the major political parties in Ghana. Participants' views denoted that the conflict had marred the relationships and support of some party faithful for the dominant political party in the community. For example;

Opanyin discussed that:

"In Akuapem, it is known that the strongest political party has been the NPP. For what I know, since the inception of the 4th Republic, this community has been all about NPP when it comes to elections. Maybe I will say just like other places in Ghana, the NDC that come close a bit but I tell you, here is NPP, I am NPP but this time around, I did not vote for them. Their support as we know and heard affected their votes here. They might have won but here as compared to 2016, they were shaking because of this conflict. We heard the president even tried to influence the decisions of the queen with a large number of sheep and certain things which she declined".

A member of the Ama Ogyaa royal family named, Korang detailed that:

"With the political effects particularly, in Akropong, during campaign time prior to elections, people openly said because of this chieftaincy issues they won't vote for the president. This is because he openly declared Odehye Kwadwho Kesse as the paramount chief. The support that he pulls when he comes here, declined during the election period. Here, there would not be the

need to bus people from elsewhere to this town when he is coming but this time around, they had to bring people from far away. It has affected the political scene massively. Unless the person is a strong NPP and will commit everything to the party no matter what, most people did not vote for the NPP because of this".

Most participants including Opanyin and Korang enunciated that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) has been a dominant political party in the area however, their support for one faction in the conflict resulted in some party members and sympathizers from the traditional area not voting for them. The comment suggests that the conflict has had some connection with partisan politics of which the dominant political party in the area experienced some repercussions. Political affiliations because of the conflict, as argued by Aikins and Ametefe (2017) is seen as a major effect. This means that the connections of voting patterns during ethnic conflict era seems prevalent in the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area.

Nonetheless, participants indicated that not only did the dominant political party of the area lose votes but also they gained some sympathy from supporters of the largest opposing party of the NPP, thus, the NDC particularly in Akropong.

Koo discussed that:

"New party allegiances have been formed others have been renewed as a result of the conflict here. Some NPP and NDC supporters voted based on the chieftaincy thing. I know of certain members in the NPP who voted for NDC and others who did not vote at all. Some say, the government is helping the one installed as chief so if NDC comes, they will know where power lies. But there are others who are in this place who voted For Akuffo Addo because they side with the installed chief. You see strong NDC members jubilating anytime the president came to the town or went to the chief".

The comment expounded that in as much as some members or sympathizers of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) did not vote for the party, which made them lose some votes; they gained some sympathy and support from some members of the opposition party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC). This was because of their support to the installation of the current chief. The comment agrees with my observation during the FGD 2. Some participants who appeared to be NDC faithful joined discussed that they voted for the president because he helped them win the traditional seat. During the discussion, Abena discussed the connection of the conflict to the 2020 general elections. Abena said:

"Nana will win this election because of what he has done for us. I will push for all my NDC members here to vote for him. He is a visionary leader. We now have a fine chief. The one who deserves it is here..."

The dataset affirms that conflict has had some influences on the support gained by political parties in the traditional area. This confirms the argument of Tonah (2012) that activities of politicians and or political parties in ethnic conflict may influence voting outcomes of parties. This means that the voting patterns of many electorates were based on the affiliation of the major political parties to factions.

The development and exacerbation of conflicts in social institutions have graving consequences on the existence and functioning of institutions and equilibrium of the society (Ewell, 2013). The discussions on the political effects of the conflict on the society was of concern to explore how the conflict affects the political development of the area. Hence, the findings support the view that ethnicity, political authority and behaviour are inter-connected issues in chieftaincy affairs (Aikins & Ametefe, 2017). It has been argued that the traditional authorities have had a fair share of political effects. Mahama (2010) indicated that ethnic conflicts in most traditional area stifle the authority of traditional authorities' and their ability to call for development. This is confirmed by the findings of the study that argued that there is loss of faith and respect for traditional authorities and their practices. Consequently, Ahiave (2013) indicated that factions in conflict associate

themselves and vote accordingly for political parties who sympathize with them. The electoral results of the NPP and the NDC showed a decrease in the number of votes for the NPP and an increase for the NDC in the 2020 general elections in the traditional area (Peacefmonline, 2020). This could be attributed to other factors; meanwhile, participants indicated that most NPP sympathizers and party faithful did not vote for the party because of the conflict. The findings indicated that the conflict influenced the voting behaviour of electorate as against, Aikins and Ametepe (2017), who viewed that ethnic conflict does not affect the voting behaviour of people.

