CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND STATE RELATIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MINING-RELATED CONFLICTS IN THE ASUTIFI NORTH DISTRICT, GHANA.

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Institute for Development Studies of the Faculty of Social Sciences, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Peace and Development Studies

MAY 2018
DECLARATION

Candidate’s Declaration

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

Candidate’s Signature:………………………..  Date:…………………………

Name:…………………………………………………………………………...

Supervisors’ Declaration

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

Principal Supervisor’s Signature………………………..  Date:…………………

Name: ………………………………………………………………………….

Co-Supervisor’s Signature………………………………………..  Date: ………………

Name: …………………………………………………………………………..

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the relations between CSOs and government institutions in the management of mining-related conflicts in the Asutifi North District of Ghana. The qualitative research approach was adopted for the study. Through the purposive sampling procedure, key respondents from government institutions, CSOs and individual members of the district were interviewed. Although the Asutifi North District was relatively peaceful before the arrival of Newmont Gold Ghana Limited (NGGL), there were pockets of conflicts ranging from land and boundary disputes between paramountcies and families and unlawful hostage of properties belonging to community members. However, the trend of conflicts changed following the establishment of NGGL in the district. The study identified conflicts over compensation, spillage, displacement, unemployment etc., as a major cause of conflict in the district. It was realized that the success of maintaining a relatively peaceful environment in the wake of the conflicts, centred on series of committees and meetings organized by both CSOs and government institutions on matters affecting their coexistence and their development in general. Ineffective monitoring by government institutions such as EPA and Minerals Commission was noted as a likely trigger of conflict. Further, delay in the payment of royalties and the police reactions towards demonstrations were seen as an impediment to peaceful relations. The study recommended that the historical boundaries between Kenyase No. 1 and 2 which the Asantehene (Otumfuor) seek to resolve should include the active participation of all stakeholders in the district and witnessed by government actors. It was also recommended that royalties be paid on time by the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands, and a well-established office provided for EPA, Lands and Natural Resources and Water Resource Commission for efficient and effective monitoring of mining activities in the district.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My special profound gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr. Joseph Boateng Agyenim and Dr. Emmanuel Tenkorang for their invaluable intellectual and moral contributions throughout this study. I also acknowledge the moral support benefited from Dr. Kenneth Aikins and lawyer Kwadwo Tuffour for empowering me to withstand and endure all the challenges I encountered in the production of this piece of work.

This acknowledgement will be incomplete without my indebtedness to my M. Phil colleagues from the Peace and Development class, notably; Abdul Karim Issiful, Boarisa Isaac, Amoah Richard, Komiater Naomi, Esang Martins and Ayombisa Steven for their support, prayers and encouragement in the realization of this work.

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Finally, I wish to thank my parents, Mr. Joseph Asante and Georgina Quansah for their numerous sacrifices, support and guidance during my education. I am particularly thankful to my siblings, Nicholas, Vida, Comfort, Asabea and Ohenewa for their financial support and to those whose names are not mentioned in the above paragraphs, who, in one way or another, contributed to the accomplishment of this thesis, May God bless you all.
DEDICATION

To my brother,

Mr. Nicholas Asante.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENT</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLE</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background to the study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the problem</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective of the study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research questions</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the study</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope of the study</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation of the study</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical framework</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict management theory</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict resolution theory</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The liberal democratic theory</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual explanations</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The concept of conflict 20
The concept of conflict management 22
Conflict management strategies 22
Challenges in managing conflicts 25
The causes of conflict 27
Roles of conflict management in societal development 30
Peacebuilding 31
Linkage between peacebuilding and conflict management 32
Civil society 32
Civil society organization 34
Functions of civil society organisations 35
Role of CSOs in conflict management in Ghana 36
Impacts of CSOs on conflict management in Ghana 38
Challenges facing CSOs in conflict management in Ghana 41
The meaning of the concept government 41
Government strategies in managing conflict in developing countries 42
Obstacles to the roles of government in managing natural resource conflicts 44
Civil society organisations and state relations 45
Overview of Ghana’s mineral sector 46
Mining and conflicts 47
Empirical review 49
Conceptual framework of the study 52
Conclusion 54
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction 56

Study area 56

Research approach 59

Study design 60

Study population 62

Sampling procedures 63

Sources of data 65

Data collection methods and research instruments 66

Data analysis and presentation 69

Ethical consideration 70

Field challenges 71

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 72

Introduction 72

Characteristics of respondents 72

Types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District 74

Dynamics of conflict after the establishment of NGGL in the Asutifi North District. 81

Events leading to stakeholders (government institutions and CSOs) collaboration in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District. 95

Features of CSOs and government collaboration in managing mining related conflicts 96

