

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CONFLICT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE: A CASE OF THE KASSENANANKANA WEST DISTRICT, GHANA

BY

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NANKANA WEST DISTRICT, GHANA

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Name: Gregory Titigah

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Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

The understanding of conflict and local governance as a result of competing interest by people at the local level informed the study. The overall objective of the study was to assess conflict and local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District. Through a sample size of 398 respondents comprising 239 (60%) males and 159(40%) females were interviewed using interview schedule. Five District Assembly staff, the Presiding Member and 23 Assembly Members were purposively selected and interviewed using interview guides. Quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed using Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS ver.16) and Nvivo.7 respectively.

The study revealed that the development of the district was a shared responsibility among various stakeholders and not the sole responsibility of the District Assembly. Some of the causes of conflict at the local level include low participation of citizens in decision making, poor information dissemination and inadequate financial resources available to the district to undertake development projects that would meet the interest of the majority. From the study, conflict result in heightened demand for the creation of separate districts out of the existing district. During community gatherings, people preach peace and the need for peaceful co-existence as a conflict management strategy.

To effectively manage conflict at the local level, DAs should mainstream peacebuilding and conflict management in their Medium Term Development Plans as a major activity. It is important that divergent interests are managed at the local level so as not to degenerate into violent conflict.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my late friend Fidelis Anatute Kamblige and the entire
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CSOs	Civil Society Organisation
DA	District Assembly
DACF	District Assembly Common Fund
DBO	District Budget Officer
DCD	District Coordinating Director
DFO	District Finance Officer
DISEC	District Security Committee
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
KDP	Kecamatan Development Programme
KNWD	Kassena-Nankana West District
LI	Legislative Instrument
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government & Rural Development
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
MTDP	Medium Term Development Plan
MP	Member of Parliament
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
PM	Presiding Member

PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
RCC	Regional Coordinating Council
SPSS	Statistical Package and Service Solutions
TAs	Traditional Authorities
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

Conflict exists in every sphere of life. According to Nwanko and Nzelibe (1990), conflict is a vital factor in human life. It exists within the individual, between two people or within a group. Conflict can also exist between groups of people. This, Nicholson contends that, conflict is bound to occur where there is interaction between at least two individuals or groups whose ultimate objectives differ (Nicholson, 1971). Conflict is normally perceived as the competition for incompatible desire for the attainment of scarce resources. Conflicts exist in different forms and at different levels.

One of such conflict is political conflict. This form of conflict exerts an effect, directly, or indirectly, on the direction and content of public policy. “Political conflict is ultimately about publicly determined access to public goods and services. It is about the distribution of the rights and privileges available in the public domain” (Idowu, 2004). Political conflict is situated in the structure of power and the various attitudes or social behaviours surrounding it. To this end, conflict entails relationships. Politics is about the exercise of political power and this entails a relationship between groups and individuals.

Conflicts across the world, ranging from civil wars to riots, civil protests and industrial disputes, have affected millions of people and have resulted in social, economic and human lost. All types of conflicts entail significant private and social costs. In the past decade, many developing countries have been badly

affected by intra- and inter-communal internal conflicts. Persistent forms of civil unrest may also constitute the preliminary stages of more violent conflicts (Justino, 2005).

Africa is faced with many challenges but the most critical and most difficult to achieve is durable peace. It is well established that conflicts in Africa have been a major hindrance to the improvement of the well-being of Africans (World Bank, 2001). The inability of political institutions to accommodate diverse interests (ethnic, religious, linguistic, inter alia) has generated conflict situations that adversely affect political and economic outcomes (Kimenyi, 2002).

Conflict at the local level is seen as part of any social transformation process within societies and as changes and potentials to consolidate democratic decision making and problem solving (Bigdon, 2003). Conflict is seen not just as negative but positive. Scholars have enumerated the positive and negative effects of conflict. The interaction of human beings makes conflict inevitable which can be destructive and constructive.

The desire by post independent governments in Africa for decentralization was not only to quicken the pace of democracy through active involvement of the citizens but also for good governance and economic development (Mahama, 2009). Good governance is a vehicle for authorities, both state and local, private sector and civil society to participate, contribute, and articulate their interests and priorities and reconcile their differences and manage internal tensions and disputes. Good governance is also a key to address the underlying conditions that generate conflict, such as poverty, inequality and social exclusion.

Due to the inherent challenges associated with the centralized form of development, concerted efforts were made by various successive governments to bring development closer to the “door steps” of the masses. The decentralization system was adopted to promote local democracy and local level development. The driving force behind the increased decentralization reform by both governments and donor communities are:

- The failure of centralized approaches to development;
- The perceived benefits often associated with decentralization such as the promotion of effectiveness, efficiency, responsiveness, accountability, participation, ownership, empowerment and poverty reduction
- Pressure from international development agencies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Kendie & Mensah, 2008).

In the development process of Ghana, decentralization has not been left out. Reforms towards decentralization in Ghana actually started in 1988 under the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government through the promulgation of PNDC Law 207. This law was later replaced by the Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993 when the country embarked on constitutional rule in 1992.

The thrust of Ghana’s decentralization policy over the past two decades has been to promote popular participation by shifting the process of governance from “top-down” to “bottom-up” with its fulcrum resting on the devolution of power, competencies and resources to the district level (Mahama & Otten, 2008). The 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution stipulates that the government must,

“make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision-making at every level in national life and in government” (Article 35 (6d).

Article 240 (1) of the same Constitution explicitly states that Ghana shall have a system of local government and administration which shall as far as practicable be decentralized.

The overall objective of the decentralization policy is to promote popular participation and local ownership of the development process, by devolving power, competences and resources to the district level, such that the people who are beneficiaries of markets, schools, pipe-borne water, farm produce etc will be consulted before such projects are undertaken and actively participate in the execution of the projects and programmes.

The local government institutions and the people living at this level face varieties of conflicts in their day to day affairs. The identification, classification and resolution of these conflicts are very important at this stage if political development along with other kind of development is to take place. After the restoration of multiparty democracy, the local bodies are being seen as the cradle of democracy. The quality of democracy and the growth of democratic leadership emanate from these levels. Their role in furthering democratic ideals and strengthening democratic procedures is expected to be effective for which they should be prepared to deal with all kinds of difficulties that may come in their way.

Among many others, the basic and fundamental functions of these local institutions are to resolve the local conflicts at the local level. This will help the local citizens to be free from tensions of going to the courts of law and other government offices to resolve minor disputes that may come in their day to day life (Khanal, n.d). Managing conflicts outside the law court helps maintain and promote relationships unlike the law courts where there is mostly a winner and a loser.

The structures and institutions that are developed in a particular society may have the potential for generating conflicts and creating disparities, which are major hindrances to good governance. Good governance may mean to facilitate an equal and fair resource distribution, through transparent procedures in a participatory manner, that communities could address their needs and take part in the decision-making process. The resource allocation to areas and communities is a sensitive issue that can easily trigger feelings of discrimination amongst groups, which are left out.

As most developing countries such as Ghana face the problem that the resources are not sufficient it becomes even more sensitive to distribute these scarce resources (Bigdon, 2003). The resource distribution has the potential of generating conflict at the local level. A study conducted by Barron et al.,(2006) on local conflict and community development in Indonesia, revealed that development projects and conflicts are inextricably linked because development is an inherently political and contested process.

It was further revealed that projects may have negative impacts on local conflict and conflict management capacity in ways that are direct and indirect. Introduction of new resources into poor areas can lead to inter-group tensions. By introducing new resources and services into poor communities, development programmes will inevitably shape local conflict dynamics. Evidence from the study indicate that development projects frequently trigger conflict or interact with existing disputes, which can potentially lead to the escalation of conflict.

Non-violent conflicts are essential features of functional democratic systems across the world. Disputes between individuals or groups about the distribution of scarce resources, about values or about the access to power that allow influences over the two are both inevitable and necessary. They are inevitable because human beings are interdependent creatures and because it is impossible to meet the needs and desires of all people at the same time, they are necessary (Barron et. al., 2004). Negative forms or manifestations of contestations which affect local government and democratic local governance include factionalism, patronage, corruption and maladministration and role confusion and undue political interference (Isandla Institute, 2011).

Statement of the problem

The Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993, Section 10, charges assemblies with the overall development of the district through their plans and budgets, resource mobilization, infrastructure and the provision of works and services. Due to the proximity of sub-national governments, it is a better tool for

efficient service delivery; local knowledge can be tapped to address local problems quickly and an effective channel of communication between the central government and the local people, and above all, citizens can demand better accountability from public officials through local government (Meenakshisundaram, 1999). That is to say, with the devolution of powers from the central government to local governments, an enabling environment has been created for people at the “grassroots” to be represented and to take part in decisions in planning and implementation of projects and programmes.

Local government afford people the opportunity to participate in the decision making process and to demand accountability from the people in authority. The district assembly is the highest authority at the local level and is mandated to provide development at the local level. In the execution of this mandate, conflicting interest are generated. The allocation of programmes and projects leads to contestations between and amongst communities. The governance process also leads to conflicting relationships between local government institutional players and actors. Local governance programme has generated two types of conflict namely, conflict over roles, responsibilities and relationships and conflict over the establishment of District Assemblies (DAs) and siting of their capitals (Ayee, 1999).

The creation of new District Assemblies in parts of the country has generated disputes. In a study on the dynamics of communal conflicts in Ghana’s local government system, Gati (2008) indicated that, there are various contestations among communities over the creation of district which centre on

boundary demarcation, name of district and the name of district or municipal capital. There are instances such as the demonstration by the chiefs and people of Prang in the Brong Ahafo Region against the citing of the district capital at Atebubu. Others include Gomoa-East District with Afranse as the capital, Weija with Mallam as the capital and Ledzekuku- Krowor with Teshie – Nungua as the capital (Gati, 2008). The creation of Kassena-Nankana West District in 2007 was met with contestations similar to contestations identified in Gati (2008).

After years of agitation by the Kassenas and Nankanas of the Kassena-Nankana West for separate districts, there was suggestion to collapse both Kassena-Nankana East and West districts and re-demarcate the districts into three. The youth of Paga where the current Kassena-Nankana West district is located opposed the decision of government. They therefore organised a demonstration and also locked up the District Assembly offices on the 28th December, 2011 (District Coordinating Director).

Local governance sometimes results into tensions due to contradictory and competing interest. Inadequate understanding of these tensions at different levels, as well as the inability to address them effectively in programme design, poses serious risks of failure to achieve the stated goals of local governance. It is therefore imperative to conduct a study into conflict and governance at the local level to be able to manage conflicts at the local level in the Kassena- Nankana West District.

Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study was to assess conflict and local governance processes in the Kassena-Nankana West District.

The specific objectives of the study include:

1. examine the perception of people about the local government system in the Kassena-Nankana West District.
2. ascertain the underlying causes of conflict in local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District
3. explore the effects of conflict in local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District
4. assess the conflict management strategies in the Kassena-Nankana West District
5. make recommendations for policy interventions to reduce conflicts in local governance

Research questions

Based on the above objectives, the following research questions were formulated to guide the study:

1. what are the perceptions of people about the local government system in the Kassena-Nankana West District?
2. what are the underlying causes of conflict in local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District?

3. how has conflict affected local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District?
4. what are the conflict management strategies in the Kassena-Nankana West District?

Significance of the study

The study sought to build on existing theoretical knowledge on local governance and conflict. Though there is literature on local governance, not much has been written on how local governance generates conflict. There is much literature on conflict with much focus on the national level. It is imperative that research is conducted in local governance since there is always the need to further decentralize governance to the local level to enable people participate in the governance process.

Ghana over the past two decades practiced decentralization and local government system. The goal of local governance is to promote citizen participation and ensure efficient service delivery, allocation of development projects and general improvement of livelihoods. Local governance sometimes results in conflicting interest which requires a critical examination in order to be able to manage them for the achievement of the overall developmental goal of the district assembly.

The study is important because governance at the local level is the corner stone on which the overall development of the country rest. Local governments have been given the capacity and resources to initiate development at the local

level. At this level, people are also afforded the opportunity to take part in the decision making process that affects them.

The study will contribute to academic knowledge in this field. The study will contribute to practical ways of preventing conflict through local governance. Through the study suggestions will be made on how to manage conflict at the local government level.

Scope of the study

The study was limited to the conflicts that arise in the local government system of Ghana. It specifically targets the conflict as a result of resource allocation in the Kassena- Nankana District. The study was limited to the 11 Area Councils of the district.

Organisation of the study

The study is organised into five chapters. Chapter One includes the background to the study, the problem statement, the objectives of the study, the research questions and the significance of the study. In Chapter Two, literature is reviewed on various concepts and theories on decentralization, local governance and conflict. This chapter also includes the conceptual basis for the study. Chapter Three identifies the various methodological issues related to data collection and analysis. Chapter Four discusses the results of the study and Chapter Five focuses on summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter discusses various concepts, theories and issues relating to decentralization, local governance and their implications for conflict and development. The chapter discusses theories of conflict which include structural conflict theory, psycho-cultural conflict theory, systemic theory and relational theory. Conceptual issues discussed in this chapter include decentralization, Ghana's local government system, citizen's participation in local governance, local level development and service delivery in local governance. Factors accounting for conflict in local governance, effects of conflict in local governance and conflict management strategies in local governance are also discussed. It is important that, literature is reviewed to know the state of knowledge and issues in relation to conflict and local governance.

Theoretical review

There are a myriad of theories of conflict used to explain the nature of conflict in a particular society. The Structural conflict theory, Psycho-cultural conflict theory, Human needs theory, Systemic theory and Relational theory are the theoretical underpinnings of the study.

Theories of conflict

Conflict is a state of mind. It has to be perceived by the parties involved. If two or more parties are not aware of a conflict, then no conflict exists (Ayee, 1999). Coser (1956) defined conflict as the struggle over values and claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals. The implication is that, there is no single cause for or dimension to protracted social conflict.

Conflict is a vital factor in human life. It exists in various forms and intensities between persons, groups, and nations. The complex and heterogeneous nature of individual attitudes, behaviours and perceptions precipitates the human inability to coexist without conflict. Conflict may be either beneficial or destructive to the people and communities involved. But whatever the outcome of the conflict, the process assumes a dynamic path which in retrospect provides avenues to knowledge enrichment and experience acquisition for dealing with events. Thus conflict is the source of a vigorous and dynamic society (Nwanko & Nzelibe, 1990).

Conflict lay at the heart of competition in every society. Therefore conflict is inevitable in the everyday life of people. There are different perspectives and explanations to conflict. Therefore there is no single definition or explanation to conflict. No one definition is adequate to explain conflict. Various scholars have propounded varied theories to explain the varied possible sources of conflict between people and groups and attempt to find ways to handle such conflict. Scholars of conflict have not agreed on common causes, nature and impact of

conflict on society. There are different understanding and interpretation of conflict by scholars. This has led to different perspectives on conflict and therefore different theories in an attempt to understand the concept of conflict.

Structural conflict theory

The structural conflict theory posits that, incompatible interest based on competition for scarce resources are responsible for conflicts in society. The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that, conflict is built into particular ways societies are structured and organised. The theory looks at social problems like political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation, inequity among others as sources of conflict.

Structuralists maintain that conflicts occur because of the exploitation and unjust nature of human societies, domination of one class by another (Felati, 2006). Woodhouse (1996) defined structural conflict as an outcome of incompatible interest based on competition for scarce resources. It is objective because it is defined as largely independent of the perceptions of participants and emanate from power structures and institutions. Structural conflict theory according to Collier (2003) sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources which in most cases are assumed to be scarce as being responsible for social conflict. The structural theory recognises the competing interests of groups as the most important motivation for conflict. The competing interests however do not necessarily result in conflict between the competing groups. The emphasis here is the identification of power structures and institutions as causes of conflict.

These institutions could be local or state institutions. In other words, they could be formal or informal institutions (Gati, 2008).

According to Khotari (1979), resources play an influential role in the occurrence of conflict between individuals and groups within and among political systems. The control and use of these resources lies at the heart of most violent conflicts. Where cultures are seen as exclusive; where holders of power or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others; or where people find it difficult to identify with the political and economic ideas of a political regime resulting in poverty, scarcity and deprivation, these are the root causes of conflict. In other words, under conditions where existing structures are tilted in favour of one group while putting others at a disadvantage, conflict will emerge and likely to escalate into violence.

Ross (1993) noted for instance in situations where economics and political discrimination, weak negative forms of conflicts will result and are higher than in situations where the conditions are the exact opposite. In other words when social, political, economic and cultural processes are monopolized by a group, it creates the conditions that make people to adopt adversarial approaches to conflict.

Structuralists, according to Faleti (2006) present factors such as those listed above as the major motivation factors that explain the emergence of destructive conflicts between individuals and groups. In most cases, problems of overpopulation, economic underdevelopment, un-integrated social and political institutions, as well as demographical factors that put pressure on human

settlement and available resources are the main factors responsible for the emergence of internal conflict.

Psycho-cultural conflict theory

According to Faleti (2006), psycho-cultural conflict theory emphasizes the role of culturally induced conflict. It shows how enemy images are created from deep-seated attitudes about human actions that are learned from early stages of growth in the explanation of conflict (Ross, 1993). It contends therefore, that even though there are different forms of identities, the one that is based on people's ethnic origin and the culture that is learned on the basis of that ethnic origin is one of the most important ways of explaining violent conflict. Identity is thus seen to be the reason for social conflict that takes long to resolve. However, despite their belief that ethnicity is the biggest source of identity based conflicts, those who hold this view agree that this does not mean that conflict is unavoidable where there are ethnic difference.