4.3.3 Economic effects

The study revealed the economic effects of the conflict particularly, within Akropong where the issue is paramount. Participants expressed that there have been some economic effects of the conflict on the society. Two strands were developed out of the economic effects of the conflict.

4.3.3.1 Stifled businesses growth

An apparent issue that popped up as an economic effect in the conflict was the consequences of the conflict on private businesses in the traditional area. Kobby discussed that:

"Economically, the effects are not that much because we are not much of a market centre. What I have heard is that if you are a seller and seen to be in either group, you are somehow going to bear great loss because people from the opposing side do not associate or have any business with you. I have seen people do that. I am saying it does not have a big deal of economic effect because definitely, they get people to buy even though some of the big shops might lose more customers. That is what I have seen because aside the fact that the Queen's properties were destroyed some time ago, nothing of the state has been damaged".

The data revealed that private business activities have been a core field that have experienced the detrimental economic effects as indicated in the response. The

comment expounded that the community is not known for huge commercial activities hence, the economic effect has not been felt massively. Meanwhile, they indicated that small-scale business operators who are believed to have some connections or contact with either faction feel the effects. Hence, the comment seems to suggest that individual business owners, particularly, in Akropong, who are identified with a particular faction in the conflict usually suffer losses. This implies that, income generation and business development may be an issue in the traditional area. The conflict as seen in the study of conflict by Agana (2008) affects production, market and investment. Other participants also indicated that most jobs in the area are now given based on affiliation to a faction or neutrality in the conflict. Owuraku during FGD2 said:

"I had a job, a painting job recently. It has not been easy. I had this job and immediately I started the job, they canceled the contract. This experience eerrr...the contract was given to someone else who he or she believed to be on his or her side. Right now, it is as if we are all holding grudges inside. It is affecting our community because we do not cooperate on anything again. See, I am not the only person to experience this, there a lot and it happens to members of both factions".

The response shows that the conflict has affected the cohesion and cooperation of members of the society and thus, the solidarity of the state has been impaired. This seems to have had some impact on the acquisition of jobs and the generation of income in the traditional area.

4.3.3.2 High expenditure by the government

Whereas income generation and business development have been stifled in the traditional area, the dataset indicated that the conflict has inflicted high cost of government expenditure in curtailing or managing the conflict from being plunged into a violent one. Members of the Akuapem North Municipal Assembly provided relevant information on the repercussions of the conflict on the municipality.

AM3 stated during a one-on-one interview that:

"The economic effect of the conflict has not been a positive one on the state. Particularly, it has not gone well with the municipal assembly. As a member of the assembly, I can say to you that we owe over GHC400, 000. This has been a burden to the municipal assembly. We have tried to pay some but we also accrue to the debt because the military, the police people are here, and the assembly that bears the cost. My pain is using common fund meant for development to pay costs of the conflict".

AM1 commented that:

"Truly, the conflict is draining the assembly. I will talk about two issues. The conflict has drained and continue to drain the assembly of which some of us have stood up to object. I am a very vibrant member at the assembly and talks a lot over there so I raised the issue of how the conflict is draining the assembly and we argued about it for a very long time. Can you believe the assembly owes over 3 billion old cedi all because the municipal assembly is taking care of the military and policemen present in the town? All the money is used for the security personnel present in the community. Now the assembly owes billions of cedi. We cannot even use our common fund for any developmental project. People think we are not performing but all the common funds have been drained because of the conflict. Now we do not even get our sitting allowances when we meet because the assembly does not have money. We are still adding more debt and some of us are fighting against it. My brother, I can tell you the assembly is not working because of some people's parochial interest in the conflict".

The respective responses of AM1 and AM3, expounded on the expenditure of government or the municipal assembly within the paramountcy where the conflict is paramount, in an attempt to mitigate or manage the conflict in the traditional area. Their comments confirms the researcher's observation of military and police presence Akropong, where the conflict is paramount. Participants enunciated that a major problem faced by the municipal assembly in the capital of the traditional area was the high expenditure on providing and maintaining security of the area. Following the responses from participants, there seem to be a high economic cost on the government. This confirms the argument of Mahama and Longi (2013) who found in their study of conflicts in Northern region that a good amount of money that could have been used to develop and engender government projects has been spent on security.