Likely triggers of conflict among CSOs and
government instruments during the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key findings from the study</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas for further research</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: OBSERVATION GUIDE</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Respondents for the study</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding (Adopted for conflict management).</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Models of Government - CSOs Relations in Conflict Management (co-operative / conflictual relationship)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Map showing the study settlement affected by NGGL’s activities</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A youth member ready for a demonstration against NGGL as a result of unemployment.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A section of the youth in a demonstration at Kenyasi No. 2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A leading member from the youth group addressing the public</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>AngloGold Ashanti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AND</td>
<td>Asutifi North District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>Community Consultative Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRAJ</td>
<td>Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLIP</td>
<td>Community Life Improvement Program</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CODEO</td>
<td>Coalition of Domestic Election Observers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRNC</td>
<td>Crop Rate Negotiation Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRR</td>
<td>Community Relations Review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>District Assembly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISEC</td>
<td>District Security Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOSOCC</td>
<td>Economic, Social and Cultural council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>Evangelical Presbyterian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Environmental protection Agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERP</td>
<td>Economic Recovery Programme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBOs</td>
<td>Faith-Based Organisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus group discussion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEA</td>
<td>Institute for Economic Affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDA</td>
<td>Ministries Departments and Agencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NADeF</td>
<td>Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCE</td>
<td>National Commission for Civic Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGGL</td>
<td>Newmont Gold Ghana Limited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPI</td>
<td>Nairobi Peace Initiative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OASL</td>
<td>Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPNI</td>
<td>Permanent Peace Negotiation Team</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEC</td>
<td>Regional Security Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNC</td>
<td>Resettlement Negotiation Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WACAM</td>
<td>Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANEP</td>
<td>West African Network for Peacebuilding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

Conflict is a phenomenon in all relationships and needs to be accepted as part of our everyday life. It is a process that begins when one party or group perceives that another party or group has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect something that the first party cares about (Robbins & Judge, 2009). As such, conflict is natural, inevitable, necessary and normal; however, the concern is not the existence of the conflict but how to manage it when they arise (Mayer, 2010).

Conflicts can escalate and lead to non-productive results or conflicts can be beneficially resolved and lead to quality final products. Irrespective of the outcome of the conflict, learning to manage it is integral to a high-performance team. Conflict management is the principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved, but can be minimized to decrease the odds of non-productive escalation. It implies the ability to control the intensity of a conflict and its negative effects, through negotiation, intervention, and other institutional mechanisms including traditional diplomatic methods (Ajala, 2006).

According to Stewart (2006), there is a widespread international agreement that the primary responsibility for managing conflicts rests with national governments and other actors such as civil society organisations (CSOs). However, while government and CSOs collaborate to perform their primary responsibilities in managing conflicts, their relationship is often characterized by a number of barriers including mistrust (Barnes, 2006). In this regard, Campbell (2006) claimed that when considering the relationship
between civil society organizations and governments in conflict management, the connections between the two entities have been characterized throughout literature as either cooperative or conflictual. Such relationship that exists between government and CSOs in management situations is likely to develop into a disagreement, especially in mining communities where mining-related conflicts are rampant.

Globally, the dynamics of conflicts include poverty and its attendant struggle for natural resource use, rapid economic growth, ethnic rivalries, religious intolerance, bad governance, misuse of resources and arbitrary national boundaries (Kendie, 2010). In relation to natural resource associated conflicts, Galadima (2009) features a significant number of violent examples for analysis. In Latin America for instance, conflicts have become more frequent in areas where extractive activities are in operation resulting in a confrontation between local communities and the state or the companies engaging in extraction, as a result of land use, contamination or distribution of income derived from the exploitation of the resources. Africa has not been spared as the continent continues to face violent conflicts. Specifically, Galadima found that the African continent continues to face series of devastating conflicts one of which includes mining-related activities. The extraction of oil in the Niger Delta, for instance, has led to the contamination of the delta, creating a myriad of socio-environmental conflicts among the people.

Undisputedly, the negative environmental impact of mining, land alienation, poor compensation, forest destruction, water, air and land pollution, and importantly conflict between mining companies and communities, have caused heavy public criticisms against the companies. Also, the marginalisation
of local mining communities and the constant disruption of their livelihoods, exclusion, physical dislocation of local populations and the disruption of age-old socio-cultural settings in the mining areas have been blamed on mining companies (Agbesinyale & Inkoom, 2016). To this effect, Kendie (2010) adds that while Ghana has been described as peaceful, conflicts occur from time to time involving various protagonists that may be economic and mining-related violence.

These mining induced conflicts have led to an odd relationship between mining communities and the mining companies. The strained relationship has made mining companies victims of public criticisms. In effect, the rampant public worries and displeasures against the companies at times develop into violence, and non-violent conflicts in the form of demonstrations, written threats to companies and withdrawal from the company’s engagements (Kapstein, & Kim 2011). For instance, following the violent conflict in 2005 over land rights between mining companies and community members at Tarkwa in the Western region of Ghana in which two people were killed and thirteen injured, the mining companies were confronted with massive public condemnation as not a good partner in development (Stickler, 2006).

Against this background, Agbesinyale (2003), Carsons, Cottrell, Dickman and Gummerson (2006) observed the importance of the economic contribution of the mining companies in Ghana’s socio-cultural development. Considering the economic factors, for instance, Carsons et. al found that the mining sector in Ghana is one of the areas where conflicts of all kinds manifest. According to the authors, the sources of such conflicts revolve around but are
not limited to, the management and distribution of mining revenue, illegal artisanal mining, security and alternative livelihoods.

The Newmont Ahafo Company, like any other mine, has received a fair share of such conflicts. The mine is located in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana, and the rapid changes around the mine and its surrounding communities have attracted a fair amount of attention from stakeholders. Aggrieved residents at Damso and other mining communities, for example, threatened the lives of expatriate workers following a failure to relocate them. In a related example, Asmah (2015), cited specific examples where aggrieved residents of the said community, wielded machetes and other offensive instruments to register their displeasure against the mining company.