Psycho-culture conflict theorist argue that social conflicts that take long to resolve become a possibility when some groups are discriminated against or deprived of satisfaction of their basic (materials) and psychological (non materials) needs on basis of their identity. These needs are identified as Maslow's (1970) theory of motivation and Burton's (1990) 'human needs' theory; both of which describe the process by which an individual or group seeks to satisfy a range of needs moving from the basic ones such as food and sex to the highest needs that they described as self-actualization, the fulfillment of one's greatest

human potential. Theorists in this area see the recognition and protection of identity as the most important even though there are other equally important needs for physical, security, food, political and economic empowerment and self esteem (Faleti, 2006).

Maclean (1975) noted that, under the anxiety of threaten attacks or actual denial of basic needs, the probability that people will react violently is increased. Conflicts that are caused by crisis of identity are usually the most dangerous and most violent. Identity is an unshakable sense of self worth, which makes life meaningful and includes the feeling that one is physically, socially, psychologically safe.

According to Northrup (1989) events that threaten to remove the feelings of safety that are tied to different forms of identity usually lead to defensive reactions aimed at avoiding such spiritual and or physical exposures identify operators in this way not only in relation to conflict between people, but also in situation of conflict between groups.

The needs for love and self-esteem among other non material needs are part of the sense of security and safety that individuals need for normal development; hence when people feel they are threatened, the reaction is usually unpredictable. Lake and Rothschild (1996) observed that actors form beliefs in a subjective way that draws mainly on the experience of past interactions with others. The fears that individuals and groups experience force them to see threats whether real or imagined and suspect the motive of others around them. This tendency to see things in a selective way is mostly due to past history of

competition for scarce resources in which the opposition always comes out as winners.

Human needs theory

The main assumption of human needs theory is that, all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later thereby leading to conflict (Rosati et al., as cited in Best, 2006). Basic human needs in this sense comprise physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. In essence to provide access to one (say food) and deny or hinder access to another (like freedom of worship) will amount to denial and could make people to resort to violence in an effort to protect these needs (Felati, 2006).

Burton (1990), another proponent of the human needs theory, also identifies a link between frustration which forces humans into acts of aggression, and the need on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs. Burton contends that individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy their identity for example, and as such are forced to react against the factors, groups or institutions that they perceive as being threats to their needs.

Human needs such as survival, protection, affection, understanding, participation, creativity and identity are universally shared by all humans; are irrepressible; and have components such as the need for recognition and bonding with others which are not easy to give up. Thus, any person, group or political or social system that tries to frustrate or suppress these needs will cause conflict.

Needs theorists over time have identified some of these needs the deprivation of which cause conflict. Maslow in his motivation and personality identified physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love, esteem and self actualization. Burton lists response, stimulation security recognition, distributive justice, need to appear rational and develop rationality, need for sense of control and needs for role defense (Burton, 1979). Burton refers to some needs as basic such as food, shelter, sex and reproduction.

According to Azar (1994) some basic needs like security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity and effective participation in the processes that shape such identities. Burton identified a link between frustrations which forces humans into acts aggression and the need on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs. According to him, individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy their identity and other goals that are attached to their needs and because of this they are forced to react against the factors, groups and institutions that they see as being responsible for threatening such needs.

Human needs for survival, protection, affection, understanding, participation, creativity and identity are shared by all. According to Burton, people are irrepressible and have components (needs for recognition, identity, security, autonomy and bonding with others) that are not easy to give up. No matter how much a political or social system tries to frustrate or suppress these needs it will either fail or cause far more damage on the long run. The absence of economic opportunities hyper-inflation and penury are manifestations of economic imbalance; while political imbalance leads to fear, xenophobia, crime

and violence forced migration, voluntary or forced exile and political marginalization. All these constitute the root cause of bitter conflicts.

Even though needs scholars identify a wide range of human needs some of which they consider to be basic human needs, they agreed on the fact that frustration of these needs hampers the actualization of the potential of groups and individuals, subsequently leading to conflict. Secondly, there is near consensus among them that to resolve a conflict situation, or to even prevent it from occurring, the needs have to be met with appropriate satisfiers, those things that were denied them in first instance.

Systemic theory

According to Felati (2006), systemic theories provide a socio-structural explanation for the emergence of violent social conflicts. The position of this theory is that, reason for any social conflict lies in the social context within which it occurs. Johnson (as cited in Best, 2006) noted in the case of political violence, any analytical penetration of the behavior characterized as purposive political violence must utilize as its tool a conception of the social context in which it occurs. This paradigm turns our focus to social factors and the effects of large scale (usually sudden) change in social, political and economic processes that would usually guide against instability.

Felati (2006) also contends that, systemic factors that lead to change in people's material comfort include environmental degradation that reduces access to some sources of livelihood, uncontrolled population growth especially in urban

centers, resource scarcity and its allocation through lopsided political process and competition. The negative effects of colonial and cold war legacies, breakdown on cherished values and traditions that play crucial social control functions, widespread poverty in the midst of plenty, the domination and marginalization of minority groups by those in the majority ethnic groups, these are all examples of systematic causes of conflict.

Systemic sources of conflict are founded in every aspect of life and affect large numbers of people even though their influence on emergence and intensity of conflict are not always so visible to people. Prevention strategies that are meant to support social and political stability initiate people-friendly economic and political reforms and state policies genuinely seek to prevent or reduce conflicts between individual groups by seriously addressing the underlying issues often yield positive results in the long run.

Systemic theories also seek to explain the relationship between modernization and political disorder and see movement between different periods of economic and political history as containing large amounts of pull factors tension and crises that created conditions of internal conflict and instability. Lucian for instance, identifies identity crisis, legitimacy crisis, penetration crisis participation crisis, integration crisis and distribution crisis as key issues within modernization projects that generate conflicts. The inability to manage the challenges that resulted from these produce the immediate factors that lead to negative development within the system.

In trying to cope with the different challenges and crises of modernization, most governments that find it difficult to gain the legitimacy needed to attract support from the people usually resort to unconstitutional means and force rather than processes that are in line with the rule of law in an effort to suppress the legitimate demands of people, prevent opposition and civil society groups from criticizing policies that they do not agree with generally attempt to dictate the terms on which peace will be attained.

Relational theory

According to Felati (2006), relational theory attempts to provide explanation for violent conflicts between groups by exploring sociological, political, economic and historical relationships between such groups. Thus the belief here is that cultural and value differences as well as groups interests all influence relationships between individuals and groups in different ways. At the sociological level, differences between cultural values is a challenge to individual or group identity formation processes and create the tendency to see others as intruders who have to be prevented from encroaching upon established cultural boundaries.

Political economy for example identifies power and the advantages that it confers as a key source of tension between different interest groups within a political system. In situations where multiple groups share a common resource that is fixed in nature, the chance that each will attempt to eliminate, neutralize or

injure the other (Coser, 1956), or monopolies such as a resource (Maoz, 1982) is as high as the tendency to enter into a negative relationship.

A number of conflicts grow out of a past history of conflict between groups that led to the development of negative stereotypes, racial intolerance and discrimination. Such a history of negative exchanges between groups may make it difficult for efforts to integrate different ethnic and religious groups within the society to succeed because their past interactions make it difficult for them to trust one another. The fact that others are perceived as different makes us feel they are entitled to less or are inferior by reason of cultural values or skin colour. This disrupts the flow of communication between us and them and to that extent, twists perceptions that we have about each other. In the same way, the knowledge that two or more groups have to compete for the same resource (whatever it may be) creates conditions that increase the chance that interactions between them will produce conflict over how to share such a resource (Felati, 2006).

From the above theoretical discussion, conflict can be defined in simple terms as a disagreement over or competition for scarce resources, status, power and many more. Conflict often involves the struggle between individuals or group of persons over what they believe is their entitlement. It is unavoidable and therefore permeates the fabric of society. Structural conflict theory holds primary relevance for the analysis of the study. The theory is useful in understanding the underlying causes of conflicts among contesting groups. Though the structural conflict theory recognizes the competing interests of groups as the most important

motivation for conflict, it does not necessarily result in conflict between the competing groups.

The structural conflict theory emphasizes the identification of power structures and institutions as the causes of conflict. This theory will be supported by the human needs theory. The main assumption of the human needs theory is that, all humans have basic human needs which they seek to satisfy. When these needs are denied or frustrated by other groups or individuals, it leads to conflict. The human needs theory has failed to explain the role played by institutional structures in conflict.

The human needs theory is also supported by the psycho-cultural conflict theory which argue that, social conflicts that take long to resolve become a possibility when some groups are discriminated against or deprived of satisfaction of their basic (materials) and psychological (non-materials) needs on the basis of their identity. Individuals and groups experience fears which force them to see threats whether real or imagined. The systematic theory explains the relationship between modernization and political disorder and periods of economic and political history that can create conditions of internal conflict and instability. Complementing these theories helped in understanding and in the analysis of local governance and conflict in the Kassena- Nankana West District Assembly.

Decentralization

The emergence of globalization made some governments recognize the limitations and constraints of central economic planning and management. At the

same period, there was a shift in development theories which initially were based on central economic planning aimed at meeting basic human needs and participatory development led to increasing calls for decentralization. International assistance organisations promoted decentralization as an essential part of a “process approach” to development that depended primarily on self help by local communities and local governments. National governments decentralized in order to accelerate development, break bureaucratic bottlenecks arising from centralized government planning and management, and participate more effectively in a globalizing economy (Cheema & Rondinelli, 1983).

Decentralization is a well-known and widely applied concept in the present day world and popularity been promoted as a key component of the strategies aimed at alleviating poverty. The developing societies, at the threshold of a new era, placed major emphasis on decentralization for the contribution it can make to social and economic development. The transfer of power from the central government to more peripheral level has been seen as a means for overcoming physical and administrative constraints of development, improving the management of resources, and increasing community participation (Khan, 2006).

Developing countries have depended heavily on decentralization as key to their developmental woes by bring government to the people. This, Mahama and Otten (2008) conceded when they stated that, decentralization has become a central issue in development discourse in recent decades. Following the failure of central governments to fulfill their task in a satisfactory manner and also because

of pressure resulting from globalization, a large number of developing countries including Ghana have opted for decentralization.

Ghana's decentralization process seeks to devolve political, administrative and financial authority from the centre to the assemblies. This is expressed clearly from the provisions of the Fourth Republican Constitution. Article 34 Section 5 (d) of the 1992 Constitution required the state to "make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision-making at every level in national life and in government" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). This is supported by Mahama and Otten (2008) who indicated that, the thrust of Ghana's decentralization policy over the last 25 years has been to promote popular participation by shifting the process of governance from "top-down" to 'bottom-up" with its fulcrum resting on the devolution of power, competencies and resources to the district level.

The district level of governance is the devolution level, where decentralization in the true sense of the concept is played out. Despite the definitional problems associated with the concept of decentralization, the essential feature of decentralization in Ghana is that which devolves power to the people to decide. Devolution aims to increase public participation in local decision making, transparency and accountability.

Local governance and local government

Accounting to UNDP (1997) governance is “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.” The UN Human Development Report (2004) pointed out that governance has two faces: first, the leadership which has responsibilities derived from the principles of effective governmental organisations.

Second, the governed, that is the citizens, who are responsible for making relevant inputs to the socio-economic and political affairs of their society. In other words, governance is a relationship between rulers and the ruled, the state and society, the governors, and the governed. It is important that the two principal actors be as close as possible to ensure the legitimacy, accountability, credibility and responsiveness of the rulers and the effective participation, corruption and responsiveness of the ruled is achieved.

Local governance covers the broad spectrum of issues and actors that influence local political, economic and overall human development planning and decision-making. Some of the elements shaping local governance include political patterns, institutional arrangements, accountability mechanisms, the degree of civil society empowerment and capacities for generating local resources (UNDP, 2010). In line with this, Kenya (2010) suggested that, “local governance is the active involvement of the local population within the territorial boundaries of a

local government in ensuring improved quality of service and leadership at the local level”. This is an indication that, it is a broader concept and entails the formulation and execution of collective actions at the local level.

It is also the direct and indirect roles of sub-national governments (Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies [MMDAs]). Some of these roles include providing a range of local services, creating space for citizen participation and civic dialogue, environmentally sustainable local development and facilitating outcomes that enrich the quality of life of residents. There are legally established institutions which are mandated to carry out these roles at the local level. These institutions are local government structures.

According to Ahwoi (2010: Pp. 2) “local government has no universally agreed definition.” It differs from one country to the other in that what central government “cede” local government is a matter of importance to that government. Local governance does not limit itself to only the district assembly system which derives its mandate from Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution and the Local Government Act, Act 462 but includes the traditional administration.

The United Nations defines a local government as “a political subdivision of a nation (or, in a federal system, a state) which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the powers to impose taxes or to extract labour for prescribed purposes. The governing body of such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected (United Nations, 1961). Contributing further, the United Nations (1997) indicated that, local government is at the forefront of democratic development because it is the form of government which has the

closest proximity to the people. Local authorities should operate in close cooperation with other agencies, for example, NGOs, business, central government, and act as facilitators and enablers to ensure that efficient and cost-effective services are available to local people.

According to Hume and Martin as cited in Khan (2006), local government is said to have the following characteristics; a defined area of jurisdiction, a population, a continuing organisation, the authority to undertake and the power to carry out public activities, the ability to sue and be sued and to enter into contracts to collect revenues, and to determine a budget.

Local government is one of the key institutions for the delivery services to local communities and for the nurturing of democratic practices around the world. However, local government in many developing and transitional countries tend to be ill equipped and financially not well prepared to perform all the functions and responsibilities assigned to them (UNDP, 2008). It is the local government level that is more accessible and closest to the people and can play a crucial role in consolidating democracy through good governance. Local government is seen as an entity that has been given resources and power to help improve the lives of the people at the local level. They are also held accountable for the use of these resources and power. Democracy is seen at its best at the local level when people are allowed to be part of the decision making that affects their livelihoods.

Ahwoi (2010) mentioned some importance of local government to include, an efficient method of administering certain services. This is because democratic local governments consists of members who are drawn from the local

communities and who also possess local knowledge and commitment to the area and its people. Local governments also have a high degree of autonomy and can therefore take initiatives and make experiments. Local governments also encourage responsible citizenship and local democracy and promote political education through the involvement of a large number of people in the political decision making process (Ahwoi, 2010).

Local government in Ghana is faced with some challenges which invariably hinder the governance process. One of such constraints is the general financial constraints which DAs are compelled to operate on. The financial constraint also limits the financial reward that District Assembly members enjoy (Boateng, 1996).

Ghana's local government

Local government is provided in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, which provides that a District Assembly is the highest political authority in the district, and that the District Assembly has deliberative, legislative and executive powers. The Constitution prescribes that Ghana shall have a system of local government and administration which shall, as far as practicable, be decentralized. The composition, powers and duties of the different types of District Assemblies are prescribed in the Local Government Act 1993.

Local government can be traced to the colonial era where native authorities mainly the chiefs. In some instances, an area where there was no chief somebody was handpicked as representatives (Ministry of Local Government and

Rural Development, 1996). According to Mahama and Otten (2008), the traditional rulers served as central figures in local government. The native authorities were given powers to pass traditional leaders and the British authorities, it failed to meet the needs and aspirations of the people.

Brief historical development of local government in Ghana

The Municipal Ordinance passed in the 1859 was the first attempt in establishing local governments in the coast of the then Gold Coast. A new legislation was passed in 1943 establishing town councils for Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Cape Coast. The legislations clearly distinguish between central and local government institutions where there are different (two) machinery for the administration of the country. One based in the capital with branches at the local (district) level and the others separate and distinct, based in well-defined localities and referred to as Local Government. In all these, decision-making took an unduly long time because these bodies had to refer decisions on most matters of any meaningful significance to a Ministry in Accra, which, bogged down with matters of national significance.

This dual system of administration resulted in some problems:

- Due to unclear definition of responsibilities, central government agencies took over the responsibilities of the local government structures.
- The various bodies had gone their various ways without sufficient consultations with each other, etc.

Against this background, there were several committees set up to enquire into the administration of the country notably the Watson Committee (1949), Sir Fredrick Bourne Committee(1955), Greenwood Commission (1957), the Mills Odoi Commission (1967) the Akuffo-Addo Commission (1968), the Siriboe Commission (1968) (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996).

In spite of the far reaching nature of the recommendations most of which were accepted, attempts at decentralization could not materialize until 1974 due to the change of Government in 1972. The 1972 Local Government described as the “Single Hierarchy” Model sought to abolish the distinction between local and central government at the local level and create one common structure (District Councils) to which was assigned the responsibility of the totality of government at the local level. This system was also confronted with several problems such as ineffective accountable and legitimate political authority established at the local level and some large districts that was difficult to administer (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996).

The above background provided the reason and the structure, form and content of the 1988 local government reforms in Ghana. Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Law 207, 1998 established the Assemblies. This was further strengthened by Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

The current local government system

The thrust of Ghana's decentralization policy over the last 25 years has been to promote popular participation by shifting the process of governance from "top-down" to "bottom-up" with its fulcrum resting on the devolution of power, competencies and resources to the district level. The main features of the policy as outlined in the policy framework include devolution of power and authority, administrative decentralization, decentralized development planning, fiscal decentralization and public-private partnership (Mahama & Otten, 2008).