4.3.4 Cultural effects

Another effect of the chieftaincy succession conflict was based on culture. The study discovered that the conflict has had some implications on culture of the traditional area. Views from participants connoted that the conflict has hovered around the culture of the traditional area. Hence, participants' views of the conflict elaborated some cultural effects in the traditional area. A comment from a traditional council member (TCM3) stated:

"On our customs and traditions, there have been serious consequences. Some people have overturned the traditions of the society. I will not say all our traditions have been destroyed but for what went on over the few years; we have seen things that is different from what our ancestors taught us. You see people, mostly the youth being engaged in practices that they do not understand. You see people engaging in some cultural practices but do not have the right to do. This division and conflict are affecting us in different ways".

The expression on the cultural effects indicated that the conflict has affected the traditions and customs of the traditional area. It indicated that current trends of cultural practices are a deviation of what seems to be the ideal one. It thus suggests that the conflict, which has affected the solidarity of the society, has impaired the proper functioning and practices of state institutions. In corroboration with the comment of the traditional council member, other participants discussed the cultural effects of the conflict.

Kobby expounded that:

"In Akuapem, every chief control a particular family or house who perform the traditional duties but because most of the Chiefs are not on the side of the newly installed paramount chief. Certain people who have no rights in performing those duties have manipulated customs and traditions. For example, on Odwira Tuesday where there is supposed to be outdooring new yam, a particular family headed by a particular chief does it but since they are not on the side of the newly installed chief, they do not perform their duties. Now, customary practices are being mismanaged".

KM1 stated:

"Our customs and traditions have now been negatively affected. Because of this conflict, most of the traditional leaders who are supposed to engage in the relevant cultural practices no longer engage in it. Some have deserted their duties and responsibilities which have affected the traditions of the traditional area".

The comments indicated that the conflict has had some negative impacts on the culture practices of the society. Meanwhile, some responses indicated that the conflict has not affected the culture of the society that much even though some individuals who are to perform their duties do not exercise their duties. A typical comment from Ras during FGD2 stated:

"I will like to first take it from the cultural aspect. I think everything is ok. To be honest some of those who are supposed to perform customary rites as expected of them, do. In fact, they all do but maybe they do not do it as a unit anymore. When it comes to the Odwira, we start from Monday to Sunday. Everything is done accordingly, the just ended festival was not that huge because the chief was not that well but with the reset of the days, everything went on well as expected except for odwira Friday where the chief could not ride in the palanquin because of the death of the Krontihene who has not been laid down yet. He would not do that whiles the krontihene was dead. So, they all stayed home and perform their rites".

The argument indicated that the culture of the society in terms of traditions and customs are intact. Ras argued that cultural practices including, festivals and rituals are in place as against participants who argued that the conflict has affected the traditions and customs of the society. Meanwhile, the comment seems to suggest that, though cultural practices are performed, its' mode of execution is in deviation of the usual norms in the traditional area because of the conflict in the traditional area. The comment confirmed my experience during observation at the 2020 odwira and subsequent adae celebrations. Some key individuals and families responsible for specific customary rites in the society either seemed to be absent or performed their roles devoid of any coherency to the activities of opposing factions. Meanwhile, erstwhile experiences, discussions and views from participants indicated that, most cultural practices performed in the society were done in

tandem; for example, during the Odwira festival, there are several stakeholders who perform different but relevant practices in coherency for the celebration of the festival. I engaged some participants to solicit their views on the issue. TCM1's comment was that:

"There are houses who have been assigned roles when it comes to traditions and customs of the land. I think now the culture in terms of the rituals and some occasions celebrated by the whole traditional area, I mean the ones that the whole community does or is done on behalf of the community like our festival, the adae, fofie and all, not the ones that can be done in our private homes, have been affected. You will hear chiefs and some individuals who have some duties in these practices say because of this or that I will not go there. Some will do the ones they can do in their homes but I mean, there are others that are to be done in specific places like the palace but because of the conflict, they don't do what we all know is supposed to be done. Another thing is, since some chiefs or people who have the right and responsibility to perform certain rites don't do, you will see that there are certain people who now act as if they are in charge of it and if care is not taken it might worsen the case someday when maybe this one is over" (Field Data, 2021).

The expression denoted that the contestations and its resulting divisions have affected some aspects of culture in the traditional area. Hence, the comment seems to suggest that the development and existence of the conflict has resulted in some stakeholders' unwillingness to perform duties in coherence with activities of opposing faction. Lebaron (2003) indicated that culture of a society is embedded in conflicts either as a factor to the conflict or because of it, because conflicts arise in human relationships. The findings of the study corroborate Awedoba (2009) who catalogued the effect of conflict to include factionalism of every aspect of social and cultural life.