More community resistance has been experienced by members of the Asutifi North District over some project decisions and implementation, employment, compensation and others. Handelsman (2002) confirmed the scenario by emphasising the hostile nature exhibited by the community members in the district due to unclear management procedures by both CSOs and government institutions. These hostile attitudes include issued verbal threats and media allegations by government institutions, uncomplimentary remarks and blockage of roads by CSOs. In addition, these problems have crystallised into tension, suspicion and mistrust that affect the relationship between the mines, government institutions and civil society organisations in the district.

The results of these suspicion, tension and mistrust among government and CSOs are that partnership in terms of managing conflicts becomes difficult as a mutual misconception and lack of understanding of both government
institutions and CSOs, create obstacles to effective cooperation (Heemskerk, 2007). While government institutions question the quality, legitimacy and accountability of specific CSOs, they do not also see the relevance of CSOs and sometimes believe that they can create more trouble than managing conflict (Brown, 2008). Likewise, Forster and Mattner (2007) believe that government institutions may be indignant about the often-hostile tone that some CSOs may adopt in their critique of the government and perceive them as having essentially political motives in seeking to undermine the government's authority.

On the other hand, CSOs may, in turn, be deeply suspicious of the motives and commitment of government institutions as they resolve conflicts. They may have considerable ideological or political differences and believe the contradictions are invisible without becoming too compromised. Further, there could be situations where it may be inappropriate or worse to engage, especially when the state is controlled by an oppressive regime (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006).

Irrespective of the level of suspicion among government institutions and CSOs in management situations, as conflicts occur, society becomes saddled with ways to adequately respond and manage the outcome. Although the resolution procedure might be cumbersome, Darling and Walker (2007), maintains that it can be managed. Managing conflict, therefore, demands concerted efforts from all stakeholders to ensure success. Particularly, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) must complement the capacity of government and the government must also ensure that it creates the enabling environment for CSOs to thrive in terms of managing conflict. In order to achieve this, the
study assessed the relationship that exists between government institutions and CSOs in terms of managing mining-related conflicts.

The study adopted the theoretical model espoused by Lederach (1997) as the main theoretical stance, to explain how mining-related conflicts can be managed. The model examined peacebuilding as a change process premised on relationship building either from the top down approach or from the bottom up approach. The conflict management and resolution theory were further used as a supporting theory to critique the bottom up and bottom down approach respectively, while the democratic peace theory was also drawn to complement and illustrate how conflicts can be managed between and among groups.

Statement of the problem

The Asutifi North District where Newmont Gold Ghana Limited (NGGL) operates, constitutes one of the major mining companies which exhibits mining-related conflicts including issues of unemployment, compensation, spillage etc. In the Asutifi North District, many of the youth are unhappy that after ten years into NGGL’s operations, a majority of them are still jobless and expectations not fulfilled. The situation in the Asutifi North District as described by the Ghana News Agency (GNA) (2015) comes amid widespread frustration, agitation, and discontent among the youth in the district.

In addition, Garvin, McGee, Smoyer-Tomic, & Aubynn (2009), indicates that the NGGL have not been able to meet the high demand for local employment in the community and traditional authorities are also in disagreement with government institutions about the management of resources. In a recent incidence, the GNA (2015) had given instances where over five hundred residents threatened the lives of expatriate workers following a failure
to relocate them. A preliminary survey by the researcher attests to the fact that CSOs in the district have raised issues concerning non-working agreements, broken promises, lack of effective communication and engagement between themselves and government institutions. These were the result of employment opportunities, resettlement and the management of resources (Researcher’s Pretesting Result, 2016).

To mitigate the phenomena, government institutions as well as CSOs are to identify the interest, concerns and needs of the citizens and address their them. In spite of the fact that these institutions (i.e. government institutions and CSOs) collaborate to manage conflicts in the district, the relationship is often characterised by trust and mistrust. Evidence from the preliminary survey by the researcher indicates that relations between the said institutions have grown increasingly tenuous, with reports of community members revolting against the NGGL’s policies, on issues of compensation, displacement, and environmental degradation (Researcher’s Pretesting Result, 2016). Strategies employed over the years including the use of the police and engagement with CSOs to address these conflicts have proven to be ineffective.

These strategies, which in most cases were initiated and spearheaded by government institutions and CSOs, were viewed more as impositions than collaborative measures, and as such did not enjoy the cooperation of affected community members (Carsons, 2006). Hence, this study sought to assess the relationship between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining-related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
Objectives of the study

The study aimed to explore the relations between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District. Specifically, the study intended to:

- describe the types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District.
- assess the causes of conflict after the establishment of NGGL in the Asutifi North District.
- describe the events leading to stakeholders (government institutions and CSOs) collaboration in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
- explain the likely triggers of conflict among CSOs and government institutions during the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.

Research questions

The following research questions guided the study:

- What were the types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District?
- What are the causes of conflicts after the establishment of NGGL in the Asutifi North District?
- What are the events leading to stakeholders (government institutions and CSOs) collaboration in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District?
• What are the likely triggers of conflicts among CSOs and government institutions in the process of managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District?