This policy forms the basis of the new local government system which is premised on the assumption that;

- development is that which responds to people's problems and represents their goals, objectives and priorities;
- development is a shared responsibility between central government, local governments, non-governmental organisations and the people, the ultimate beneficiaries of development all of whom must be closely linked;
- local government institutions are necessary to provide focal points local energies, enthusiasm, initiative and organisation to demonstrate new skills and leadership.

District Assemblies are the human institutions created to give expression to these assumptions. They are in effect aimed at creating a forum at the district level where a team of development agents, the representatives of the people and other agencies will agree on the development problems of the district, their underlying causative factors and decide on the combined actions necessary to deal

with them. These were given legal form by the new local government system and given legal backing by the Local Government Law, 1988, PNDCL 207, now superseded by Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution and replaced by the Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462 (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996).

Ghana has had different forms of local government since independence. Since 1988, attempts at decentralization have been bold and have had far reaching effects. The Directive Principles of State policy (Article 35, section 5) of the Constitution requires the state, among others, to ‘make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of the government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making at every level in national life and government’ (Mahama, 2009). Chapter Twenty, Article 20 of the same Constitution indicates that ‘Ghana shall have a system of local government and administration which shall, as far as practicable, be decentralized.

The Constitutional framework formed the legal bases for local government in Ghana. The new local government system under Act 462 (Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462) is made up of Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) and a four-tier Metropolitan and three-tier Municipal/District Assemblies, Urban/Town/Area/Zonal Councils, Unit Committees (Mahama, 2009).

Section(10)(1) of Act 462, states that, a District Assembly shall exercise political and administrative authority in the District, provide guidance, give

direction to and supervise all other administrative authorities in the district. Act 462 also outlines the responsibilities of the assembly some of which include to;

- be responsible for the overall development of the district and shall ensure the preparation and submission through the Regional Coordinating Council of development plans of the district to the commissioner for approval and of the budget of the district related to the approved plans to the Minister for Finance for approval
- to formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for the effective mobilization of the resources necessary for the overall development of the district
- promote and support productive activity and social development in the district and remove any obstacle to initiate and development
- in co-operation with the appropriate national and local security agencies be responsible for the maintenance of security and public safety in the district.

The local government units are called the district assemblies and are considered strategic in the overall development of the country. People are afforded the opportunity to participate in decision making that affects their lives (Local Government Act, 1993).

Structure of Ghana's local government system

The local government structure of Ghana is in several tiers and therefore the need for coordination to ensure there is practical functionalization and

effectiveness in implementation. The presidency, cabinet and civil service are at the centre and connected to the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies through the ten (10) Regional Coordinating Councils (RCCs) located in the ten (10) administrative regions of Ghana (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996).

Beneath the level of the Metropolitan Assemblies are the Sub-Metropolitan District Councils as well as the Town Councils. Under the Municipal and District Assemblies are the Zonal Councils and Urban/Town/Area Councils respectively. The very lowest level to the bottom is the Unit Committees which represent the last stage in the structure. It is generally called a four-tier system, even though that depends on the way you look at it.

Figure 1 shows the structure for administrative local government of Ghana (Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996).

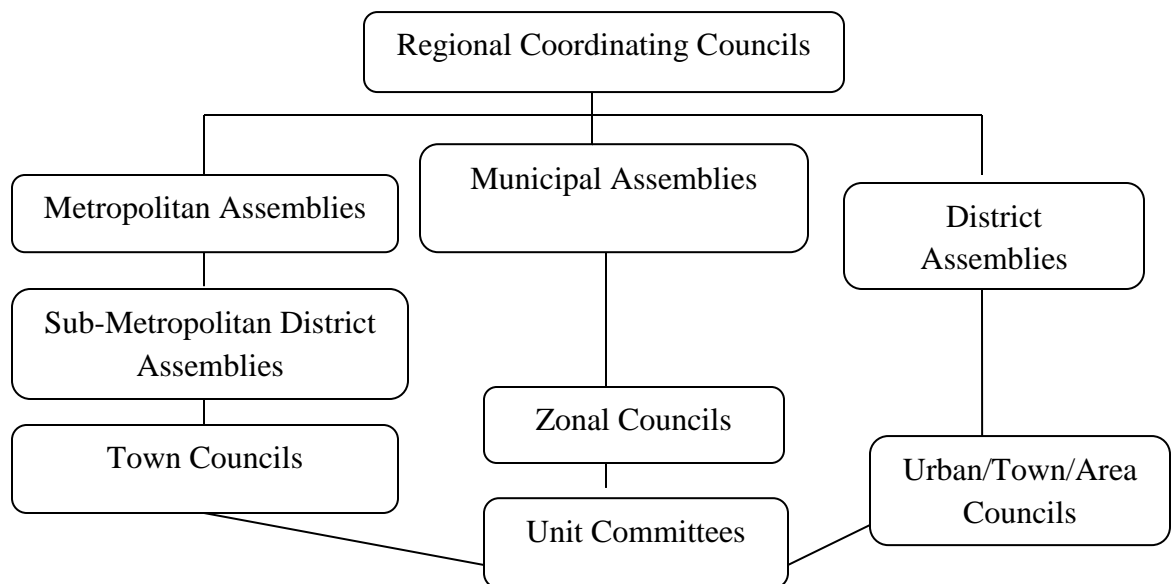


Figure 1: Local Government Structure

Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996

Good governance

Annan (2000) said good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development. The UNDP (1997) defined good governance as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences. Good governance can therefore help to eliminate poverty and propel development through the participation of citizens in the governance process.

Good governance is, among other things, participatory, transparent, accountable, effective and equitable and, it promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and most vulnerable are heard in decision-making over the allocation of development resources (Abdellatif, 2003).

According to Mahama and Otten (2008), to promote good governance at the local level therefore, there is the need to take a critical look at measures that will enhance and sustain governance practices at the local level. The lack of public participation in local politics, high corruption in local government, weak public institutions, absence of strong civil society voice and the high rate of illiteracy have perpetuated apathy toward what goes on at the local level in Ghana. Pieterse (2001) noted that, good governance is a pre-requisite for sustainable and equitable local economic development, as it has been identified as one of the most important dimensions effecting local economic development.

Good governance has eight (8) major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Participation as one of the characteristics of good governance is very vital to local government. To Mahama and Otten (2008), participation by both men and women is the pivot of good governance. It may involve information sharing, consultation and collaboration. In the area of collaboration, stakeholders jointly identify issues of common interest, pool resources and share in the benefits. It is vital to involve all interest groups in decision making. The tenants of good governance are embedded in local governance in that when these tenants are adhered to, then the overall objective of local governance will be achieved.

Citizen participation in local governance

Citizen participation is considered as an important factor for successful and prosperity of local government. Citizens' participation in local government produces more efficiency in programmes as well as promotes good governance (Lowndes et al, 2001 cited in Ahmed et al, 2010). To Aref et al (2009), without community participation, there are obviously no accountability, no development and no programme. Participation enhances civic consciousness and political maturity. It is about increased citizens' involvement in and influence over local

governance. It is observed that, increased involvement of people in decision making process promotes effectiveness and efficiency in the utilization of resources at the local level. It also promotes transparency and accountability.

There are legal provisions supporting participation in Ghana. Article 1 of Chapter 1 of the Constitution states that “the sovereignty of Ghana resides in the people of Ghana in whose name and for whose welfare the powers of government are to be exercised in the manner and within the limits laid down in the Constitution”. Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution posits that “to ensure accountability of Local Government authorities, people in particular Local Government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance”. Other legal provisions include Assembly Members consulting their electorates before and after meetings and also the participatory planning and budgeting process.

The legal provisions of participation make it a right and not a privilege. The opportunity to participate in the decision making process is important because, power and resources transferred to the District Assemblies are meant to improve the lives of the people. It becomes prudent to involve people in decisions that affect their lives.

According to Mahama and Otten (2008), community participation in local government dates back to the colonial period in Ghana and was re-enforced through the creation of Sub-district structures in 1988. Participation has however been given less prominence in the local government system for the fact that local participation has been on mundane matters, voluntary, and sacrificial, mostly

based on grassroots enthusiasm and self help, mobilization to pay taxes, provision of communal labour and awareness creation. Participation by both men and women is the pivot of good governance. It may involve information sharing, consultation and collaboration. In the area of collaboration, stakeholders jointly identify issues of common interest, pool resources and share in the benefits.

According to Arnstein as cited in Ahmed et al (2010), participation is a process that enables the marginalized and poor citizens, those who are excluded from decision-making process, to be included in future. It is the strategy that the marginalized are involved in sharing-information, and join to set priorities and goals. The Arnstein's ladder has eight rungs and each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the plan and/or program. The eight rungs are categorized into three categories. The bottom rungs of the ladder are manipulation and therapy. These two rungs describe level of non-participation, which the real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning, but to enable power-holders to educate the participants.

The following categorization involves three levels of tokenism; informing, consultation, and placation. In this level citizens may indeed hear or be heard, but under these conditions they lack power to influence decisions. It is the illusion of a voice without the voice itself. The highest level of the participation ladder is citizen-power, which include; partnership, delegated power and citizen control. In this level, citizen control all issues and win the majority of decision-making seats. Participation is considered key to the governance process of people at the local

level. It is only through participation that the voiceless in society can be heard and form part of the decisions affecting their lives.

Local level development and service delivery in local governance

Local level development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local conditions and the changing world for their own betterment of lives (Ajayi, 1995). Local level development can only take place when all actors participate and share their ideas, visions and responsibilities equally and democratically for the achievement of development plans (Ajayi & Otuya, 2006). Looking at the local level allows development practitioners to understand the actual impact of development decisions taken at other higher levels.

According to the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) (2006), local level development means the provision of economic and social infrastructure and other facilities that inure to the public good. It is in this regard that Ghana's decentralization efforts seek to promote local level development. This is because local level development aims at strengthening local participation in responsible, challenging action that meets genuine needs. It creates opportunities for community members to engage in planning and decision-making that fosters increased efficiency and equity in development activities.

Ofei-Aboagye (2007) view local level development as an approach that aims to empower both communities and local governments with the resources and authority to use them flexibly, thus taking control of their development. They

place emphasis on community members determining their development by giving community members access to voice and information, greater social inclusion and participation, greater accountability, and organisational strength.

Local governance seeks to promote local level development through the delivery of services and the promotion of local economic development. Local economic development is understood as stimulating community economies in which the people participate as consumers, micro-entrepreneurs and workers, individually and in groups. Local economic development is also described as consisting of processes based on local initiative and driven by local stakeholders, resources, ideas and skills to stimulate economic growth and development. Local economic development is perceived to be ongoing rather than a single project. Each locality has its unique challenges and opportunities and the Local economic development strategy adopted would be specific to the particular local context (World Bank as cited in Ofei-Aboagye, 2009).

Local level development gives local people the opportunity to engage in a process aimed at managing their own development. By managing their own development, it means local people are able to manage and improve the social, economic and environmental situation of their communities. These efforts can lead to improved participation, flexibility, equity, attitudes, the function of institutions and the quality of life of the local people.

Local level development has contributed to strengthening participatory governance, supported and developed local capacities for community-based development, and facilitated a collaborative relationship between communities

and local authorities. Its focus is on strengthening decentralized institutional arrangements for empowerment, governance and service provision since they are the building blocks of sustainable capacity for local development. However, embarking on local development as a development approach requires that one pay attention to both the core and supporting elements (World Bank, 2004). Together these elements constitute the institutional foundations for achieving sustainable development impacts at the local level.

Factors accounting for conflict in local governance

There are various efforts by national and sub-national governments in addressing developmental challenges facing countries. Such interventions however have the potential to inflame rather than dampen conflict by changing social and political structures, power relations, rules and resource allocation among communities. Conflicts can generate from controversial development policies and project failures (Barron et al., 2007). To Barron et al. conflicts can generate from controversial development policies and project failures.

To support this, Kaufman (1991) indicated that, when choices are to be made, people make decisions. And when these decisions are not forced but freely made, they reflect peoples' preferences, perceptions and the chances that, their favorite outcome will prevail. Any decision that is taken attracts reaction from the citizens because of conflicting interest from different groups of people. One basic difficulty in making and implementing local government decisions is contending

with numerous others having divergent interest (Kaufman, 1991). It is these divergent interests when not well managed that generate conflict.

Policies and projects that are targeted at improving the livelihoods of citizens inevitably create tension. Such interventions create perceived 'winners' and 'losers' and can develop latent inter-group tensions which may lead to violent unrest that undermines the basis and impacts of such policies and projects. Specific development projects will have different impacts on conflict and the ability of communities to manage it. On the other hand, projects that seek to empower the poor and enhance the participation of marginalized groups might generate tensions.

According to Kendie and Mensah (2008), the implementation of decentralization programme since 1988 was basically the transfer of authority and resources from the centre to the lower structures of government. Through these powers and resources, DA are required to initiate development policies and projects. The policies and projects are to be planned for and forms part of the Medium Term Development Plans of the DAs.

Power is located in the hands of individuals or institutions. Power is exercised largely through coercion and persuasion. According to Kendie and Mensah (2008), state power is derieved from authority conferred on the state by citizens, at least in a democratic situation. The state ensures the maintenance of law and order and the provision of infrastructure, which are essential for the growth of businesses. It is for these reasons that governments are conferred with power and authority to provide the environment for social harmony and economic

advancement (Kendie & Mensah, 2008). In this regard, the state has transferred these powers to the sub-government structures. District assemblies have the power to initiate developmental projects and programmes to improve on the lives of the people. It is the power play of this key stakeholder in local governance that sometimes leads to conflict at the local level.

Local governance as a process has the potential of generating conflicting interest. Local governance requires huge financial resources for the process to be successful. German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) (2006) posits that fiscal decentralization is usually a deficit. The mandate of control over their own taxes and guaranteed appropriations from national tax revenue are the fundamental basis for local authorities to build confidence and legitimacy. Without sufficient financial resources, local governments cannot perform their core mandate of overall development. Insufficient financial resources result in difference in development and prospects for local government areas.

Local government projects always entail a political dimension. The political landscape in Ghana is becoming pluralistic more especially at the local level. This is as a result of the fact that centrally appointed leaders from the governing party must jointly govern with elected leaders some of whom are sympathetic to the opposition parties. This serves as the basis for conflict. The conflict situation is further heightened by the ambiguity of responsibilities between different sets of officials and between the layers of government (O'Mahony & Siegel, n.d).

In local governance, elected representatives are the ones expected to make decisions on behalf of the people who in turn hold them accountable at times of elections. In more participatory approaches, both the elected and the bureaucratic forms of representation and legitimacy are challenged, as communities and their leaders are invited into direct engagement. Conflicts emerge over who speaks for whom and with what authority. Warioba (2008) confirmed when he indicated that, inadequate communication has the potential to worsen conflict situations when either too little or too much communication takes place. Insufficient communication contributes to the conflict by preventing agreement between two parties whose positions are essentially compatible. Inadequate channels of communication can generate tension between groups.

Effects of conflict in local governance

According to Kaufman (1991), conflict is not unique to local governance; it is a phenomenon that accompanies most human activities. Conflict is considered by majority to have negative implications. This ascertainment by Kaufman (1991) is not totally true because conflict is not necessarily negative but can also be positive. Some conflict scholars argue that, in terms of its intensity, conflict can be distinguished between functional and dysfunctional. Warioba (2008) in the study of management of conflict in city and municipal councils in Tanzania defined functional conflict as the conflict that supports the goals of the group and which improves its performance.

The argument put forward by Warioba is that, conflict leads to normal competition among groups and the groups work harder and produce more resulting in conflict as positive. Conflict therefore become constructive and offers the group opportunities to recognize neglected problems and opportunities and thereby increases their creative capacity. Dysfunctional conflict refers to the negative aspect of conflict, which occurs due to its disruption in communication, cohesiveness and cooperation. Individuals engaged in conflict typically experience stress, frustration, and anxiety.

Schelnberger (2005) is of the view that, decentralization leads to an influx of resources. Conflicts can arise over the use of these resources. Depending on how they are distributed, disparities might increase. The governance process at the local level is aimed to ensure the overall development of the local areas.

To Agyepong (2009), local authorities seek to achieve this through the promotion of local economic development programmes. These programmes are intended to create a conducive environment to attract private investment into the local communities. The author confirms by saying that, violent conflict is obviously one of the most significant impediments to sustainable development. Besides the more immediate effects on human life, such as war casualties and destruction of properties and social infrastructures, violence also affect societies in the medium and long term.

Conflict management strategies in local governance

United Nations Resident Coordinator in Ghana, Ms. Sandhu-Rojon at a fund-raising ceremony to Mark the 67th United Nations Day in Accra, urged Ghanaians to maintain peaceful political competition and to ensure that the peaceful competition does not result into violence. She stated that “this scenario must be avoided with the strongest determination as it would threaten Ghana’s hard-won development gains and affect its international reputation as a beacon of peace in the region and as a preferred place for long term economic investment and development” (Ghana News Agency, 2012, Oct. 25). She underscored the fact that, without peace there was no development, and without development, it was difficult to ensure peaceful coexistence and peace. It is evident that, there is the need to manage conflict situations for a peaceful environment for accelerated development in the district.