4.3.5 Safety and security effects

In an effort to understand the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area, the dataset solicited through the application of the multiple data collection methods revealed that the conflict has had some consequences on

security of the society. Participants stated that the development and existence of the conflict has brought about fear and panic among some individuals in the community.

Michael discussed that:

"I have said already that the conflict hasn't been violent. Even though it has not been violent, people have lived in fear and panic. We were here when the security men came heavily equipped because stories had gone out that there is conflict here. Yes, for what we know, there is conflict and every conflict bring about some scaring consequences. People flee the community because they were being persecuted, there are people who have engaged in spiritualties; maybe you even heard that on news, A woman who was bathing in a shrine naked while cursing people. She also fled from the town because she felt insecure and at the same time, there were security men looking for her" (Field Data, 2021).

The comment confirmed that the conflict has had consequences on the security of the area. Consequently, comments by some participants indicated that some individuals in the community root the security effects in the feeling of insecurity.

Maa stated that:

"If we take the security aspect, most people in the community believe that the security that comes here come for a particular group, not the entire community. During the process of enstooling the current chief, the police and military personnel that came were to protect a particular faction. There have been instances where these same securities have aided one faction to raid and harass some people in this community who they believe to have some black stools. People are gripped with fear and panic sometimes, when they see them. So, the community members or most of them would have trust in the security of the area" (Field Data, 2021).

KK further discussed that:

"...since the conflict is not that violent, people might say security in this town hasn't been affected. There are certain individuals who have fled this town and have not returned since. We were here when someone burned down the queen's car and house but nothing was done to that person. We have seen some attacks where the culprits go free. People are just confined to their houses or small areas because they can't be moving around freely without being a victim of some abuse" (Field Data, 2021).

The comments seem to suggest that some individuals in the community have the feeling of insecurity because of the conflict in the traditional area. It was indicated that community members have lost trust in the existing security mechanism that have been established to mitigate or control the exacerbation of the conflict. Participants enunciated that even with the presence of security mechanisms in the form of police and military, there have been occasions of attacks and abuse in the community. Tonga (2018) indicated that security is a means of protecting people's fundamental freedoms, guarding or protecting them from threats, whiles ensuring their feeling of safety. Conflicts have had considerable impact on the safety and security of the afflicted society (UNDP, 2012). The findings suggest that, the situation is not different in the Akuapem traditional area. The peace and stability of many societies in Ghana are constantly threatened because of ethnic conflicts and thus, the existence and exacerbation of conflict leaves people in vulnerability (Asamoah, 2014). The findings confirm the results of Gagakuma, et al. (2013) that insecurity remains a major factor of conflicts in Ghana. The argument by participants that the presence of security was meant for a particular group conforms to Asamoah (2014) that most people lose trust in the state's ability to protect them. Hence, the escalation of safety and security vulnerability because of the conflict might generate further tension that will further exacerbate the occurrence of conflict.

The overall discussions proved that the consequences of the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area have been strong on society's development. The findings of the study confirm the arguments of scholars such as Awedoba (2009), Ahiave (2013), Oduro-Awisi, and Afro (2013) that chieftaincy conflicts have repercussion on the people and the society as a whole. The study

corroborates argument that the consequences of the conflict on the people and the community have been inimical (Kusimi, Fobil, Atuguba, Erawoc & Oduro, 2006). Hence, the study argued that the chieftaincy succession conflict has had political, social, economic, cultural and security effects.

In the view of RCT theorists, the conflict can lead to increasing animosity toward opposing actors and can cause feud to develop. The theory explains how hostilities can arise among people or groups because of diverging goals and interests that result in the competition of resources. Hence, conflicts in the elements of a structure or the structure itself affects almost all aspects of the society. The study identified that the conflict, which RCT theorists argue to be innate among humans has had rippling consequences on the structure and other parts of the society. However, conflicts and its resultant effects can be reduced when groups or factions as Whitley and Kite (2010) argued, pursue superordinate goals, where parties are not in competition with each other.