**Significance of the study**

Resource endowed communities are also considered conflict-laden communities. Efforts to manage and resolve these conflicts by stakeholders have often been revolted against by community members who consider them as impositions and not reflecting the interest of all affected parties.

This study is designed to throw more light on the relations between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining-related conflict on the local communities in which they operate. Hence, the findings from the study are vital since it would serve as a baseline study for policy recommendations and interventions on addressing mining-related conflicts in Ghana. This will help the government of Ghana, private cooperations and CSOs coexist peacefully especially in mineral-rich communities where conflicts are mostly recorded.

The findings of the study are expected to educate stakeholders of NGGL to acquire skills in dealing with conflicts of all forms as they carry on with their day-to-day activities. Cooperation among staff could easily be attained when there is effective management of conflict in organisations. This could be achieved when the conflicts within the organisation are resolved amicably, ensuring unity and understanding among the workers.

Although mining conflict is an unavoidable phenomenon, when it is managed well, the company (NGGL) would gain high morale and would be willing to put up their best in fulfilling their responsibilities and promises made.
to the district concerning infrastructural development and other social interventions. Hence, the study will aid NGGL in the district to operate in a peaceful environment which would yield a higher production for developing the district.

The findings derived from the study will help individuals within the district to adapt lessons described in the study in managing their interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts in their various homes. This will further foster unity and cooperation among the citizenry in the district.

Finally, the findings will provide researchers with a better perspective in understanding the relations that exist between government institutions and CSOs in managing mining-related conflicts, whilst giving researchers an opportunity to assess the issue in an applied environment.

**Scope of the study**

The study sought to identify the relations between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining-related conflicts. The study covered only the communities under the Asutifi North District where NGGL operates. The communities are Kenyasi No. 1, Kenyasi No. 2 Ntotroso, Gyedu, Wamahinso and other vassal communities within the district. Theoretically, the study is based on Lederach’s theoretical model and the democratic peace theory as explained by Lederach (1997) and Paris (1997) respectively.

**Organisation of the study**

The research was divided into five chapters. The Chapter one contains the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance, the scope of the study, limitations and organisation of the study.
Chapter two reveals relevant literature to the problem under consideration. Basically, the purpose of the chapter is to clarify issues, discuss concepts and establish relationships within the topic under study. The literature review is divided into three parts; theoretical review, conceptual review and the empirical review.

The Chapter three deals with the research methods used to undertake the study. This exposed the research design, instruments as well as the processes that are used throughout the study. In addition, the chapter presents the background of the study area.

Chapter four deals with the presentation and analysis of the data that is collected while chapter five was dedicated to the summary, conclusions and recommendations to the study.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter reviews literature pertinent to the topic. It examines the concept of conflict and conflict management, source of mine related conflicts, the approaches to managing mining-related conflicts, relations between government institutions and CSOs in management situations and other related issues. The literature review is in three parts; the theoretical review, conceptual review and empirical review. Lederach’s theoretical model of peacebuilding was adopted and used throughout the study in management situations. It served as the main theory underpinning the study. Other supporting theories such as the conflict management theory, the conflict resolution theory and the democratic theory helped to explain the relations between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining-related conflicts. The supporting theories were used concurrently to further explain and critique Lederach’s model of peacebuilding.

Theoretical framework

To be able to understand why certain phenomena occur and the circumstances in which they exist, social scientists use tools such as theories, models and concepts. Silverman (2015) differentiates theory from other research terms like model, concept and methodology and defines it as a set of concepts used to define and or explain some phenomenon. This section discusses the theoretical perspectives within which the data for the study was collected and analysed.
Lederach (1997) developed an analytical approach to spot actors on different levels and how they can contribute to peacebuilding. The approach advocates for peacebuilders to understand peace as a change process based on relationship building. He differentiates between the top leadership (level one), the middle-range leadership (level two), and the grassroots leadership (level three). It is observed that the contributions of the various actors in the peacebuilding scenario can also be applied in management situations. Figure one (1) gives a detailed illustration of how Lederach spotted the types of actors and the approaches to peacebuilding.
Focus on high-level negotiation, emphasise cease-fire, led by high leadership with Visible, visibility

Problem-solving workshops, Training in conflict resolution, Peace commission, inside teams.

Local peace commissions, grassroots training, prejudice reduction, psychosocial work in local post war trauma

Level 1: Top leadership
Military/ policy / religious single mediator. High

Level 2: Middle – range leadership
Leaders respected in sectors, ethnic/ partial religious leadership, academics Intellectuals, humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Level 3: Grassroot leadership
Local leaders, leaders of indigenous NGOs community developers, Local health officials, refugee camp

Figure 1: Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding (Adopted for conflict management).
Source: Lederach (1997)
The first level leadership according to Lederach (1997) often consists of key representatives of the warring parties which consist of government and some CSOs. They are influential, political, military or religious leaders with high positions and highly respected by the public. Lederach reiterate that the first level leaders have a greater capacity to make decisions that affect the entire population. The first level leadership often advocates a top-down approach to peacebuilding where high-level negotiations to stop the violence are prioritised. This approach is based on the assumption that an agreement between the leadership of two conflicting parties can transform the conflicting reality at the lower levels.