Conflict management may mean various mechanisms employed to reduce or eliminate violence and ensure continuous cordial interaction of parties involved. According to Best (2006), conflict management entails a wide range of peaceful and non-violent settlement of disputes taking place at various levels and in many communities. There are two broad categories of conflict management which include proactive and reactive measures. The proactive measures comprise of mechanisms that aim to prevent the occurrence of conflict. Such mechanisms may include undocumented community-based trust and confidence building measures, communication, good governance and inter-party collaboration. The

proactive measures are conventional and include arbitration, adjudication, mediation, negotiation, conciliation and litigation.

Rahim posits that, “conflict management involves designing effective macro-level strategies to minimize the negative effects of conflict and enhancing the positive effects of conflict in order to enhance learning and effectiveness in an organisation” (Rahim, 2002, p. 208). Conflict management is not limited to just the macro-level strategies. Strategies should be at all levels in order to effectively manage conflict. To the author, there is no one best approach to how to make decisions and manage conflict. He created a model known as the meta-model for conflict styles based on two dimensions, concern for self and concern for others.

Rahim (2002) outlines five approaches to conflict management: integrating, obliging, dominating, avoiding, and compromising. Integration involves openness, exchanging information, looking for alternatives, and examining differences so solve the problem in a manner that is acceptable to both parties. Obliging is associated with attempting to minimize the differences and highlight the commonalities to satisfy the concern of the other party. When using the dominating style one party goes all out to win his or her objective and, as a result, often ignores the needs and expectations of the other party. When avoiding a party fails to satisfy his or her own concern as well as the concern of the other party. Lastly, compromising involves give-and-take whereby both parties give up something to make a mutually acceptable decision (Rahim, 2002).

According to Bigon (2003), local governance means transparent and efficient procedures allowing peoples’ participation through inclusive and

participatory decision making processes and plays an important role in conflict transformation. Bigon (2003) also identified conflict prevention in local governance as effective, transparent, fair and inclusive local government system. This is conflict prevention because they can remove potential areas of conflict in local governance.

One conflict management mechanism that has gained recognition and trust of Ghanaians is the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). Conflict scholars have advocated for use of traditional/indigenous African mechanisms of conflict resolution, arguing that such resolution processes often involve significant segments of local authority structures and signify community desires for stability (Smock, 1997). Some ADR mechanisms commonly used by stakeholders in the country are negotiation, mediation and arbitration.

ADR mechanisms have actually been in use for sometime now and are fast gaining popularity as a preferred method of dispute resolution. Parties who have gone through some ADR processes like mediation acknowledge their satisfaction and trust in the process. In more recent times, however, concerns about the efficacy of these ADRs in resolving conflicts on the continent of Africa have led some scholars to advocate the use of traditional/indigenous African mechanisms of conflict resolution, arguing that such resolution processes often involve significant segments of local authority structures and signify community desires for stability (Smock, 1997).

Some conflicts in Africa are resolved through indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which relay on local socio-political actors and traditional

community based judicial and control structures to manage and resolve conflicts. Sub-national structures have a role to play in conflict management at the local level for development to thrive. District Assemblies are mandated to improve the lives of people at the local level and therefore important that conflicting interest are managed. This is supported by Bigdon (2003) who stated that when all actors in local government are able to cooperate in a way that common need, and conflicting issues can be effectively addressed. This coupled with transparency, efficient, inclusive planning, as well as involvement of people in the planning and decision making process, then local governance can be a conflict management strategy.

Conceptual framework

The study is guided by structural conflict theory represented by Marxist dialectical school of thought with exponents like Engels and Lenin. The liberal structuralism is represented by Ross in 1993, Scarborough in 1998 and work on structural violence by John Galtung in 1990. The structural conflict theory posits that competing interest of groups makes conflict a consequence of social, economic and political organisation of society. The emphasis of the structural conflict theory is the identification of power structures and institutions as causes of conflict. The institutions could be state or non-state institutions.

There are various actors in the governance process at the local level who play various roles for the district to perform its development mandate. Under this study, the structural factors that can trigger conflict can be uneven resource

allocation, non-involvement of people in decision making that directly affect them and responsiveness of the District Assembly to address the needs of the citizens. Citizens as stakeholders in local governance represent different sections of the interest groups. Decisions taken by the DA directly affect the citizens of the Kassena-Nankana West District. When there is perceived unfairness in the allocation of resources, it may result into conflict. The theory fits into the study because it recognizes political and institutional factors as well as available resources as factors responsible for the emergence of conflict.

Figure 2 provides an indication that, such a conflict will affect local level development and service delivery. The participation of citizens in decision making can help manage conflict and improve local level development. Figure 2 gives an illustration and explanation of these issues.

The DA is legally mandated to perform deliberative, legislative and executive functions. The administrative structure of the DA is headed by the Coordinating Director who works with other technocrats on a day-to-day basis to execute the functions of the DA as stipulated in the Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462 and Chapter 20 of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana. The administrative staff plan, initiate, coordinate, manage and execute policies for the benefit of the people.

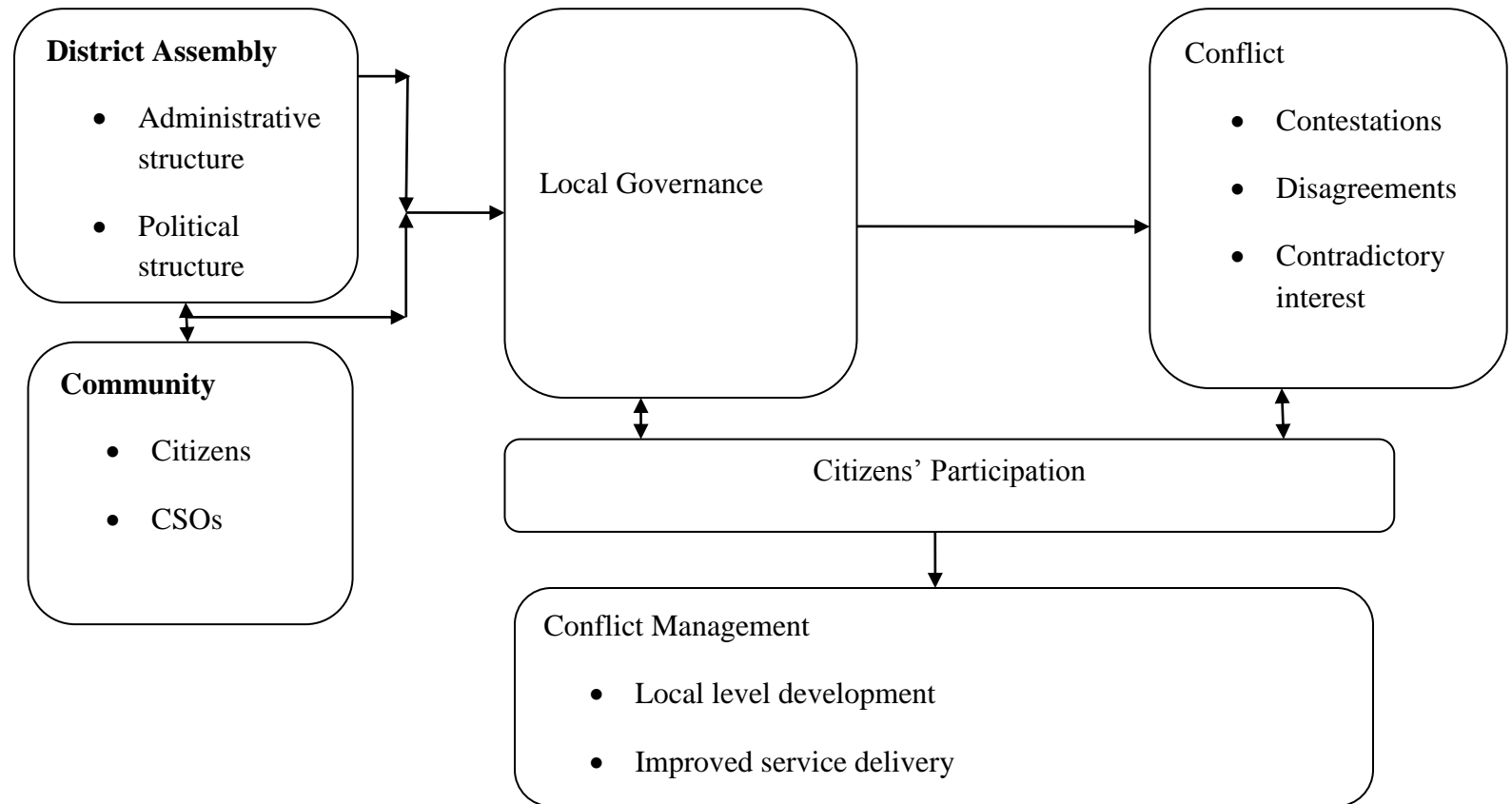


Figure 2: Conceptual framework showing the relationship between conflict and local governance

Source: Adapted from Best, 2006; Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, 1996; Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993

The other structure of the DA is the political set-up comprising Assembly Members. The Assembly Members are either elected representatives of the various electoral areas in the district or appointed by the President in consultation with the Traditional Authorities. They formulate laws and give approval for the budgets and development plans of the district.

The DA does not perform its functions in isolation but in collaboration with the citizens and CSOs in the district. Article 35(d) of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana states that the state shall take necessary measures to:

“make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision making at every level in national life in government” (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

The citizens make inputs into the development plans and budgets of the DA mostly through public hearings.

The activities involving the economic, political and administrative functions at the local level can be summed up as local governance (see figure 2). Local governance places emphasis on the process through which people are governed at the local level. The overall objective of local governance is to improve the lives of the people at the local level by way of physical, social and economic development. Local governance is also about timely, efficient and effective service delivery. The service delivery responsibilities of DAs are the

provision of basic education, primary health care, environmental hygiene, transport, waste management and settlement planning.

Where there are contestations and disagreements by citizens in the local governance, it may affect local level development and service delivery. The DA in pursuit of the objective of overall development of the district through resource allocation and in decision making may generate conflict. Conflict may affect local level development and the participation of citizens in DA activities.

Through effective citizen participation, common needs and conflicting issues are effectively addressed. The management of conflict will mean the representation of all identity and interest groups, transparent, efficient, inclusiveness in decision making. When conflict is well managed at the local level, it leads to local level development and improved service delivery in the area of education, health and security.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The chapter presents the procedure used to collect data for the study. The chapter commences with a discussion of the study area. The chapter also includes the research design that informs the construction of the instruments and analysis. The chapter further highlights the target population and sampling strategy used to select respondents. Description of the instruments, data collection and analysis wraps up the chapter.

Study area

The Kassena-Nankana West District is one of the thirteen districts in the Upper East Region of Ghana. The district has a total land area of approximately 1,004 sq km. The district lies approximately between longitude 1⁰' and 38.194''West and latitude 11⁰' and 34.116''North as depicted on Figure 3 (Kassena- Nankana West District Assembly, 2010).

The Kassena-Nankana West District shares boundaries with Burkina Faso to the North, Bongo district to the North East, Bolgatanga Municipality to the East, Kassena-Nankana East to the South, Builsa District and Sissala East to the South West and West respectively as in Figure 3 (Kassena-Nankana West District Assembly, 2010).

The estimated total population of the District is 70,667 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012) with an estimated population growth rate of 1 percent. An

estimated population of 34,747 representing 49 percent of the total population is male while 35,920 representing 51 percent are female. The population density is 120 persons per square kilometer. There are 7,065 houses and 13,583 households. The population is about 90 percent rural (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

There are seven paramountcies in the Kassena-Nankana West District. They are Paga, Chiana, Katiu, Nakong, Kayoro, Mirigu and Sirigu paramountcies. Each Paramountcy has a 'Tindana' who relates with the Ancestral traditions which he holds in trust for the people. Matters concerning Chieftaincy, Culture, and tradition are handled by the various traditional council's individual chiefs.

The predominant tribes in the district are the Kassena, the Nankana and Mamprusis. Other ethnic groups include Kantosis, Moshies, Builsas, Zambrama and few migrant workers from Burkina-Faso. These tribes have co-existed over the years, enhancing the development of the district. Individuals do not own lands but the family heads. The chiefs oversee the distribution and sale of land. The Tidanas are the original owners of the land; however they transfer land to other family heads.

The structural arrangement of urban and rural settlements in the Kassena-Nankana West District is mainly dispersed in character, scattered in pattern, form and existence. The settlements are far apart thus making it difficult for the provision of basic infrastructure and services. Population is concentrated in the urban areas to the disadvantage of the rural areas whose environmental resources have much potential for increased socio-economic growth. There are 132 communities of varied sizes in the district.

Agriculture is the dominant economic activity in the district. The sector employs over 68.7 percent of the people. The farmer population has male at 48.4 percent and female farmers as 51.6 percent. The major crops grown are millet, sorghum, rice, groundnuts, leafy vegetables, cowpea, bambara beans, okro, cotton, tomatoes and Onion. Livestock reared in the district include cattle, sheep, goat, pigs, guinea fowls, fowls and other domestic animals like donkeys. Fish farming involving Tilapia and Mudfish are quite significant (Kassena-Nankana West District Assembly, 2010).

The Assembly has a total membership of 48 people made up of the following; the District Chief Executive, elected assembly members (32), appointed assembly members (14) and one Member of Parliament. There are nine Area Councils in the district out of which seven are functioning. Only two, Chiana and Mirigu Area Councils have office accommodation. They are the Chiana Town council and Mirigu Area council (Kassena-Nankana District Assembly, 2010).

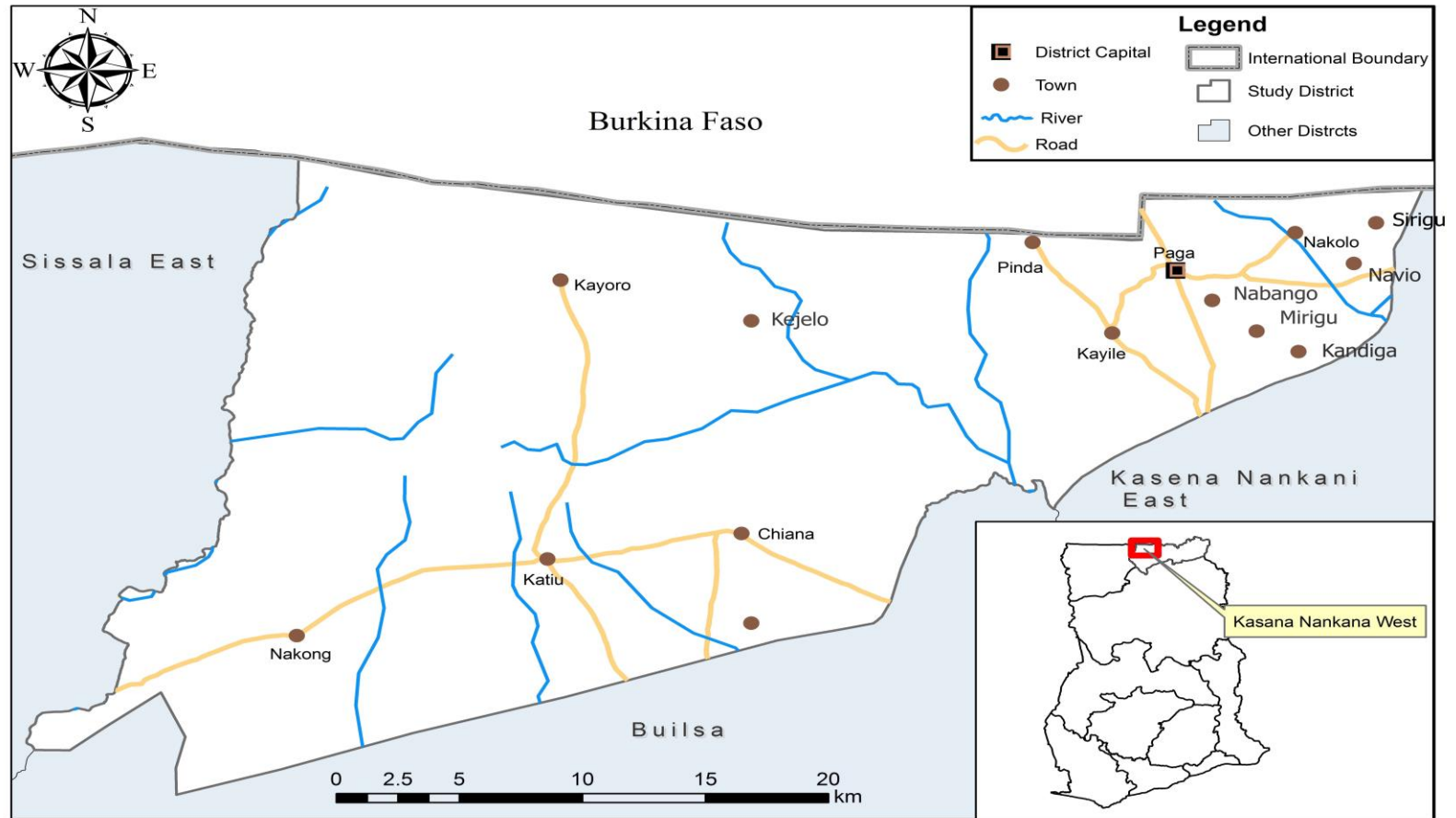


Figure 3: Map showing Kassena-Nankana West District

Source: Geography and Regional Planning Department, University of Cape Coast, 2012

Study design

The study adopted mixed research method of study. Creswell et al. (2003) defined mixed methods of study as one that involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected from the field concurrently and analysed. Data was integrated during interpretation with qualitative priority.