4.4 Summary

The chapter four of the study presented and discussed the findings obtained through the application of data collection methods and tools used. The findings were presented and discussed based on themes that emerged from the dataset as well as the research questions. Hence, thematic analysis was employed in this chapter of the study. The themes under which data were presented and analysed included the dynamics involved in the conflict, actors' influence on the conflict, and the effects of the conflict on the traditional area and her members. The major themes were analyzed based on sub-themes that became apparent in the discussion of the issue.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the main findings from the analyses of data in chapter four. It further indicates the conclusions of the study, and recommendations based on the findings. The summary of the findings is in tandem with research questions that were designed to examine the dynamics involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem area, the actors' influences on the conflict, and the effects of the issue on the society and her people. The questions, which were administered to participants through multiple techniques, resulted in the realization of adequate findings.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The findings of the study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area were based on the research questions developed for the acquisition of knowledge on the issue. The study employed a qualitative approach to research, which was anchored on an interpretivist philosophical viewpoint. Thirty-four (34) participants were engaged in the study. More importantly, ethnographic design which adopted multiple methods; interview, focus group discussion and observation, were used to obtain data for the study using interview guide.

5.2.1 Dynamics of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area

The study sought to examine the dynamics within the conflict in Akuapem. Therefore, the first research question elicited data on the dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area. The study revealed views expressed by participants from the area on the causes, nature and frames of

the conflict. These elements deduced from the study expounded on the 'why' and 'how' (dynamics) of the conflict.

- i. Participants revealed several causes of the conflict. Accordingly, power struggle was a major cause of chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area. The struggle for power and authority by two main candidates, and contestation over who chooses the candidate were viewed as a major cause of the conflict. Consequently, contestation over the processes involved in the selection, installation and enstoolment of the paramount chief was seen as another cause of the conflict. The narratives of participants revealed that, both parties engaged divergent processes involving separate stakeholders. Again, disrespect of key traditional stakeholders in opposing parties was argued as a cause to the conflict. Participants viewed the conflict to be a resultant effect of disrespect by factions to traditional leaders and key members who are seen to oppose their faction.
- ii. Participants expounded on the nature of the conflict. This revealed the length, trends and characteristics of the conflict as well as frequency of it in the area. It was revealed that the length of the conflict has been about five years. The frequency as revealed by participants suggests that chieftaincy conflict in the Akuapem traditional area is not a novel situation. Several conflicts over chieftaincy, stool lands and sale of properties have existed in the past. Consequently, participants revealed that the trends and characteristics of the conflict include a highly non-violent nature where factions battle out issues mainly in court. However, it was indicated that occasional violence does occur in the conflict.

iii. Conflict frames were revealed through the exploration of the dynamics in the study. It was discovered that parties to the conflict framed the conflict based on procedures that were involved in the installation and enstoolment. Each party argued to have engaged in the right process as against their opposing faction. This notwithstanding, participants also revealed that parties viewed the conflict as a means to fight for justice and fairness.

5.2.2 Actors' influence on the chieftaincy succession conflict

The second question explored actors and their influences on the conflict over the paramountcy within Akuapem traditional area. The study revealed the actors, their capacities and roles, the motives and positions in the conflict and their relationships.

iv. The findings of the study revealed several actors who are concerned with the outcome of the conflict in Akuapem traditional area. It was revealed through views of participants that, the contestants for the paramount stool, kingmakers and some traditional authorities in the area including the Queen, Asonahene and the Aberewatia, operate as internal or main actors who directly engage in the contestations. External actors including the National and regional houses of chiefs, state security (police and military), clergy within Akuapem and other private individuals were revealed to have connections with the conflict. The study deduced from the views of participants that the main actors perpetuated the development and existence of the conflict. They are seen to be key or primary parties in the conflict situation. However, external actors also shape the outcome of the conflict. The study showed that some external actors including private individuals served as supporters to factions in the conflict. Nonetheless, it was revealed

that some external supporters including the Houses of chiefs and the clergy serve as capacity for peacebuilding to enhance stability in the society.

- Another aspect of actors' influence on the conflict was their motive. The study revealed multiple motives by actors. It unfolded in the study that whereas some actors were motivated economically, there are some whose interests were based on political power and authority in the traditional area. Consequently, it was revealed that conflict prevention and peace building motivate external actors whose positions were established in the conflict.
- vi. The relationship of actors was indicated in the study as a means of influencing the conflict situation. The study revealed that relationships of actors particularly, among factions in the conflict have been marred. Meanwhile, it was revealed that, there have been some allegiances among some actors because of aligning interests and goals. Nonetheless, the study reveals fragmentations among key traditional stakeholders that were seen to be a unit as well as within some factions.