The middle-range leadership comprises a large range of people, institutions, groups or associations that are not directly tied to the conflict parties and who are still influential in society at large. Lederach (1997) identifies sectors such as business, academics, religion, and health to encompass possible middle-range leadership, but also leaders of specific regions and ethnic teams match into this level. He emphasises that middle range actors have connections and relations to the first level leadership as well as the grassroots, which makes them necessary actors, facilitators, and networkers in peacebuilding processes. The middle-range leadership’s approach to peacebuilding is what Lederach refers to as a middle-range approach, which might embrace informal problem-solving workshops.

The third level which is also known as the grassroots-level represents the citizens who form the base of a society. This is where CSOs are most active, engaging in a range of peacebuilding activities such as community dialogue, trauma healing and local peace commissions (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006;
Sandole, 2010). The grassroots’ level includes the local communities and this makes it very important because they are the same people who bear the consequences of conflict. Managing conflict through the “bottom-up” approach is about integrating the various levels and spheres of society where the goal is to enhance cooperation, which requires strong links between the three levels of Lederach’s theoretical hierarchy. Effective conflict management can thus not only be about an intervention and peace agreement at the top level but must also include the strengthening of local communities mostly found at the bottom levels of the hierarchy. Similarly, many transitions towards peace are driven largely by pressure from the grassroots level and therefore actions taken at this level are crucial to reducing conflicts destructiveness (Lederach, 1997).

Situating the relations between government institutions and CSOs in Lederach’s theoretical model, it is evident that the top leadership which comprise government officials and some members of the civil society group (religious organisation) operate in tandem which in a way may influence the decisions taken by the middle and grassroots leadership. As the middle – range and grassroots leaders manage conflict as seen in Figure1, actors from religious organisations may also adhere to political or military decisions in the first level of the hierarchy and transfer or influence the decisions of the majority of CSOs that characterise the second and third levels of the hierarchy. Consequently, the claim by Hegel (1820), Tusalem (2007) and several scholars who see CSOs as separate from government institutions are flawed. On the other hand, claims by Held (1995), Alagapaa (2004) and others who view CSOs as a political association may also be interrogated since each level of Lederach’s theoretical
model is unique in performing its function as peacebuilders or conflict managers.

**Conflict management theory**

Conflict management is a theoretical standpoint that recognises that conflicts between human beings are unavoidable. They emerge as a natural result of change and can be beneficial to an organisation, if managed efficiently (Kirchoff & Adams, 1982). The proponent of the theory aims to enhance learning and group outcomes, including effectiveness or performance in an organisational setting (Afzalur Rahim, 2002).

The conflict management theory seeks to end conflicts through strategic diplomatic initiatives. Hence, it considers innovation as a mechanism for bringing together various ideas and viewpoints into a new fusion. This is achieved through identifying and bringing together, leaders of the conflict parties for a short-term management of the conflict. Examples can be cited from the Aceh and Sudan Accords (Paffenhholz, 2008; Richmond, 2005). The biggest commitment of the Conflict Management Theory is its attention on people with significant influence who can convey the vast scale brutality to an end through an arranged settlement.

A close look at the theory shows a link to the first level of Lederach’s theory. It has however been criticised because just as Lederach’s theory, mediators tend to concentrate solely on the top leadership of the conflicting parties (Lederach, 1997), often ignoring the need for facilitation by different internal and external actors before, during and after the negotiations (Paffenhholz, 2000). The approach also overlooks the deep causes of conflicts (Hoffman, 2006).
Conflict resolution theory

The approach of the conflict resolution theory is to comprehend the basic reasons for conflict and reconstruct demolished connections between societies and parties. According to Kelman (1992) and Fisher (1997), the conflict theory was first used by academicians who mainly organised workshops with non-official actors close to the conflict parties. However, as the approach evolved, the scope of the actors was broadened to include a general civil society. The outstanding works exhibited by this theory is the fact that, all actors involved aim at addressing the root causes of conflict with relationship building and long-term resolution oriented approaches. Further, actors involved do not represent a government or an international organisation. Their main activities performed includes dialogue projects between groups or communities, peace education, conflict resolution training to enhance the peacebuilding capacity of actors from one or different groups, and conflict resolution workshops.

The conflict resolution theory has been criticised from a conflict management perspective. To Bercovitch (1992), improving communications and building relationships between conflicting parties do not necessarily result in an agreement to end the disagreement. The approach has also been criticised for its assumptions that the work of civil society and the grassroots does not automatically spill over to the national level (Richmond, 2005).

The liberal democratic theory

Works on peace research often credit democracy as the bedrock of peaceful coexistence in societies devastated by war. This is because, promotion of liberal democracy by the West is seen as desirable, given the universal claim that democracies do not go to war with one another. The central tenet of this
paradigm is the assumption that the surest foundation for peace, both within and between states, is market a democracy, that is, a liberal democratic polity and a market-oriented economy (Paris, 1997). The proponents of the liberal democracy suggest two criteria for the promotion of liberal democracy as a conflict management and transformation strategy in Africa.

For Ake (1996), democracy provides the overlapping consensus and public reasoning for containing conflict in ethnically divided societies and secondly, through institutional design, elections can be an opportunity for conflict management. Testing the efficiency of the liberal democratic principles, Harris and Reiley (1998) found that at least about 120 countries now hold generally free and fair elections with a large number of internal conflicts ending with a negotiated peace. This means that the parties themselves agree to deliver a sustainable peaceful settlement through a democratic transition. Democracy as a conflict management tool, therefore, possesses some inherent ideals that mitigate the typical severe grievances that cause societies to engage in violent protest (Ayelazuno, 2007).