The study was descriptive in nature. It is descriptive because it presents samples the perceptions and opinions of people about conflict and local governance. A descriptive case study design offers descriptive reports of individuals' perceptions, views and attitudes to events and things and in the real life in which they occurred (Hakim, 2000).

The study design was chosen because it made it possible to explore the research questions from different perspectives which led to the understanding of issues connected with local governance and conflict.

Target population

The study required the opinions, views and concerns of actors in local governance. The target population included staff of the Kassena-Nankana West District Assembly which included the District Coordinating Director, District Engineer, District Planning Officer, District Budget Officer, District Finance Officer, Presiding Member, members of works sub-committee, members of social

services sub-committee, members of development planning sub-committee, finance and administration sub-committee and the Presiding Member. The target population also included the community members.

Sample and sampling procedure

The entire population of Kassena-Nankana West District constituted 70,667 (GSS, 2012). The sample frame consisted of all people who were 18 years and above. A sample size of 398 respondents was determined using the formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(a^2)}$$

Source: Israel (2009)

Where;

n = sample size;

N = Population and

a = margin of error

A confidence level of 95 percent was used in the calculation of the sample size (see appendix A). The determination of a sample from the entire population was necessary considering the heterogeneous characteristics of the population, the time and budget available to complete the study.

The study adopted both probability sampling (to increase external validity) and non-probability sampling (to increase transferability) procedures. These two sampling procedures were conducted at the same time. Mixed method sampling entails the selection of units of analysis for a study employing both probability and non- probability sampling procedures (Teddie & Yu, 2007).

Concurrent mixed methods design makes triangulation of the results from the separate quantitative and qualitative components of the research and to confirm, cross-validate or corroborate findings within a single study (Creswell et al., 2003).

A stratified sampling technique was used to draw the sample size of 398 respondents. This technique was used because the KNWD is demarcated into 9 Area Councils. Sarantakos (1993) stated that a stratified sample is more useful when there is the need for representation of all groups of the target population in the sample. Drawing a sample from these Area Councils gave me a fair representation. At least 45 interview guides were administered in each Area Council. Interview guides were proportionally allocated to the 9 Area Councils. This technique was adopted because there was no segregated data on the population.

Using the numbering system done to facilitate the work of the Navrongo Health Research Centre (NHRC), a convenience sampling method was used to select households from Area Councils. Convenience sampling was then used to select the respondents from the households. At least one person 18 years and above and willing to participate in the study was interviewed.

Interviews were also conducted with 5 core staff of the DA. Purposive sampling was used to select them. They were selected because they have been given the power and resources to lead the process of development of the District and are therefore are in the position to provide information that is critical to the study.

Twenty three Assembly Members were also interviewed. These were members of the 5 sub-committees (Works, Justice and Security sub-committee, Social Services, Development Planning and Finance and Administration). They were purposively sampled since they deal directly with issues of resource allocation in the district. The Presiding Member was also interviewed as the head of the District Assembly. The community members sampled were key to this study because they are stakeholders of the governance process and beneficiaries of the process. They are also players in any contestation that arise out of the governance process at the local level. Community members were required to give information on the contestations involved in resource allocation in the Kassena-Nankana West District. They were also required to give information on their perception on the local government system. The responses from the staff of the assembly were used to complement that of the responses of the community members on conflict in local governance. Table 1 summaries the total number of respondents selected.

Table 1: Summary of respondents

Respondents	Number interviewed
Community members	398
Staff of District Assembly	05
Sub-committee members (5)	23

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Data and sources

Data for the research was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained from some core staff of the Kassena-Nankana District Assembly, community members, Presiding Member and the members of the 4 sub-committees of the District Assembly. Interview guides were used to elicit information from the Coordinating Director, Planning Officer, Budget Officer, Finance Officer, District Engineer, Presiding Member and members of the Sub-committees of the Executive Committee of the DA. Data was also gathered from the community members by means of interview schedule.

Secondary data were gathered through sources such as peer reviewed journals, internet sources, edited books, written reports and related research works in the field of conflict and local governance.

Instruments

Two instruments were used to collect both quantitative and qualitative data for the study. The quantitative data was collected using structured interview schedules. This instrument was chosen because some of the respondents were non-literates and could therefore not read and understand the questions clearly. The interview schedules contained both open-ended and close-ended questions. The close ended questions required the respondents to make choices from alternative responses while the open-ended provided space for respondents to make their own responses to questions on the interview schedule. The interview schedule was divided into five sections. The first section sought information on

the demographic characteristics of the respondents which included their age, sex, occupation and name of community.

The second section elicited information on the perception of people about local government system. The questions based on the people's perception about the local government system. Questions in this section bordered on the functions of the assembly, expectations of the people about local government and benefits derived from the assembly. The third section of the schedule sought information on the causes of conflict in local governance. This section focuses on knowledge of respondents on the causes of conflict in local governance, some conflict situations and some examples of the conflict. Section four focuses on the effects of conflict in local governance. Questions in this section bordered on the knowledge of respondents about the effects of conflict in local governance and whether the effects affect the relationship of the people and the District Assembly. The last section of the interview schedule dwells on conflict management strategies in local governance. Questions in this section were on awareness of conflict management strategies in the district and a follow-up question on the list of specific strategies. There was a question on how to manage conflicts in local governance.

The qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interview guide. The interview guide was used for the in-depth interviews with the staff of the District Assembly, members of the sub-committees of the DA and the Presiding Member. Questions in the guide included description of the relationship among staff members, relationship between assembly staff and assembly members,

participation process of the development process of the District Assembly. There were also questions that bordered on contestations in the governance process, the effect of these contestations and mechanisms for mitigating these contestations in the governance process.

Pre-testing of instruments

There was a pre-testing of both the interview guide and interview schedule before the actual data collection was done. The pre-testing of the instruments was done in the Kassena-Nankana East District. The Kassena-Nankana West District was carved out of the then Kassena-Nankana East District and therefore has similar characteristics with the study area. The interview schedule was conveniently administered on community members while the interview guide was purposively administered on staff of the Kassena-Nankana East District Assembly.

The purpose of the pre-testing was to test the items, wording of questions, check for lack of clarity of some questions, confusions, and check the effectiveness of the instrument and to ensure the validity and reliability of the instrument. The pre-testing also gave the research assistants the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the instruments. The pre-testing also gave the researcher an opportunity to have an insight into the issues that will be under discussion. Inaccuracies identified on the instrument during the pre-testing served as bench marks for correcting and refining the instruments before the actual data collection took place.

Methods of data collection

The methods of data collection were through semi-structured interviews and administration of structured interview schedules. The interviews were conducted using semi-structured interview guides. The interviews were used to explore the views, experiences and perceptions of the respondents on specific issues. This method also provides an opportunity to probe and explore questions. . The use of the interview also allowed respondents to seek further clarifications to question in order to adequately respond to questions, and further allowed the interviewer to probe for clearer responses to questions. Interviews were conducted with some core staff of the District Assembly, members of the sub-committees of the Executive Committee and the PM. The interviews with the District Assembly staff were also recorded using a digital recorder and complemented with a note pad and a pen.

Structured interview schedules were designed to gather data from community members. Interview schedules were administered by research assistants. Literate respondents wrote their answers on the schedules while research assistants interviewed non-literate respondents and wrote down responses verbatim on the schedules.

Data analysis

After cleaning up the data from the interview guide and correcting the few errors that were detected in the filling of interview schedule, the data was coded and fed into Statistical Package and Service Solutions, version 16.0 (SPSS ver.

16.0) for analysis. Analysis was undertaken to generate a descriptive picture of the data gathered.

The qualitative data from the field was recorded using a digital voice recorder. This was however supplemented with note taking. The tape recordings of the interviews were to make it easier quoting where relevant. Interview data from the field was edited to ensure that responses are obtained for all the questions on the interview guides. The transcripts were then read thoroughly and edited to ensure consistency and clarity. The data was then coded and inputted into computer software programme Nvivo 7 for analysis. Nvivo 7 is a statistical software designed for the analysis of qualitative data. Analyses are supported by verbatim quotations from interviews and documentary sources.

Field work

The field work started on the 4th of June, 2012 and ended on the 30th of June, 2012. Three research assistants were taken through refresher training on the 4th June, 2012. Research assistants were recruited and trained to assist in the data collection exercise. The mode of recruitment was based on fluency in spoken and written English in addition to Kasem and Nankani. Training was conducted for research assistants where the researcher took them through questions on the interview schedule. This was to enable them understand the questions, where to probe when necessary and understand the skip patterns.

Research assistants translated the questions into the two main languages (Kasem and Nankani). This was to help carry out interviews with people who may

not be able to read and write. Questions were also translated into both Kasem and Nankani and agreed by both researcher and research assistants. Research Assistants role played interview sessions to familiarize themselves with the questions on the interview schedule. Interview schedule were given to respondents to answer while research assistants waited to retrieve the completed interview schedules. This was to reduce non- response from respondents. The research assistants translated questions into the local language for non-literate respondents.

Actual data gathering started on the 5th of June, 2012. The researcher visited the research assistants on the field on the first day of data collection to ensure the right thing was done. The three research assistants covered the three zones of the district. The researcher personally conducted the interviews with staff of the District Assembly, members of the sub-committees and the PM. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently. Notes were written in the pad while recording took place. The use of the tape recorder was to allow for easy retrieval of information where this has not been captured in writing by the researcher. Permission was sought from respondents before recording was done. All respondents were cooperative and agreed to be recorded on tape. The use of the interview also allowed respondents to seek further clarifications to question in order to adequately respond to questions, and further allowed the interviewer to probe for clearer responses to questions.

All the respondents of the in-depth-interviews were comfortable with the digital voice recording of the interview sessions. Interviews were successful even

though it was difficult for staff members to honour appointment days and time due to their busy schedules.

Limitations of the study

Due to limited resources such as time and funds, the sample size of the study did not cover Heads of Decentralised Departments and traditional authorities. This had the tendency to reduce the generalisability of the findings.

It was difficult getting segregated data from Ghana Statistical Service of the communities of Kassena-Nakana West District to make a fair representation in the calculation of the sample size. As a result the sample size was drawn from the nine Area Councils in the KNWD.

It was also difficult meeting some of the Assembly Members. The reasons given were that, some of them were busy or out of town engaged in their personal work. I had to wait for a General Assembly meeting before I got the opportunity to interview some of the Assembly Members.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The chapter focuses on the results and discussions of the findings that emerged from the study. Findings and discussions are based on the objectives of the study. The chapter begins with a presentation of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sampled population which focuses on the age, sex and educational background. Other sections of the chapter include underlying causes of conflict in local governance, perception of people about the local government system and conflict management strategies of the District Assembly.

Background characteristics of respondents

The background characteristics of the respondents were explored in terms of age, sex educational background, occupation and name of community. Table 2 gives the age categories of the respondents.

The age bracket of 18-20 years constituted 76(19.1%) of the respondents. This forms the youthful group and most of whom are students. Relatively high percentages 104(26.1%) of the respondents were within the age bracket of 21-30 years. This is a young age group and represents active youth who are interested in work to develop themselves, their families and their communities.

Table 2: Age of respondents

Age range	Frequency	Percent
18-20	76	19.1
21-30	104	26.1
31-40	47	11.8
41-50	70	17.6
51- 60	23	5.8
61+	78	19.6
Total	398	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Apart from the study revealing the number of males and females who took part in the study, it also brings out the gender perspective which is central to governance at the local level.

Table 3 shows the distribution of respondents based on gender. The nine Area Councils were fairly represented. There was more male representation in Paga Area Council with 38 (9.5%) of respondents. Yidania Area Council had the least male representation with 20 (5.0%). Likewise, Sirigu Area Council had the highest female representation of 24(6.0%) of respondents and the lowest was Buru-Navio with 12(3.0%) of the respondents. Though, there are more female (51%) than males (49%) in the district (GSS, 2012), majority 239 (60%) of the respondents were males while 159 (40 %) were females.

Table 3: Gender of respondents

Area Council	Sex			
	Male		Female	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Paga	38	9.5	15	3.8
Buru-Navio	24	6.0	12	3.0
Yidania	20	5.0	22	5.5
Chiana	36	9.1	13	3.3
Kayoro	24	6.0	19	4.8
Nakong	26	6.5	15	3.8
Mirigu	28	7.1	18	4.5
Kandiga	22	5.5	21	5.3
Sirigu	21	5.3	24	6.0
Total	239	60.0	159	40.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The implication is that, information reflected the dominant role of male in governance and development at the local level. This was corroborated by the interviews conducted at the District Assembly. All the six respondents interviewed were males. The selection of the six respondents was not based on sex but position in the structure of the District Assembly.

Level of education of respondents

Education was considered fundamental in the respondents’ understanding of local governance and conflict issues. The level of respondents of education also reflects their perception and understanding of the local government system and the effect of conflict and strategies to manage them at the local level.

From Figure 4, it can be concluded that more than a third 130 (32.7%) of the respondents have not received any form of education at all. More than a third 142(35.7%) of the respondents received secondary education. A lower percentage of 74(18.6) of the respondents have received primary education and 40(10.1%) of the respondents attained tertiary school education.

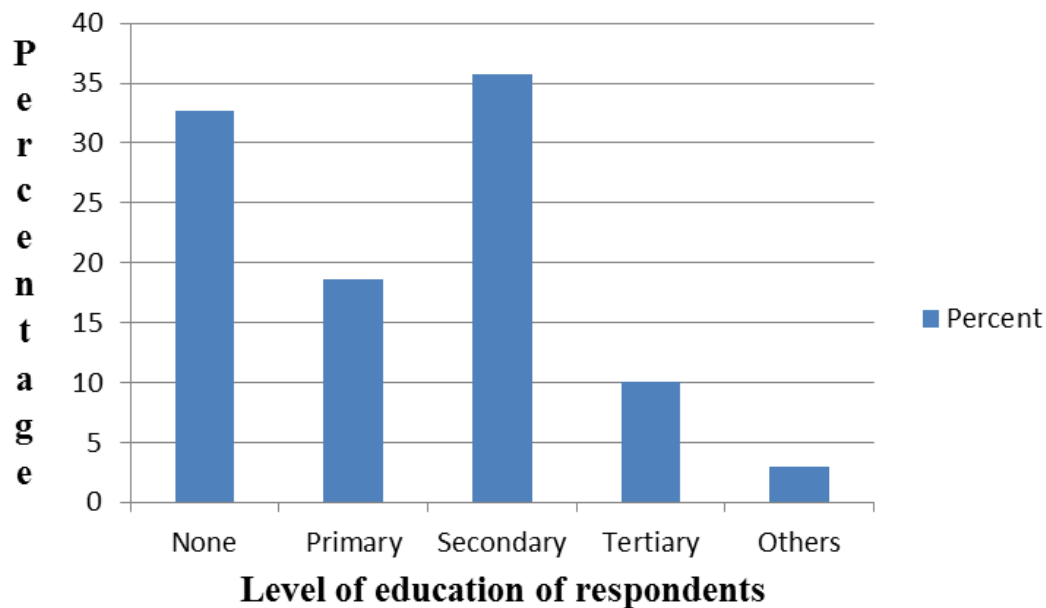


Figure 4: Level of education of respondents

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Eleven percent received formal education in areas of technical and vocational skills. Most of the respondents are not formally educated and therefore their understanding and interpretation of issues concerning local government will be affected. They are more likely to misinterpret some issues and may result in conflict.

Distribution of respondents by occupation

Respondents' occupation was considered critical to the findings of the study. Occupation of respondents revealed the implications it has on conflict in local governance. Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents by occupation.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Farmer	119	29.9
Trader	69	17.3
Government employee	107	26.9
Artisan	63	15.8
Driver	17	4.3
Student	23	5.8
Total	398	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Though a greater portion of the respondents had received some level of formal education, 119 (29.9%) were farmers, 107(26.9%) were into white collar

professions. Table 4 also indicated 69 (17.3%) of the respondents as traders. Most of the traders trade in various items in community markets. Sixty-three (15.8%) of the respondents were artisans while 23 (5.8%) were students. Respondents cut across various occupations and were not skewed towards a particular occupation. Information given was representative of different professions. The occupation of these respondents shows majority of the people are in the informal sector and would need more support from the DA to expand. The implication is that those in the informal sector are more likely to contest and agitate against the DA if resource allocation does not go in their favour.

Perception of people about the local government system

This section provides findings on the perception of community members about the local government system. It further gives an illustration on how the perception of people has affected the level of participation in governance at the local level.

According to Ayee and Amponsah (2003: p 84), “for institutions of local governance such as the District Assemblies to serve the purpose for which they have been established, the local people must give due recognition to them and value them as the most appropriate mechanism for managing their affairs. It is therefore important to see how the local people see the DAs as institutions for unleashing the socio-economic development potential at the grassroots”. The perception of people about the local government system was captured on the visibility of the DA, perceived functions of the DA, expectations of community

members on the DA, people's perception of those responsible for the development of the district.