5.2.3 Effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area

The last question of the study was framed to solicit for consequences of the conflict on the society and her members. The study deduced from the solicited views that the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area has had major effects on social, political, economic, security and cultural aspects of life.

vii. Socially, it was discovered that the conflict has marred relationships and thus, created divisions in the traditional area. Participants argued that family ties, friendship and community solidarity are broken because of the conflict. The factions in the community because of the conflict have divided natives in the

area. This notwithstanding, the study discovered that social values such as respect for elders, authorities and all individuals in the community have been broken.

viii. It was revealed through data collected that the conflict has had political effects. It became obvious in the study through the views of the participants that loss of faith and respect for traditional authorities was a pertinent political consequence. Most participants indicated that the traditional authority in the area have been curtailed because of the conflict. It was indicated that the conflict within chieftaincy of the area has affected the mobilization of people to support projects and development in the area. It was observed that, most of the community members were divided along factions in the conflict. Whereas, a number of community folks in the traditional area claim there is a paramount chief, most people do not recognize the presence and authority of the enstooled paramount chief. Consequently, it was revealed in the study that the conflict has strained the support for the dominant political party in the area. Some participants indicated that the New Patriotic Party lost some votes in the 2020 general elections due to the conflict. It was argued by some participants that the NPP incurred displeasure of some party faithful because of government role in the enstoolment of the chief. Meanwhile, it was revealed in the study that some party faithful of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) particularly, in Akropong sympathized with the NPP in the 2020 elections due to the issues of the chieftaincy.

ix. Economically, the conflict stifled business growth and high expenditure by the government as some effects of the conflict. The dataset indicated that private businesses particularly, commercial markets and service activities

within the paramountcy (Akropong) have suffered some losses. It was expounded that; factions do not mingle with each other and thus do not engage in businesses together. Buyers do not buy from an opposing faction. This affects the generation of income. In addition, it was revealed that the government have had to spend huge sums of money on security of the area in the quest to mitigate the conflict or managing the conflict from plunging into severe violence.

- x. In terms of culture, the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area affected the traditions and customs. Most of the participants complained that the cultural trends in recent times are a deviation of what has been established over the years. Meanwhile, some participants indicated that the culture of the society are intact with all practices being performed. Yet, the participants agreed that most of the key players responsible for the performance of cultural activities are unwilling to do so hence, different persons who are argued to be unqualified do the practices. It was observed that cultural practices were performed differently as against what seems to be the established norm.
- xi. Another major effect of the conflict was on safety and security. Some participants denoted that the security of the society has not been compromised and that there was no need for the security. Meanwhile, responses of some participants through interview session identified that fear and panic has been a security issue in the traditional area. The feeling of insecurity by some members of the traditional area was apparent. Some participants indicated that the presence of security has been to protect one faction at the expense of the other.

5.3 Implications

- I. The findings of the study implies that chieftaincy, as Ahiave (2013) argued, will continue to be at the peril of societies' stability as conflicts continue to breed within the institution. Hostilities and frictions will also continue within the society as long as traditional stakeholders and people of the Akuapem traditional area continue to divide over traditional powers and other resources, which affects the functionality of the institution and the society as a whole.
- II. Practically, effective analyses of the conflict, and addressing the grievances of conflicting parties as well as the issues within the institution in Akuapem and across the country, would promote effective resolution processes, which will in turn establish stability and efficiency within the structure that contributes to the development of the society. The study implies that in addressing the conflict, superordinate goals such as peace and development agenda should be the focus of actors.

5.4 Conclusions

The conflict in Akuapem is a contestation over the succession of a paramount chief in the traditional area. It is also a fight among the kingmakers of the paramount chief in the area. Multiple indications show that the conflict is rooted in several unresolved issues that has been inseparably linked with succession of the paramount chief. It can thus, be said that, the conflict in Akuapem traditional area has complex dynamics with interrelated elements that revolves around cultural, structural and political issues. Therefore, effective analysis and addressing of sociocultural and political issues of the conflict may offer adequate and appropriate resolution efforts necessary for achieving peace and stability.