According to Sisk (2008), democracy is promising as a conflict management strategy because the principles, institutions and rules associated with democratic practice seek to manage inevitable social conflicts in deeply divided and less conflicted societies alike. Democracy as a system of conflict management tool provides fundamental rules of the game and a safe arena to compete. The principles provided in a democratic theory also provide the essential starting point to resolve conflicts through delegation of more power to the civil society. Once political actors (government institutions) accept the need for peaceful management of deep-rooted conflicts, democratic system of
government can help them develop habits of compromise, cooperation, and consensus building.

Although democracy has been seen as the best system of governance that provides an appreciable framework such as equality, accountability, rationality, stability, etc., Scholars have argued that democracy does not provide all these and has not throughout history been responsible for all the good supposedly inherent in it as expounded by its proponent. To this effect, Huntington argues that “democracies can and have abused individual rights and liberties” (Huntington, 1991). For instance, the very process of political and economic liberalisation as found in the liberal democratic principles has rather generated destabilising side effects in war-shattered states, hindering the consolidation of peace and in some cases even sparking renewed fighting. In Rwanda and Angola, for example, political liberalisation contributed to the resurgence of violence; in Bosnia, elections reinforced the separation of the parties rather than facilitating their reconciliation; and in Mozambique, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, the effects of economic liberalisation have threatened to reignite the conflict. At best, the liberal democratic approach to peacebuilding has generated unforeseen problems. At worst, peacebuilding missions have had the "perverse effect" of undermining the very peace societies they were meant to buttress (Paris 1997).

Conceptual explanations

The concept of conflict

Conflict is endemic in all spheres of life and can arise in virtually any social setting, be it between or within individuals, groups, communities, tribes, states or nations. Conflict brings about change and change also brings conflict
and both are inevitable parts of life (Kreitner & Kinicki, 2012). An understanding of what conflict is and why it occurs is central to being able to manage it (Ellis & Abbott, 2011). When conflict is properly managed, it is a potentially positive and productive force for change that brings growth and development (Olufemi & Adawale, 2012).

Afzalur Rahim (1999) states that conflict has no universal definition. There is no denying the fact that a plethora of scholars has offered their views about the meaning of the concept. For instance, Coser (1956) asserts that conflict is a struggle over values and claims to power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate the rival. Donohue (1992) also defined conflict as a situation in which interdependent people express (manifest or latent) differences in satisfying their individual needs and interest, and they experience interference from each other in accomplishing these goals. To Paul and Dean (2002) conflict is the friction felt when two or more people or groups disagree about something.

A more recent definition of conflict has been offered by Robbins and Judge (2009). They defined conflict as a process that begins where one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect something that the first party cares about. This definition has been criticised as emphasising that conflict is about perceptions, not necessarily real hard facts. Oyeniyi (2011) adds that conflict usually occurs primarily because of a clash of interests in the relationship between parties, groups or states, either because they are pursuing opposing or incompatible goals. This definition emphasises the opposition or incompatibility at the heart of the conflict and initially leaves open the exact nature of these incompatibilities, thus whether
they are between individuals, groups or societal positions; whether they rest in
different interests or beliefs; or whether they have a material existence or come
into being only through discourse.

**The concept of conflict management**

Conflict management refers to the measures that limit, mitigate and or
contain a conflict without necessarily solving it (Miller & King, 2005). It is the
principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved but learning how to
manage them can decrease the odds of non-productive escalation. On that note,
Rahim (2011) adds that conflict management is the process of limiting the
negative aspects of conflict while increasing its positive aspects. According to
Akpuru-Aja (2007), conflict management means the use of dialogue to assist
opponents or parties not only to have agreement against hostile image or actions
but to comply with earlier agreed resolutions and strategies. It entails the long-
term management of intractable conflicts (Bar-Tal, 2000).

From the afore conceptualisation of conflict management, it can be
deduced that conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict
resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills,
and establishing a structure for management of conflict in an environment. It is
a process that embraces all articulated strategies, interventions and institutional
mechanisms in controlling the escalation of the conflict.

**Conflict management strategies**

Effective conflict management strategies can minimise the negative
impacts of conflict on different parties and help create a trusting environment
that builds healthy and improved interpersonal relationship, peaceful co-
eexistence, economic growth and national development (Zineldin, 2002). Just as
the causes of conflicts are diverse, so are the strategies to curb or manage it. Thomas and Kilman (2007) identified five conflict management styles: competitive, collaborative, compromising, avoiding and accommodating. However, Goldfien and Robbennolt (2007) opined that the dual thrust model of conflict management is based on two underlying themes: pro-self (that is a concern for self) or pro-social (that is a concern for others) goals and that the interaction between these two themes gives rise to the five conflict management strategies.