The study was interested in the knowledge of the District Assembly by the respondents. All the respondents (100%) knew the name of the District Assembly as Kassena-Nankana West District Assembly. The identification of the District Assembly by both the literate and non-literate is indicative of the visibility of the District Assembly. The interviews with the District Assembly staff revealed that, there was much publication about the District Assembly. They mentioned the erection of billboards and announcements across the District by the District Assembly using the Information Service Department of the District. The knowledge of the District Assembly is not just enough but the functions of the District Assembly are important.

Perceived functions of the District Assembly

The survey was also interested in the opinion of respondents about some functions of the District Assembly. The 1992 Constitution and the Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993 have spelt out broad functions for the District Assembly. Some of the functions outlined are for District Assemblies to be responsible for the overall development of the districts, formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for effective mobilization of resources, promote and support productive activities and social development in the district and to cooperate with appropriate national and local security agencies, being responsible for the maintenance of security and public safety in the district. These functions

should be performed in respect to matters affecting the people within their areas, with a view to ultimately achieving localization of those activities. The survey revealed various responses from respondents which were categorized into infrastructural development, service delivery, security and revenue mobilization.

Table 4 depicts respondents' opinion of the functions of the district assembly. From the table, it is observed that, the total frequency is higher than the sample size. This can be explained because of the multiple answers respondents gave. This is an indication that, respondents recognize the many different functions performed by the District Assembly. The many different views of respondents were categorized into the above functions.

Table 5: Opinions of respondents on the functions of the District Assembly

Function	Frequency	Percentage
Infrastructure development	214	44.6
Service delivery	113	23.5
Organise assembly meetings	74	15.4
Revenue mobilization	69	14.4
Provide jobs	7	1.5
Feed the citizens	3	0.6
Total	480*	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

*multiple responses

Majority of the respondents 214(44.6%) were of the view that, the District Assembly function is to provide infrastructure development for the citizens in the

district. Some of the responses of the respondents included: *the assembly construct roads and build schools* (Community member). Another said: *our wives are traders. They sell things in small quantities to help in the upkeep of the family. It is the responsibility of the DA to build markets for the communities so that our wives can go there and sell* (community member). It is evident that people have an idea of the District Assembly's responsibility of providing infrastructural development to the citizens. Closely following the infrastructural development is service delivery which is 113(23.5%). Some of the responses indicated that, the District Assembly is responsible for the cleanliness of the district; provide education and health to the people. A respondent from Chiana Gwenia indicated that: *the government has provided the District Assembly with money to feed school children and pay cleaners in the District*. Another respondent indicated that: *The security of the Assembly is in the hands of the District Assembly. It is the duty of the District Assembly to ensure that peoples' lives are not in danger. The District Chief Executive sometimes tells the police to arrest people who cause trouble in the district* (Community member). The two respondents reveal that as part of the DA responsibility of providing social services, the assembly provides sanitation services. It also provides security to the people in the district. Fifteen percent of the respondents were of the opinion that one of functions of the District Assembly is to organise District Assembly meetings.

Fourteen percent of the respondents indicated that, the DA has a function of revenue mobilization. Some of the respondents also mentioned that the District Assembly collects taxes from them. A community member indicated that: *the*

assembly is supposed to help the people in general to get their daily bread. Another indicated that: *the DA creates jobs for the people in the district. I got a job from the District Assembly as a security man for the DA just last week.* This put employment creation as a responsibility of the DA.

It can be concluded that peoples' knowledge of the functions of the DA is closely linked to the direct benefit they gain or may gain from the DA but not necessarily being educated on the functions of the DA. From the issues raised by the respondents, both males and females have knowledge and understanding of the responsibilities of the DA.

Expectations of community members on the District Assembly

A question was posed to the respondents to know whether the District Assembly is able to meet their expectations. Crawford (2004) indicated that, the decentralization of decision-making and public service provision has given rise to public expectations of the District Assembly. Ghana's decentralization system has shifted a number of responsibilities away from national government to Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies.

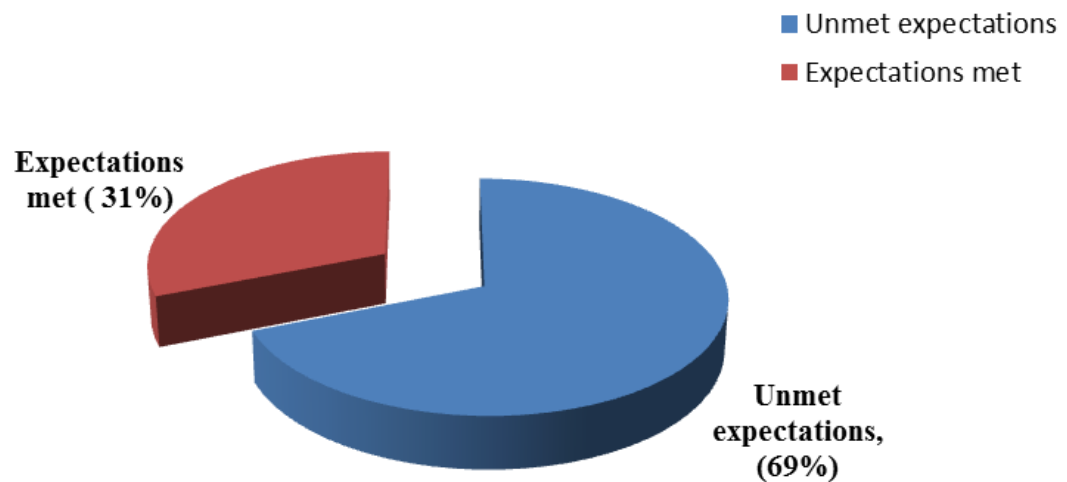


Figure 5: Expectations of community members on the DA

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The District Assembly has been assigned roles and responsibilities geared towards the development of the district. People’s knowledge of the functions of the DA is not enough. It is important to know whether the DA performs these functions to the satisfaction of the citizens.

One hundred and twenty-three (31%) of the respondents indicated that the DA met their expectations as depicted in figure 5. This is an indication that, they were satisfied with the performance of the DA. Some of the arguments to support this were: *assembly has reduced the crime rate and improved the sanitation situation, the District Assembly has extended electricity to my community, the District Assembly has constructed classroom block, the District Assembly come to our aid in case of disasters, I have been employed as security guard in one of the schools* (Community member). Assembly Member of Katiu electoral area had this

to say: *Issues I raise during Assembly meetings are seriously taken into consideration.*

Two hundred and seventy-five (69%) of the respondents were of the view that their expectations were not met by the DA (see Figure 5). One of them noted that : *the DA failed to let government know that the district demarcation is bad and needs re-demarcation, electricity and other facilities are lacking in the community and I do not know what the revenue collected by the DA is used for* (Community member). Another respondent also indicated that: *I do not have a job and the DA is not helping me get a job, many communities do not have basic amenities, no feedback from the DA when concerns are raised by us, the DA has failed to distribute projects and other amenities equitably* (Community member).

The assertion by some members of the sub-committees was that the performance of the DA did not meet their expectations. They explain that as part of the assembly, they take part in deliberations concerning plans and budgets of the DA. However, some of these plans are never implemented. To support this assertion, one Assembly Member said: *the District Chief Executive decides where some big projects should be cited. When you are an Assembly Member and you are close to the DCE, be sure your electoral area will benefit.* Some of them also indicated that, they were satisfied with the performance of the DA and that the DA has met their expectations. Their electoral areas have enjoyed some allocation of projects from the DA.

It can be concluded that, the expectations of people from the District Assembly is both personal and collective. The word personal here refers to the

direct benefit to the respondent while collective refers to benefit to the majority of the people. It also varies from one location to the other. This shows awareness of citizens in local governance. When citizens' expectations are met, they feel satisfied with the work of the DA. It is an indication that the DA has not fulfilled its mandated responsibilities as stated in the Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993 and Chapter 20 of the Republican Constitution. As stated by the World Bank (2001), DAs can be powerful stakeholders in the achievement of development goals in response to the needs and expectations of local communities. On the other hand, DA has not been able to meet the expectations of some citizens. When the expectations of the people are not met, the needed cooperation and participation from the community members will not be achieved. This is supported by Amponsah and Bofo-Arthur (2003) when they stated that if citizens are satisfied with performance of people in leadership, and equity in resource allocation, they would be motivated to participate in the governance process. This means that when citizens are not satisfied with the management of the DA in terms of performance and equity in resource allocation, then they will not have the zeal to participate in governance process.

Perceptions of respondents on responsibility for the development of the district

The study further revealed that the development of the various communities in the district was the responsibilities of various stakeholders. This was evident from the responses to the question as to who leads the development of the community. When it came to who is responsible for the development of

their communities there were varied opinions as to who was responsible for the development of the district. Table 6 shows stakeholders responsible for the development of the community.

Table 6 shows that 4 percent of the respondents think it is the responsibility of the Member of Parliament (MP) for the development of the district. Considering the low figure, it can be concluded that, the MP is not recognized as being responsible for development of the district.

Table 6: Responsibility for the development of the district

Actors	Frequency	Percent
District Assembly	57	14.3
Assembly Member	37	9.4
Member of Parliament	17	4.3
Chief	20	5.0
Two of the above	67	16.8
All of the above	192	48.2
No response	08	2.0
Total	398	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Nine percent indicated the Assembly Member as being responsible for development. However, 14 percent of the respondents think it is the responsibility of the DA for the development of the district. Sixteen percent said two of the stakeholders mentioned were responsible for the development of the district and

Majority (48%) of the respondents indicated all the above mentioned stakeholders.

From the above analysis, citizens are of the view that not one stakeholder is responsible for the development of the district but the collective responsibility of all stakeholders. Ofei-Aboagye (as cited in Agbenorku, 2010) posited that local leadership is critical to effective local governance which is a joint management of public concerns through partnerships between the public and civil-society. The collaboration between the DA and CSOs is depicted in figure 2, the conceptual framework.

The 1992 Constitution however empowers the DA to be responsible for the development of the district. The 1992 Constitution states that, “Local government and administration ... shall ... be decentralized” (Article 240[1]), and that the “functions, powers, responsibilities and resources should be transferred from the Central Government to local government units” (1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, Article 240 [2]). The 1992 Constitution also gives the DAs discretionary powers as stated, “measures should be taken [by Parliament] to enhance the capacity of local government authorities to plan, initiate, co-ordinate, manage and execute policies in respect of matters affecting local people” (Article 240[2][b]). To support the Constitutional provisions, the Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993 also gives the responsibility for the development of the district to the DA. Section 10 of Act 462 states that the DA shall “be responsible for the overall development of the district...” (Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993). Resources have also been decentralized from central government to the DAs. The

DAs are therefore mandated to lead the development process with the participation of all stakeholders in the district. From the analysis, citizens are not aware of this Constitutional mandate of the DA and therefore affected their level of participation in the activities of the DA.

A question was also put to respondents as to who leads the process in allocating projects in the district. The question was to elicit the views of citizens on the process of project allocation. Their perception of the one who leads the process will help inform their action in project allocation in the district. It clearly spelt out in Section 10 (4) (d-e) of the Local Government Act, Act 462, states that, the DA shall “promote and encourage other persons or bodies to undertake projects under approved development plans, monitor the execution of projects and assess and evaluate their impact on the people’s development, the local, district and national economy”. Most of the respondents were of the opinion that, the DA is responsible for the allocation of projects in the district. It therefore revealed that, citizens will always engage the DA when it comes to the allocation of projects and other resources in the district. One of the officials from the DA was quoted below:

the DA is mandated by law to initiate and implement projects for the district. The district has been given resources to do this though the resources are limited and are not timely released to the district. It is important to note that, the DA does not do this alone; there are others such as chiefs who also initiate projects in their localities (District Planning Officer, 2012).

People contest the allocation of projects in the district especially when they feel their community is left out or probably deserve a project than another community. The DA is sometimes in conflict with the citizens as a result of the growing awareness that in the context of local governance, they must deliver. The citizens have knowledge of the functions of the DA and always want to hold them accountable. Some of the respondents recognized the chiefs, Assembly Members, Member of Parliament, sub-committees and the circuit supervisor are responsible for the allocation of projects in the district.

The results of the study also suggest the participation of citizens in the governance at the district level. The study was interested in knowing the relationship between citizen's participation and project allocation and how that influence conflict. Local governance is the backbone of Ghana's democracy. As a result the establishment of the DAs was the recognition that they would serve the important purpose of promoting popular participation in the planning and implementation of development policies and programmes in the districts (Amponsah & Boafo-Arthur, 2003). Participation is a key component of good governance and may involve information sharing, consultation and collaboration. A question was put to respondents to know whether they participate in the activities of the DA.

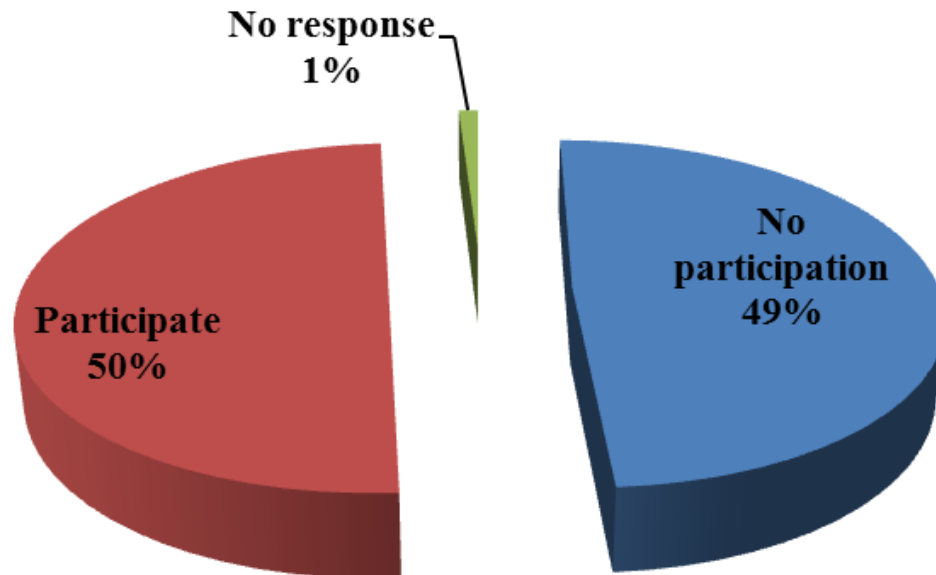


Figure 6: Participation of citizens in the activities of the DA

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

From Figure 6, it is recognized that there was nearly an equal number of citizens who participate in DA activities and same number who do not participate in DA activities. Figure 6 indicates that 199 (50%) of the participants affirm their participation in the activities of DA. One hundred and ninety-five (49%) of the participants indicated they do not participate in the activities of the DA. Citizens' limited participation in local governance may be as a result of apathy. There is a general feeling by the citizens that, they lack information about the activities of the DA. A respondent indicated that, "participation in assembly activities are a waste of time". The 50 percent indicated that they participated in activities such as public hearing and meetings with the Assembly Member. As illustrated in the conceptual framework (Figure 2), local governance involves citizens participation and as a result of diverse interest, contestations arise.

Participation in local governance requires communication between the DA and the citizens. In this way, DA should inform citizens about the services, decisions, plans and performance of the DA. Citizens will also have the opportunity to inform the DA what their problems and priority needs were. Views and concerns of the citizens should be sought as part of the local governance process. This was supported by the DA staff when a question was put to the DA staff on how citizens are involved in local governance. This was a response from one of them:

People study development plans first and link up with town and area planning people, get their development views, then come to the department of the assembly, get their views, based on that they are able to harmonize and in the end the general assembly gives approval of whatever development plan they are doing. But prior to that, there must be public hearing (District Coordinating Director, 2012).

This participatory mechanism is to ensure that citizens do not only participate in elections but also engage in the process of decision-making that directly affects their lives. Barron et al. (2007), in the study of local conflict and development projects in Indonesia, revealed that increased knowledge of the rules, processes and aims of the programme reduces the most destructive form of development-triggered conflict. It is clear that, citizen participation in local governance promote ownership of the development process. It is also clear that, limited participation is likely to lead to disagreements and contestations (see

Figure 2). Barron et al. (2007) also indicated that, effective participation ensures that beneficiaries of programmes and projects have a wide understanding of the programmes including their benefits and implementation procedures. Programme beneficiaries and non- beneficiaries will agitate when information is inadequate or lacking.

Respondents were asked whether they face challenges in the participation process. Respondents indicated that, it is difficult meeting with the assembly staff, discrimination in the distribution of resources and that offices of the Assembly are very far and there are inadequate opportunities for interaction. Another respondent indicated that, people go through long queues to be able to talk to personnel of the DA (Community members). This is in line with Khan (2006) who indicated that, despite the perceived advantages of participation, there is relatively little participation on the part of rural people in development projects. This may be due to the fact that, they do not see the benefits of participation and would prefer that the DA take decisions for them without their inputs. Respondents were asked of the challenges they face in their participation with the DA.

Causes of conflict in local governance

This section provides information on causes of conflict in local governance in the Kassena-Nankana West District. In the literature reviewed, conflict theories posit that, there are different reasons and motivations for the generation and escalation of conflict. The findings reveal limited participation by

citizens in decision-making at the district assembly, miscommunication and lack of education on the work of the District Assembly (DA) as sources of conflict between the citizens and the DA. They also added that, inadequate financial resources to respond to demands of communities are also a cause of conflict in the DA.