Actors' influences are in fact, an important issue that shaped the conflict. Conflicts situations and outcomes are results from intermittent relations and interactions among actors whose goals, interests and motivations allows them to operate in different positions or capacities. The conflict in Akuapem has multiple actors who influence the issue and its outcome in diverse ways based on their interests, positions, and relations. Hence, understanding and addressing the chieftaincy succession conflict should be intricately linked to analysing actors, their grievances and motivations. Addressing grievances of conflicting parties through neutrality and trust while mitigating activities of spoilers may serve useful purposes for peacebuilding. Therefore, intervening parties should include all stakeholders to the succession as well as actors to the conflict in resolution processes to ensure their commitment to resolving the issue.

In many situations, conflicts impose cost on all aspects of the society. Multiple effects emanate from the chieftaincy conflict in Akuapem on social, political, economic, and cultural and security aspects of the society. This is because the conflict in Akuapem traditional area is embedded in all aspects of the society. The conflict is relatively non-violent. However, that should not be taken as absence of instability. There are marred relationships, hatred, and insecurity. There are therefore negative effects of the conflict in the traditional area. Development of the traditional area will continue to dwindle if efforts are not engineered to resolve the conflict.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings and literature, the following recommendations have been drawn. The recommendations are intended to address the conflict within the

chieftaincy institution of Akuapem traditional area to promote its functionality for the existence and stability of the society.

Chieftaincy succession in Akuapem particularly, one surrounding the paramountcy is a procedural activity where a royal ascends the Ofori Kuma stool. Certainly, refusal and non-adherence to the laid down procedures of installation and enstoolment resulted in the conflict. I recommend that the stakeholders of installation particularly, the kingmakers should adhere to the established procedures or processes for installing and enstooling the paramount chief in the traditional area. This perhaps will ensure free and fair practices in the installation and enstoolment processes.

Again, the traditional council, universities and government institutions responsible for chieftaincy and religious affairs should generally make information on relevant customs and traditions such as chieftaincy succession available on all information avenues to members of the Akuapem traditional area. In the context of the narratives of community members on succession, the reality was that most people had different views and conception on installation and enstoolment of the paramount chief. With an established and codified procedures for succession, community members need to be aware of such information. This could address the contradictions of oral traditions on succession.

Further, key actors who perform dynamic roles engender the installation and enstoolment of a paramount chief. It becomes an issue when actors are denied their birth rites whiles 'outsiders' control or take over their rights. Consequently, when their grievances are left unchecked, it breeds conflicts. It is therefore recommended that the kingmakers be duly left to perform their duties without any intrusion from

external parties or outsiders. This could be done by establishing customary laws that criminalizes intrusion of installation and enstoolment by individuals or groups who have no role in it. Moreover, the grievances of these stakeholders should be addressed to ensure smooth running of the processes. The traditional council of the area can ensure this.

Intervening actors such as the Houses of Chiefs, the courts and the clergy should build mutual trust and respect among the leaders and followers of various factions as well as all the key stakeholders in the traditional area. In this direction, there should be an avenue organized by intervening parties, where these groups of people can meet to deliberate on pertinent issues to address the conflict. Thus, all who are concerned with the issue of chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem should be involved in the processes of peacebuilding.

The capacity of traditional leaders should be enhanced to participate meaningfully in promoting and maintaining peace in the traditional area. In this sense, members of the traditional council, the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs and the National House of Chiefs should be enhanced with adequate resources by the government to help address and resolve chieftaincy conflicts swiftly and adequately.

It is also recommended that issues of 'spoilers' needs to be addressed by intervening parties to ensure effective conflict prevention and promote lasting peace. Understanding their activities is crucial to mitigating the conflict situation.

5.6 Research Limitations

It must be established that, the study on the chieftaincy succession conflict faced some limitations. The limitations of the study are highlighted below.

The first limitation was the inability to involve all traditional stakeholders responsible for the processes of installation and enstoolment. This would have made the study much comprehensive as the numerous kingmakers' grievances, challenges and issues of the installation and enstoolment would be extensively addressed. However, the respondents for the study were the fair representation of the stakeholders involved in the study.

Also, the fear of many participants particularly, royals within the three gates, some chiefs and kingmakers that information given me would be used against them as individuals was a limitation. This was a likely effect of unwillingness by many to grant interviews. However, this challenge was addressed through my positionality and reflexivity.

Consequently, there was a challenge of obtaining information on the conflict from police services in the traditional area. The police withheld information concerning the development and existence of the conflict. It was disclosed that, they could not comment on any issue concerning the conflict. This was because the case is being contested in different levels of our judicial system. Nonetheless, civilians within the community were able to discuss the development and existence of the conflict as well as their security and safety issues extensively.