Avoidance is one of the strategies adopted by experts often allows the conflict to phase out on its own through inaction passivity. This conflict management approach is usually adopted when the manager is not concerned about their own outcomes (pro-self) or that of others (pro-social) (Goldfien & Robbennolt, 2007). Avoidance has the advantage of giving time to better prepare and collect information before acting and is a low-stress approach when the conflict duration is short. On the other hand, withdrawing may lead to weakening or losing position as it may be interpreted as agreement, which may make matters worse. Where there are many stakeholders, withdrawing may negatively affect the relationship with another party that expects the action of the conflict manager. Also, important decisions may end up being made by default.

Yielding is another strategy also termed as accommodating or smoothing approach. It is adopted when conflict managers are determined to meet the needs of others and have a general concern for maintaining stable, positive social relationships and harmony (Forsyth, 2009). It sometimes enhances the protection of more important interests while giving up on less
important ones, as well as provides the opportunity of reassessing the situation from other angles. The approach could leave the adopter subject to abuse as opponents may always expect a shifting of grounds in their favour. This strategy may turn off some supporters as credibility and influence can be lost.

Competitive conflict management strategy involves the use of force to get the other party to accept the conflict manager’s view. This strategy maximises self-assertiveness and minimises empathy (that is a concern for others). The conflict managers see conflict as a challenge of win or lose. The benefits of this approach are that it provides a quick resolution to a conflict and increases self-esteem. However, the shortcomings of this style are that it could escalate the conflict and the relationship between the parties. This approach might require a lot of expenses or resources and does not allow the conflict manager to take advantage of the strong points of the opponent’s position. More so, losers might want to retaliate.

Also, conciliation which is sometimes termed compromising approach is adopted when conflict managers’ value fairness and in doing so, anticipate mutual give-and-take interactions. This approach enhances faster issue resolution, reduces tension and friction until a win-win solution could be achieved. However, the cons are that it could result in a loss-loss situation if initial demands are too great. It also does not contribute to trust building in the long-run as it could spawn cynicism if there is no commitment to honour. Important values and long-term objectives could be derailed in the process. This strategy requires close monitoring and control to ensure agreements are met.

It is pertinent to state here that effective conflict management strategies are not completely determined by concerns for self or concern for others but
might be sensitive to the value judgment of other variables such as culture, value system, religious belief etc., hence the use of traditional rulers and clergies in conflict resolution.

The fifth management strategy is co-operation. Co-operation is also seen as collaborating approach. It is adopted when the conflict managers are highly interested in both their own outcomes and the outcomes of others. This style sees conflict as a creative opportunity of which investment in time and resources could find a win-win solution (Forsyth, 2009). It might require structural changes as other possible alternatives in resolving the conflict are reviewed given available information at hand and unwanted options are discarded. Decisions usually take careful consideration and analysis. The merits of this approach are that it pilots actual problem solving, reinforces mutual trust and respect, and provides a base for effective future collaboration. Notwithstanding, this technique may be illogical when a snappy reaction is required.

**Challenges in managing conflicts**

In spite of the importance of conflict management, some challenges are also observed. These challenges cut across the individual level to the organisational level. One of the major challenges of conflict management is that some of the conflict management styles which includes avoidance and compromising, usually turn out to be time-consuming and this may cost the institution so much. In choosing the appropriate style for a particular conflict situation, a time-consuming approach may be required and much of productive time would have to be forfeited in order to effectively employ a particular conflict management style. De Drue and Weingart (2003) also showed consistency with this argument on conflict management style. Also, managers
may get carried away by the conflict management process such that, they may not realise it is eating into normal working hours.

One of the challenges that could be encountered in managing conflict is the occurrence of some form of errors (Mitroff & Featheringham, 1974). One of such errors is the probability of solving a wrong problem. The authors further commented that this error usually occurred when there is lack of proper diagnosis of the problem and where there is inadequate understanding of the nature and cause of the conflict leading to the application of the wrong intervention to the problem.

According to Cronin and Weingart (2007), the conflict between or among people is associated with emotions. When the person handling the conflict does not have the professional skills needed to deal with the problem, he or she may end up worsening the situation. Conflict cannot just be managed by anybody. There are some technicalities required in managing conflicts. Choosing the appropriate conflict management style could be very challenging as suggested by Euwema, Van de Vliert and Bakker (2003). But experts still need to jump this heddle and manage the problem. When a wrong approach to handling a particular problem is adopted, the end results could be disastrous (Brooks, 2009). It takes an expert to identify and choose the appropriate conflict management style to solve the right problem.

Another challenge that could be encountered is lack of cooperation on the part of the two parties involved in the conflict. When either of the parties or both parties are reluctant to take an active part in the conflict management process, the success of the entire style may not be achieved. One of the parties or both parties may refuse to take part in the conflict management process when
they probably feel so hurt about the problem. According to Moore (2014), for a conflict management practice to succeed, the parties involved should be willing to take active parts in the entire conflict management process.

**The causes of conflict**

The reasons for conflict between entities, groups, associations, communities and nations originate from a consistent trend which runs through them – remarkably differences. It might be differences in sentiments, conviction, discernment, interest, needs or objectives. To manage conflict effectively, experts must identify and understand the dynamics and causes of conflicts between organisations and communities.

The causes of conflict could be classified into two broad categories: Structural factors, which stem from the nature of an organisation and the way in which work is organised and personal factors, which arise from differences among individuals (Schnake, 1987; McShane Von & Glinow, 2000; Krietner & Kinicki 2004; Nelson & Quick, 2006). They explain further that some causes of conflict that relate to an organisation’s structure which could cause conflict among communities include specialisation, interdependence, common resources, goal differences, authority relationships, status, inconsistencies, and jurisdictional ambiguities.