The structural conflict theory discussed in Chapter two states that incompatible interest based on competition for scarce resources are responsible for conflict in society. The theory also looks at social problems like political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty and diseases as sources of conflict. One of the causes of conflict in local governance as revealed by the study was exclusion of community members in the decision making process. As stated in the section under participation, 40 percent of the respondents do not participate in the activities of the DA. The issue raised by the community members is that their inputs are taken to form the decisions of the District Assembly. A community member stated that: *our views are not considered when it comes to decisions of the District Assembly. The District Assembly does whatever it feels is good for us and not what we want. That is why sometimes we do not agree with the decisions of the DA.* In line with this another stated that: *the Assembly Member does not meet us to listen to our concerns.*

People who feel left out in the decisions of the DA contest such decisions. A respondent from Paga indicated that:

government wanted to appoint people to manage the crocodile pond through the assembly. We rejected this because, we were not consulted. How can we agree to this (Native of Paga, 2012).

Both the District Assembly staff and the members of the sub-committees of the Executive Committee of the DA also alluded to exclusion of the public in decision making as a cause of conflict in local governance. The views of staff members were that people elected representatives to the DA to deliberate and take decisions on their (people) behave. The DA staff indicated that, the DA has always involved the citizens through the Assembly Members in decisions that respond to the needs of the people. The citizens elect people to represent them at the Area Councils and the DA level. For instance, Assembly members are expected to meet with people from their electoral area to deliberate on matters of concern before general assembly meetings. The Assembly Member is also expected to meet with the people after the assembly meeting to discuss decisions taken during the assembly meeting. The Coordinating Director (2012) recounted that:

on the issue of development, the assembly deals with Area Councillors and the DA members. These are people who represent their people and should always give feedback to the people they represent. The challenge is however about resources to enable the DA members carry out this role. This was supported by the District Planning Officer (DPO) who said that: when people are excluded in decision making process, it leads to conflict because people will protest the decisions of the DA. The Assembly Members are representatives of the people at the assembly

and we expect them to always meet with their people to take their concerns. This is often not done. The challenge is that they complain that they do not have resources to always organise meetings (DPO).

The views of the members of the sub-committees were not different from that of the DA staff. They indicated that people feel excluded in the decision making process because most Assembly Members do not organise formal meetings with electorates to know their concerns and for electorates to be briefed on DA issues. The reason they gave was because they lacked the financial resources to organise such meetings.

It can be concluded that the participation of the Assembly Members at the DA is considered by Assembly Members as not adequate because their concerns are not considered. It is an indication that, though there is some amount of participation, it is not felt by a wider segment of the population and therefore does not create the needed opportunity for the voices of the citizens to be heard. This is in contrast with Article 35 section 6(d) of the 1992 Constitution which seeks to “make democracy a reality by decentralizing the administrative and financial machinery of government to the regions and districts and by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision-making at every level in national life and government” (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

Citizens are sometimes in conflict with the DAs because they feel left out in the decisions of the Assembly. Citizens always want to be part of the decision making process especially when such decisions directly affects them. This is more important because citizens mostly have incompatible interest and become

satisfied after participating in decision making process. As depicted in Figure 2, conflict is likely to occur when citizens are left out in the decision making process. On the other hand, when citizens participate in decision making process, because of the heterogeneity of society with diverse interest, conflict is likely to occur.

Amponsah and Boafo- Arthur (2003) argue that the only means by which crucial information as critical input for effective and efficient policy formulation is through popular participation in local governance. It is evident that, the inability of the DA which the structural conflict theory refer to as political power structures in handling the competing interest by creating room for participation is a source of conflict. This however is not adequate enough to explain the causes of the conflict. It is important to look beyond participation and analyze some factors such as poor information dissemination.

The study also revealed poor information dissemination as source of conflict in governance at the local level. It is clear from the study that citizens lack of information can cause conflict. In addition, that most of the conflicts that exist in local governance are as a result of the miscommunication that flows between the citizens and the DA. Misinformation hampers the inclusion of people in decision making. This clearly creates wrong perceptions in the minds of the people about the governance process. The District engineer summed this up when he said that:

Sometimes people do not understand what goes on in the assembly. A section of people in Paga were angry with me for

issuing a permit for the construction of a petroleum station. I was actually confronted by the people. I was accused of taking money from the owners of the petroleum station that was why I issued the permit for the construction to take place. The people contested the decision and tried stopping the construction of the petroleum station at that particular site. The people were not aware that the area was demarcated for such purposes. This was information that was not available to the people (District Engineer, 2012).

Poor information dissemination was also identified by the community members as a cause of conflict in local governance. They attributed this to lack of communication channels of the DA. They indicated that members of the community ‘feed’ on information from each other and not directly from the DA. It was also observed from the study that it is difficult accessing information from DA staff and sometimes the Assembly Member. To buttress this point, community members said: *assembly does not give us information on what they are doing. They are always busy in the office.* Similarly Njunwa and Kunkuta (2005, p.13-14) revealed that “many permanent public officials in local government in Tanzanian councils, lacked the culture of information sharing which added to misunderstanding and conflict”. When information is not shared by the DA, it leads to misunderstanding and conflict because people are left to perceive information which most times may be wrong. It could also be a situation that people receive wrong information.

One other cause of conflict in local governance identified in the study was low level of education of the community members. This cause was identified by the staff of the DA. They were of the opinion that the level of education of people determines the level of understanding of issues in the governance process. The District Engineer indicated that: *some issues of local governance are difficult to explain in simple terms to people. If people do not understand the issues involved in the Assembly activities, then they will agitate or contest some decisions.* The District Planning Officer also stated that: *most people are not educated in this part of the country. Even among the Assembly Members, not everyone is educated. This limits their understanding of some important and complex issues of the assembly. If the Assembly Member does not understand exactly the issues, how can he/she explain to the understanding of the electorates?* Low level of education was however not mentioned by both the community members and members of the sub-committees of the DA.

The interaction with the DA staff revealed that conflict in local governance can result from inadequate financial resources available to the DA. Inadequate financial resources make it difficult to meet the incompatible interest based on scarce resources which is a source of conflict as posited by the structuralist. The DA depends heavily on financial transfers from the central government to undertake projects in the district. However in an interview with the District Coordinating Director, he indicated that: *our Assembly like any other DA is supported with funds from central government. These funds come in the name of the District Assembly Common Fund and other special funds like the DDF. The*

funds are not enough and are mostly not released on time. The District Assembly is constrained financially. It put us in a situation where we are not able to meet the demands of the people and to execute the plans of the Assembly. Most of the people are not aware of these challenges the Assembly faces. The Assembly Members are not able to meet the people to inform them on issues of the Assembly because of these same resource constraints (District Coordinating Director, 2012).

The members of the sub-committee and the PM supported the view that inadequate financial resource is a cause of conflict in local governance. They are of the view that, when the DA has adequate financial resources, it will be able to equitably allocate resources to satisfy every section of the district. They indicated that with adequate financial resources, Assembly Members can be supported to promote greater inclusion in decision making. The PM stated that: the district is new and therefore has so many developmental challenges but few resources. It cannot do much to satisfy every community. People are not satisfied with the situation but the truth is that, the DA does not have adequate financial resources. Inadequate financial resources affect the performance of both the DA and the Assembly Members.

It was revealed that the district was created in 2007 and carved out of the then Kassena-Nankana District. It is therefore bedeviled with many developmental challenges. The district has not been able to do enough to satisfy the people. The DA has not been able to resource Assembly Members to meet members of their electoral areas to discuss issues before and after general

assembly meetings. It can be deduced that, the inability of Assembly Members to meet with people from their electoral areas has hindered information flow between the DA and the citizens. When financial resources are limited, conflict tends to prevail as a result of disagreements between the DA and citizens over resource allocation.

Therefore the continued inadequate transfer of financial resources to the district means there is the likelihood that conflict will exist between the citizens and the DA. This is supported by Babyegeya (2002) with the argument that, inadequate financial resources are one of the main causes of conflict. He states that the higher the scarcity of supply of resources relative to the amount needed by rival parties and the more important the resources are to them, the greater the likelihood of a conflict emerging and for its intensity to increase. A similar study by Manyak and Katono (2010) also revealed that deficit in resource funding and inability to meet the demands of communities was a major source of conflict. The incompatible interest based on competition for scarce resources alone may not generate conflict. The incompatible interest can be linked to the fact that, all humans have basic human needs which they seek to fulfill and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later which may lead to conflict. This brings to fore the human needs conflict theory to complement the structural conflict theory.

Another issue that was raised was lack of transparency and accountability on the part of staff of the DA in resource allocation. Respondents were of the view that, staff members were not open to the citizens for them to know what is

happening at the DA. This was how a community member put it: *we don't hear anything from the people at the District Assembly. The officers decide what they want to do. They don't always want us to know what they are doing.* People are of the opinion that people are of the opinion that they are not involved in the decision-making process of the DA. This defeat the letter of the law which posits in Article 240 (e) of Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution that “to ensure the accountability of local government authorities, people in particular local government areas shall, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to participate effectively in their governance” (Ghana, 1992 Constitution). Assembly Members by law are to meet the electorates before every meeting of the Assembly. They are mandated to consult the electorate on issues to be discussed in the Assembly, and collate their views, opinions and proposals for submission to the Assembly. It is also mandatory for the DA to provide its citizens with feedback on the general decisions of the Assembly and the actions taken to address their problems (Local Government Act, Act 462). This is aimed to promote trust and participation of citizens in the work of the DA.

The DA is created to develop, provide services and improve the lives of the citizens. The lack of accountability and transparency therefore creates a gap between the DA and the citizens. To sum this, Bigdon (2006) argued that, good local governance means openness, deliberation and integrated action in a transparent and efficient manner. It motivates peoples' participation through inclusive and participatory decision making process which is considered as an important conflict transformation strategy within heterogeneous societies. It can

therefore be concluded that, the lack of transparency and accountability does not encourage peoples participation in decision making and therefore has a high potential of generating and escalating conflict.

The issues raised about the causes of conflict in local governance reflected the views of both males and females in the nine Area Councils in the Kassena-Nankana West District.

Effects of conflict in local governance

The study revealed that conflict in local governance is not without effects. Respondents revealed that the conflict that exists in local governance have effects. The study was interested in knowing whether respondents were aware of the effects of conflict in local governance especially between the citizens and the DA. As Kaufman (1991) stated in the reviewed literature, conflict is part of human activities and forms part of local governance. It is considered to have negative implications.

Conflict in local governance in whatever form has implications on the governance process at the local level. The study concentrates on the DA and the citizens as the key stakeholders in local governance. The study was therefore interested in the effect of the conflict in the Kassena-Nankana West District. Respondents were asked if the conflict in governance had any effect on the relationship between the community and the DA.

Table 7 shows the responses of awareness of the effects of conflicts that exist in local governance. From the table, respondents who indicated that, the

conflict has effects on local governance were the majority 283(71.1%) of the respondents while 111(27.9%) of the respondents were of the opinion that the existing conflict did not have any effect. Of the 71.1 percent, 180(45.2%) were males while 103(25.9) were females. Out of the 27.9 percent of respondents who are not aware of the effects of the conflict, 55(13.8%) were males while 56 (14.1%) were females. However, 1 percent of the respondents did not respond to the question. The implication is that though there were more male respondents than the female respondents, female respondents are not aware of the effects of conflict in the KNWD as shown on Table 7.

Table 7: Awareness of the effects of conflict

Response	Frequency				Total	Percent
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent		
Aware	180	45.2	103	25.9	283	71.1
Not Aware	55	13.8	56	14.1	111	27.9
No response	04	1.0	0	0.0	04	1.0
Total	239	60.0	159	40.0	398	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Respondents were of the view that, conflict leads to strained relationships and mistrust. Strained relationships and mistrust emerge among communities because they perceive that some communities are favoured in terms of resource allocation from the DA. It is also the case between the DA and the communities. When people feel they have not benefitted from the resource allocation because a

different community has benefitted, it results in contestations which eventually ends in strained relationships. A community member said:

there is no peace and unity in the district because we do not benefit from projects by the district while others benefit a lot. This is why we also want a district of our own to also get development (Community member).

The Assembly staff revealed that their relationship with some Assembly Members sometimes becomes strained. There is the perceived feeling of some of the Assembly Members that the DA favour some communities in terms of resource allocation. The strained relationship does not promote the needed cooperation for both to work together. It is evident that the people have a perception that they do not benefit from the allocation of projects by the DA because of conflict with the DA. This is in line with a study by Baron et al., (2007, p.14) which revealed that “Kecamatan Development Plan (KDP) and some other projects introduced competition within and between villages over which proposals should be funded. This can and does lead to tensions, in particular when groups are disappointed that they did not get a ‘bite of the funding pie’ or when they feel that the decision-making process was not transparent or fair. We describe this form of conflict as in-build, where the very nature of the programme triggers small disputes over the allocation of resources through the competitive process”. The study revealed an increased agitation by both the east and west parts of the district to become separate districts.

Improper and hasty allocation of development projects was identified as an effect of conflict in local governance. In an attempt to satisfy communities

within the district as a result of the conflict, development projects are allocated at wrong places. This action may be meant to manage conflict but may end up affecting the development plans of the district. The views of the District Assembly staff were that there is always pressure to minimize the contestation involved. To buttress the point, the District Engineer said that: *when the District Assembly planned to build bungalows for its staff, the intended site was to be closer to the District Assembly in Paga. Due to the conflict over project allocations, the proposed site was changed to a community around Sirigu. Most communities complain that most of the development projects are located in Paga, the District Capital.*

The study revealed heightened demand for the creation of separate districts for the east and west zones of the district. The other parts of the district perceive that, Paga benefits more from the development projects as a result of it being the district capital. The District Coordinating Director confirmed this when he said:

the chiefs and people of Chiana and surrounding communities and chiefs and people of Kandiga and surrounding communities are separately demanding and lobbying government for separate districts. These are Kassena and Nankana speaking communities respectively who do not want to be part of this district. This creates uncertainty and dissatisfaction in the district (District Coordinating Council, 2012).

Respondents also conceded to the fact that the communities around Chiana and the Nankam speaking communities are also demanding to be separate districts. The reason being that as a separate district they would enjoy the benefits associated with District capital. A community member from Chiana stated that: *we want to be made a separate district because the District Capital is far from us and we do not enjoy the facilities at the District Capital.* A community member from Sirigu added: *this side of the district speaks Nankam and it would be good if we are made a separate district.*

There are perceived benefits or advantages associated with the creation of new districts and District Capitals. Communities at the peripheries of the District Capital are not satisfied with the resources allocated to them. They see the District Capital to enjoy more in terms of development projects and other resources.

Citizens are also reluctant to pay rates, fees and taxes to the DA. The study revealed that, they do not enjoy the benefits of the taxes they pay to the DA. The DA has been mandated to mobilize resources for the development of the district. The Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993 states that “ subject to such guidelines in respect of the charging of fees as may be prescribed by the Minister by legislative instrument, a District Assembly may charge fees for any service or facility provided by the Assembly or for any license or permit issued by the Assembly...” (Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993). It is evident that when the DA is not able to mobilize revenue as a result of people’s refusal to pay their fees, then the DA will be handicapped in its financial resources. A community member indicated that: *we cannot continue to pay fees to the District Assembly to be used*

to develop only Paga while we do not benefit. Inadequate financial resources will limit the capacity of the DA to provide social services and promote development in the district. People pay fees and taxes to the DA through the DA revenue mobilization drive. When it is realized that there is no improvement in terms of resource allocation, it results in peoples' refusal to pay.

Apart from the negative effects of conflict, there were also positive effects identified by the respondents. Respondents identified improvement in decision making at the local level. Respondents were of the view that, as a result of the conflict decisions by the DA in terms of project allocation and provision of services will be improved. This is closely linked to improved participation of citizens. There are increased efforts by the DA to involve people in the decision making process. Through this, people become aware and form part of decisions that are taken by the DA. The involvement of people in the decision making process is an attempt to reduce the contestations involved in the decision making process.

Respondents revealed that, the conflict leads to openness and accountability. The DA in its attempt to reduce contestations is now more open in dealing with the citizens. The increased participation of citizens in decision making makes the DA more accountable because issues will be explained to the Citizens. Citizens also get the opportunity to question and seek clarification from the DA on issues that are likely to generate conflict. This is supported by the Baron et al., (2007) who revealed that transparent processes usually manifest conflicts as citizens become aware of interferences in decision making processes.

It also revealed that conflicts are far less likely to escalate and turn violent because of the inclusion of a wide range of participants in programme discussions.

Conflict management strategies

This section of the chapter presents analysis of findings on conflict management strategies in local governance. Conflict is inevitable in every sphere of life. Conflict is an important component of life and for every society. Conflict understood to as differences of interests between at least two persons. The intensity however differs depending on the cause of conflict. There can be latent, open or violent conflict. No matter the intensity of conflict, it is important that, measures are put in place to address and reduce its intensity. Respondents identified conflict management strategies that can be used in the district to manage conflicts. The strategies identified included, education of citizens on the need for peace, frequent community meetings, communication should be improved, project allocation should be done fairly and the capacity of DISEC should be strengthened. The DA was identified as being responsible for the management of conflicts.