5.7 Area for Future Studies

Considering the broad nature involved in the issue of conflict, further studies could focus on the following:

1. Prospects and challenges to resolution of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area. This study can highlight the possibilities of resolving

chieftaincy conflicts as well as the hindrances that inhibit the resolution of such conflicts.

2. Complexities and dynamism of actors in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area.



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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF THE TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

This interview seeks your opinion in an effort to solicit information to write a thesis on the topic, "explorative study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area at Eastern Region of Ghana". Your opinion is needed for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Consequently, you are entreated to freely express your opinion on the topic.

The instrument is structured based on emerging themes from the research. Three major themes emerged.

A. Dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area

- 1. What is your view on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 2. How would you describe the factors contributing to the conflict?
- 3. Describe the nature of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area in terms of:
- a. The length of the conflict.
- b. Frequency of conflict occurrence in the traditional area
- c. Trends of the conflict in the traditional area.
- 4. How would you describe the frames adopted by conflict parties?

B. Actors' influence on the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional Area

- 5. Who would you describe as actors of the conflict?
- 6. How would you describe the capacities of the actors involved in the conflict?
- 7. Based on your response in question 6, what in your view are the roles of the actors in their capacities?
- 8. Why do you think the actors are involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 9. How would you describe the relationships of the actors of the conflict?
- C. Effects of the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional area

10. In your view, what are the:

- Economic effects
- Political effects
- Social effects
- Cultural effects
- Security effects

that have resulted from the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area?



APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LEADERSHIP OF THE MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

This interview is seeking your opinion in an effort to solicit information to write a thesis on the topic, "explorative study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area at Eastern Region of Ghana". Your opinion is needed for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Consequently, you are entreated to freely express your opinion on the topic.

A. Dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area

- 1. What is your view on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 2. How would you describe the factors contributing to the conflict?
- 3. Describe the nature of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area in terms of:
- a. The length of the conflict.
- b. Frequency of conflict occurrence in the traditional area
- c. Trends of the conflict in the traditional area.
- 4. How would you describe the frames adopted by conflict parties?
- B. Actors' influence on the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional Area
- 5. Who would you describe as actors of the conflict?
- 6. How would you describe the capacities of the actors involved in the conflict?
- 7. Based on your response in question 6, what in your view are the roles of the actors in their capacities?
- 8. Why do you think the actors are involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 9. How would you describe the relationships of the actors of the conflict?

C. Effects of the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional area

10. In your view, what are the effects that have resulted from the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area?



APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ROYAL GATES MEMBERS

This interview is seeking your opinion in an effort to solicit information to write a thesis on the topic, "explorative study on chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area at Eastern Region of Ghana". Your opinion is needed for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Consequently, you are entreated to freely express your opinion on the topic.

A. Dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area

- 1. What is your view on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 2. How would you describe the factors contributing to the conflict?
- 3. Describe the nature of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area in terms of:
- a. The length of the conflict.
- b. Frequency of conflict occurrence in the traditional area
- c. Trends of the conflict in the traditional area.
- 4. How would you describe the frames adopted by conflict parties?

B. Actors' influence on the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional Area

- 5. Who would you describe as actors of the conflict?
- 6. How would you describe the capacities of the actors involved in the conflict?
- 7. Based on your response in question 6, what in your view are the roles of the actors in their capacities?
- 8. Why do you think the actors are involved in the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 9. How would you describe the relationships of the actors of the conflict?

C. Effects of the chieftaincy succession dispute in Akuapem traditional area

10. In your view, what are what are the effects that have resulted from the chieftaincy succession conflict in the Akuapem traditional area?



APPENDIX D UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (ADULT MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ERSTWHILE INTERVIEWEES).

The interview is seeking your opinion in an effort to solicit information to write a thesis on the topic, "explorative study on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area at Eastern region of Ghana". Your opinion is needed for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Consequently, you are entreated to freely express your opinion on the topic.

A. Dynamics of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional Area?

- 1. What is your view on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- 2. What are the sources of the conflict in the area?
- 3. How would you describe the nature of the conflict in the area?

B. Actors' influence on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area

- 4. In your own expressions, what are the influences of actors on the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area?
- C. Effects of the chieftaincy succession conflict in Akuapem traditional area
- 5. How does the conflict affect the traditional area?