The study was interested in whether there were available conflict management strategies in the district. This was to ascertain strategies of conflict management adopted in the district.

Table 8 depicts responses on the awareness of conflict management strategies in the KNWD. The study revealed that, 317(79.6%) of the respondents

said they were aware of conflict management strategies in the district while 81(20.4%) indicated that they were not aware. Out of the 79.6 percent of the respondents who indicated that they were aware of conflict management strategies in the district, 190(47.7%) of the respondents were males while 127(31.9%) of the respondents were female as depicted on Figure 8. It could be concluded that, there was awareness of conflict management strategies in the district. Those who said there was awareness of conflict management strategies were required to mention the strategies available.

The study revealed that, education on the negative effects of conflict and the importance of peace helped in managing conflict in local governance. Peace education can be said to be a proactive conflict management strategy which is aimed at conflict prevention.

Table 8: Awareness of conflict management strategies

Response	Frequency				Total	Percent
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent		
Aware	190	47.7	127	31.9	317	79.6
Not Aware	49	12.3	32	8.1	81	20.4
Total	239	60.0	159	40.0	398	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The UN Charter stipulates that, “the purposes of the UN is ... to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and to bring

about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of peace”.

It was revealed that there were few occasions where people preached peace in the district. These messages were carried out in community gatherings. Respondents indicated that, though much is not done on the peace education, it has contributed to people’s understanding for the need for peaceful coexistence. A community member stated that: *on few occasions during gatherings such as festivals and political platforms, we hear the District Chief Executive (DCE) or the chief mention that, we should co-exist in peace.* This was also affirmed by the DCD who said that: *there is no structured peace education but anytime there is an opportunity for the DCE to address a gathering, he calls for peaceful co-existence.*

The conclusion drawn here is that, peace education is informally used as a conflict management strategy. Informally, because there are no well designed procedures and it is also not regular. Peace education takes place only when there is an occasion and people are gathered. There is the need to educate people not to engage in violent confrontation that will derail the existing peace in the district. Some peace scholars support peace education as ideal for sustained peace and to prevent conflict. One of such is Reychler (2006) who indicated that, most of the conflict prevention strategies have been reactive in nature. They are only initiated when the conflict turns violent. Its aim is to limit further escalation (intensity, geographical spread and duration). Once a conflict turns violent it becomes not

only more difficult, but also more expensive to de-escalate and to build peace. This is an indication that, it is more prudent to manage conflicts by educating citizens to live in peace because it is more expensive to handle when conflicts turn violent.

It is evident that, respondents recognized peace education as a conflict management strategy which should be adopted in the district. Peace education is appropriately explained by Gumut (2006) as a calculated effort to educate children and adults of the implications of conflict and peacemaking skills in the community. He further explains that, it facilitates the achievement of peace and sets of social values. He indicated that, peace education was an investment in the younger generations and recognition of the fact that educating the young minds in the virtues of peace, the skills of conflict analysis and management, identification of conflicts and source can lead to a peaceful environment. Peace education exposes negative acts which would lead to conflicts. The knowledge of conflict therefore regulates the rise and spread of it.

Closely related to the education was another proactive strategy identified by respondents as communication. Communication was identified as a conflict management strategy. It was revealed that, conflict existed in the governance process as a result of poor communication flow between the DA and citizens. According to one respondent: *there should be free flow of information by the Assembly*” (Community member). This was supported by one officer of the District Assembly who said: *the assembly can prevent conflict with the people if we are able to let the people know what we are doing in the assembly. They will*

also know the challenges that we face here and the reasons why we do not meet all the needs of the communities (District Budget Officer, 2012).

Both the DA staff and community members have recognized communication as vital in the management of conflict. Communication helps people understand the challenges of the DA and to erase misconceptions of people about the DA. Communication in itself cannot manage conflict but can greatly help prevent it. This is supported by Krauss and Morsella (n.d.) with the view that, the ultimate aim of communication is the establishment of understanding and may not be able to change the outcome of a conflict based on entrenched positions. Good communication can change perceptions of people. When perceptions are changed, people are more likely to behave differently from the way they would have behaved with wrong perceptions.

Mediation was also identified as a mechanism that was adopted to manage conflicts at the local level. Some indicated that, mediation has always been employed to solve differences at the local level. It was observed that, there was always the engagement of a third party in the mediation process. At most times, the District Security Committee (DISEC) was involved in the process of mediation. According to the DCD, *the DISEC was very instrumental in managing the conflict that ensued in 2011, where the youth of Paga locked up the DA office. It took the efforts of the DISEC to calm the situation.* However the community members identified the Traditional Authorities to always play this mediating role. One respondent indicated that:

the chief is always called upon anytime there is a problem between two people or communities. He has always managed to solve these problems (Community member). This was corroborated by staff of the DA who supported what the citizens said. A staff member noted that:

the chiefs have always played a role in managing conflicts at the local level. Their opinions are always respected by the people. People go to them when there are disagreements (District Coordinating Director, 2012).

Mediation of conflict in local governance is mostly performed by either the DISEC or Traditional Authorities. The engagement of the Traditional Authorities in the mediation of conflicts has its own limitations especially when the conflict involved was outside his jurisdiction. The Kassena-Nankana West District has many paramount chiefs and therefore it is not possible to play a mediating role in conflicts between communities of which one community is outside his jurisdiction. The DISEC has been instrumental in this conflict management at the local level: *DISEC has always tried to talk to people in conflict to solve their differences. DISEC has the Chief Executive and the District Police Commander on board and are able to deal with matters of conflict and security* (District Coordinating Director, 2012).

The study revealed that equitable allocation of projects by the DA helps to manage conflicts in the district. The general view was that, the conflict resulted in equitable allocation of projects. This was a mechanism adopted by the DA to reduce conflicts by way of satisfying the people. Equitable allocation does not

necessarily mean same projects allocated to all sections of the district but projects allocated to communities to satisfy the various needs.

From the views and opinions expressed by people, it is evident that local governance generates conflict. Conflict though latent was said to be generated as a result of the project allocations in the district. Conflicts were generally about dissatisfaction and disagreements over projects. Though generally, the conflict did not result in violence but had effects on the governance process at the local level. It was realized that, conflict at the local level had to be managed to create a peaceful environment for development to take place leading to improvement in the lives of the people. The study revealed the existence of conflict management strategies which were identified as unconventional in nature.

Both males and females in the district have knowledge of conflict management strategies. This understanding will create the needed cooperation in the family to support the overall management of conflict in the district.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The chapter discusses the summary of the findings of the research as discussed in chapter four and draws conclusions from the chapter. From the conclusions drawn, recommendations are made relating to conflict and local governance for policy implementation.

Summary

Local governance entails the collaborative efforts of the District Assembly and other stakeholders to work towards the improvement of the lives of the people at the local level. The interaction of these stakeholders will generate conflicting interest. The study sought to examine the causes of the conflict and the effects of the conflict in local governance. It also sought to assess the conflict management strategies in place at the local government level.

The study adopted mixed research method of study to achieve the objectives. Priority was however given to qualitative method of study. Data was gathered through interview schedules administered on community members while semi-structured interview guide was administered on core staff of the District Assembly as well as Assembly Members.

Main findings

- The study revealed general awareness of the functions of the DA. Some of the functions include infrastructure development, service delivery, organisation of assembly meetings and revenue mobilization. These functions identified are performed to achieve the overall development and the provision of social services of the district.
- The Kassena-Nankana West District Assembly is not able to meet the expectations and desires of the citizens with regards to their socio-economic situation as well as services and social infrastructure.
- The development of the district is not the sole responsibility of the DA but a collaborative effort of all stakeholders. However it is the district that takes the lead role in the development process.
- The participation of citizens in decision-making process is faced with challenges such as difficulty in meeting the DA staff, discrimination in the distribution of resources and limited avenues created for interaction.
- The exclusion of people in decision making process is a cause of conflict at the local level.
- Poor information dissemination was also identified as sources of conflict in governance at the local level. Poor information dissemination is closely related to the difficulty in accessing information from DA, staff members and the Assembly Members.

- Low levels of education of the citizens hinder their understanding and interpretation of issues of the DA. Low levels of education of citizens were also identified as a cause of conflict.
- Inadequate financial resources available to the DA to perform its mandated functions were also identified as a cause of conflict.
lack of transparency and accountability on the part of the DA creates mistrust among the people.
- The conflict in local governance leads to tensions and mistrust among groups and communities.
- Conflict results in low revenue mobilization drive of the DA. People become reluctant to pay rates, fees and taxes to the DA. When revenue mobilization of the district is low, it affects expenditure because the transfers from government are inadequate.
- Increased involvement of Civil Society and citizens in decision making process at the local level is meant to contribute to conflict transformation because people learn to democratically negotiate and lobby for development projects in the district.
- Conflict leads to inefficient allocation of resources. Development projects are implemented without proper planning.
- A conflict management strategy identified in the district is public education on the negative effects of conflict and the importance of peace.

- Effective communication was also identified as a conflict management strategy. Effective communication enhances the understanding of people and erases wrong perceptions.

Conclusions

The DA is mandated by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and the Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993 to provide social service and development to the district. The provision of services and development projects entail the participation of other stakeholders like the Civil Society Organisations (CSO's) and the citizens. It is targeted at creating an inclusive governance and to create a good relationship between the DA and the citizens (as depicted in Figure 2).

Though citizens participate in the activities of the DA, there is a general feeling that their level of inclusion in the governance process is low. Citizens still feel their views and concerns are not factored into the decision making process. It is these divergent interests when not properly managed that leads to conflict.

It is evident from the findings that the effects of conflict in local governance are both positive and negative. Whatever the effect on local governance, it is important that strategies are put in place to manage the conflicts to realize the full benefit to local governance. The study has shown that local governance can be a source of conflict because opportunities are created for citizens to participate in decisions that affect their lives. This leads to conflicting interest in the process. This is in line with the conceptual framework (Figure 2) which indicates that local governance entails the involvement of citizens and

CSOs in the decision making process of the DA. As a result of the diverse interest of the citizens, participation in governance generate conflict situations. The DA is not able to meet the high expectations of the citizens due to resource constraints.

Decentralization and local governance as revealed by the study can also be used as a conflict management strategy. The concern of the citizens is participation in decision making, transparency and accountability, efficiency and equitable distribution of resources.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the findings of the study;

Government

- There should be increased financial assistance and timely release of funds to the DAs. Increased financial support will enhance the capacity of the DA to meet most of the expectations and aspirations of the people. DA will be able to meet the demands of people by providing communities their 'share'.
- A policy directive from government to Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies to create peace and conflict management departments or align with an existing department in the Assembly so that regular activities are planned and undertaken by this department.

National Development Planning Commission (NDPC)

- Peace building and conflict management should be made one of the planning guidelines for the preparation of the Medium Term Development Plans of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs). This will make MMDAs incorporate peace building and conflict management into their MTDPs and budget for activities.

District Assembly

- Local governance as a process is meant to enhance participation in processes of political decision –making and socio-economic development at the local level. There is the need for DA to have monthly meetings with the communities to enhance participation, address differences and issues.
- DAs should find innovative ways such as building a modern market in Paga since it is a border town. It will attract a lot of traders both within and outside Ghana. This will improve revenue mobilization because the coverage for the collection of fees and taxes will be expanded. Improved financial resources of the DA will support it in service delivery and to undertake development. This way they will be able to meet to a large extent the expectations and needs of the communities thereby preventing conflict.
- Through the planning guidelines from NDPC, DAs should incorporate peace-building and conflict management into the Medium Term Development Plans and Annual Action Plans. This way such activities

will be budgeted for and approved by the General Assembly and makes peace education a regular event in the DA. This will help address priority needs and reduce conflict risk.

Institute of Local Government Studies

- Peace and stability is important in the developmental agenda of the district. There is the need to build the capacities of DISEC on conflict prevention and resolution to effectively manage conflicts in the district through annual training.
- Organise regular capacity building programmes on conflict management for the key staff members (District Coordinating Director, Finance Officer, Budget Officer, Works and Engineer, Planning Officer, District Chief Executive) of the DA to help in peacebuilding efforts of the DA. This will build strong local capacity to manage conflicts.

Community members

- Should always demand accountability from those in authority at the local level. This can be achieved through active participation of community members in the activities (public hearing, budget hearing, Town Hall meetings) of the DA.

Area for further research

Peace is required in local governance to be able to achieve the overall development of the districts and the country as a whole. This study recommends for further research on conflict between the Assembly Members and the core staff of the District Assembly.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE SIZE DETERMINATION

The sample formulae for descriptive studies below was used.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(a^2)}$$

Where;

n = sample size, *N*= Population, *a* = margin of error

Source: Israel, 20009

Using the following parameters;

Confidence level = 95%

Margin of error =0.05

Population = 70,667

$$n = \frac{70667}{1+70667(0.05^2)}$$

n = 398

APPENDIX B

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS ON
CONFLICT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE**

Dear respondent, this questionnaire is part of a survey being conducted in connection with an M.Phil thesis on Local Governance and Conflict at the Institute for Development Studies, UCC. The survey is based on a specific sample and therefore your participation is very critical and your completion of this questionnaire would be helpful. Confidentiality of information is guaranteed. Thank you for your cooperation.

Background information

1. Age:

18 – 20 [] 21- 30 [] 31 – 40 [] 41- 50 [] 51- 60 [] 60+ []

2. Sex (i) Male [] (ii) Female []

3. Educational background

Primary [] Secondary [] Tertiary []

other.....

4. Occupation:

5. Name of Community.....

Perception about the local government system

1. Do you know your district assembly?

Yes []

No []

If answer is No to Q1, skip to Q3

2. What is the name of your district assembly?

.....

3. In your opinion what are some of the functions of the district assembly?

.....

.....

.....

4. Do you participate in some of activities of the district assembly?

Yes []

No []

If answer to Q4 is No, skip to Q7

5. Which activities do you take part in?

.....

.....

.....

6. How will you rate your participation in assembly activities?

- a. Very high[] b. high[] c. medium[] d. low[] e. very low[]

7. Is the assembly able to meet your expectations?

Yes [] No []

If yes, how.....

.....
.....
.....

8. . What benefits do you derive from the assembly?

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. Who is responsible for the development of the district?

- a. Member of Parliament[] b. District Assembly[] c. Assembly Member[]
d. Traditional Authorities [] e. Two of the above[]
d. All the above [] None of the above []

10. Can you give reasons for your answer?

.....
.....
.....
.....

11 . In your opinion, who lead the process of the allocating projects and programmes?

.....
.....

12. Have you or your community ever been involved in this process?

Yes [] No []

Please explain

.....
.....

13. How can we improve local governance?

.....
.....

Causes of conflict in local governance

14. Do you know of any conflict in the governance process at the local level?

Yes [] No []

If answer to Q17 is No, skip to Q 21

15. What are some of the conflict situations you face in your interaction with the district assembly?

.....
.....

16. What is the nature of these conflict situations in the governance process?

.....
.....

17. Are there examples of these conflicts in the governance process?

Yes [] No []

Explain your answer

.....
.....

18. What in your opinion can create conflict in the governance process in the district?

.....
.....

Effects of conflict in local governance

19. Are you aware of any effect of conflict in local governance?

Yes [] No []

20. What are some of these effects of conflict in local governance?

.....
.....

21. Does the conflict affect your relationship with the District Assembly?

Yes [] No []

Please describe the effect:

.....
.....

22. Has the conflict affected the relationship between the community and the District Assembly?

Yes [] No []

Please explain your answer:

.....
.....

Conflict management strategies

23. Are you aware of any strategy to manage these conflicts in the district?

Yes [] No []

24. What are some of the strategies in place to manage conflicts?

.....
.....

25. In your opinion, what do you suggest should be done to manage conflicts at the local level?

.....
.....

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DISTRICT ASSEMBLY STAFF

1. How does the assembly develop the development plans for the district?
2. How are people involved in developing these plans?
3. How are projects allocated in the district?
4. Who determines who gets what in the district?
5. How are people involved in the allocation of these projects and provision of services?
6. Are there contestations in the allocation of these projects?
7. What is the nature of these contestations?
8. Are there examples of disagreements in the implementation of projects in the past?
9. How are these contestations managed?
10. How has this affected the work of the district assembly?
11. Do they contest the allocation of projects in the district?
12. What are some of their concerns?
13. Has this affected the allocation of projects of the assembly in any way?
14. How are all these concerns managed?
15. Does the assembly have a body set up to resolve conflicts?
16. What will you suggest for the assembly to manage conflicts?
17. How can we improve local governance?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEES

1. How does the assembly develop the development plans for the district?
2. How are people involved in developing these plans?
3. How are projects allocated in the district?
4. Who determines who gets what in the district?
5. How are people involved in the allocation of these projects and provision of services?
6. How do you meet your electorate to discuss issues of the District Assembly?
7. What are some of the conflict situations in local governance?
8. What is the nature of the conflict?
9. What are the causes of the conflict?
10. How are the conflicts managed?
11. What can be done to manage conflicts in local governance?
12. Which people are involved in the management of these conflicts?
13. How has this affected the district or local governance?
14. Have you ever contested the allocation of resources in the district?
15. What were some of their concerns?
16. How are all these concerns managed?
17. Does the assembly have a body set up to resolve conflicts?
18. What will you suggest for the assembly to manage conflicts?
19. How can conflict in local governance be managed?
20. How can we improve local governance?