Ndita, (2014) explains that since organisations and institutions have greater numbers of people, it tends to be fertile grounds where conflicts of many kinds are initiated and felt. According to Nelson and Quick (2006), the causes of conflict that arise from individual differences include skills and abilities, personalities, perceptions, values and ethics, emotions, communication barriers and cultural differences. Under skills and abilities, they explained that the
workforce of any organisation is composed of people with varying levels of skills and abilities which help the organisation to achieve its goal. These skills and abilities of the workforce also hold potential for conflict among communities especially when members have equal skills and abilities for similar jobs. Similarly, Schnake and Dumler (1987) observe that the differences in the goals that individuals or groups want to accomplish could also create a source of conflict. He explains that when individuals have incompatible personal goals, conflict is likely to occur.

The hierarchical nature of the traditional boss-employee relationship could also stimulate conflict. For employees, the relationship is not a comfortable one especially when there is an autocratic leader. To this effect, Morrison (2010) shares the same view when he states that as long as productive organisations continue to be arranged hierarchically, the conflict caused by status and power difference is bound to happen. Child (1972) also add that organisational complexity is a major cause of conflict in most organisations. He attributes this to a situation where conflict is triggered as a result of the number of hierarchical layers in an organisation.

Another cause of conflict could be linked to the limited resources confronting organisations and the communities within which such organisations are located. Floyd and Lane (2000) indicate that limited resources in an organisation could be a potential cause of conflict. He explains that since every unit in an organisation has limited access to human and material resources, the problem of how to share these resources could trigger conflict between the organisation and the community members. There is the likelihood of some groups getting less than they need. He also points out that as units within the
organisation and the community fights for the greatest possible share of available resources, there is the likelihood for it to result in lack of co-operation which could result in conflicts. This is confirmed by Nelson and Quick (2006) in their observation that any time multiple parties share resources, there is potential for conflict.

Role ambiguity is another potential trigger of conflict between groups or individuals. Role ambiguity is the extent to which individuals and groups within an organisation understand what is expected of them but do not have a clear understanding of their responsibilities or of the constraints upon them (Schnake 1987). To Schnake, role ambiguity can lead to conflicts between groups or individuals because both may want to assume responsibility for the same thing or because they may both want to avoid it. Mcshane and Von Glinow (2000) write that ambiguity breeds conflict because the uncertainty increases the risk that one party intends to interfere with the other party’s goals. This is buttressed by Nnadi (1997) that unclear job description and employee roles tend to become a problem because employees are unsure of what their job responsibilities are.

Close to the ambiguity canker lies the problem of communication. Nelson and Quick (2006) observe that communication barriers such as physical separation and language can create distortions in messages, and these can lead to conflict. They reiterate further that value judgment in which a listener assigns a worth to a message before it is received can also generate conflict. Brinkert (2010) sees communication breakdown as a common cause of intergroup conflict. He cites how the same phrase may have different meanings to different groups thereby creating conflict. It is further explained that undefined use of
that phrase may lead to harmful misunderstanding. Conflict often occurs due to lack of opportunity, ability, or motivation to communicate effectively (Mcshane & Von Glinow, 2000).

**Roles of conflict management in societal development**

Every community in a nation needs to grow so that the entire nation could benefit from it. Conflict management plays an important role in enhancing societal development. This phenomenon has been acknowledged by Afzalur Rahim (2000), who agrees that management enhances both community and organisational development. When conflicts occur, they slow down the activities of a community and could lead to unproductivity if not properly managed. According to Shahmohammadi (2014), in situations where the conflict type was destructive rather than constructive, the appropriate conflict management strategy should be employed if not, communities and organisational effectiveness may not be achieved. In the same way, if the conflict is constructive and the appropriate conflict management mechanism is not employed, organisational effectiveness may be reduced which could further cause chaos in communities.

Conflict management also ensures that the constructive aspect of conflict is maximised whiles the destructive aspect is minimised as much as possible (Redpath, Young, Evely & Adams, 2013). The constructive aspect of conflict is very essential in achieving higher productivity thereby leading to institutional growth. This affirms the comments made by Pruitt and Carnevale (1993) when they stated that substantive conflict should be maximised as much as possible while minimising affective conflict. Conflict management as suggested by most scholars ensures a competitive working environment which
motivates individuals to put in their best. Also, tension among conflict managers is reduced to a lower level to ensure actors have sound minds to work (Banack & Cox, 2003).

According to Roloff and Ifert, (2000), conflict management helps to improve and strengthen the bond between communities and institutions. Roloff and Ifert were of the view that, when conflicts are properly managed, members of a community could learn to appreciate their individual differences and work cordially for the betterment of the community. Through conflict management, peace and stability could also be achieved.

Conflict management also plays the role of enhancing organisational learning (Afzalur Rahim, 2002). It helps conflict managers to obtain a deeper understanding of problems and apportion the appropriate measures to deal with them effectively. For example, the conflict management process gives managers the opportunity to learn new things such as the dynamics and the causes of conflicts, the nature of conflicts and the appropriate remedies to deal with them.

**Peacebuilding**

The debate about the definition of peacebuilding is ongoing since a number of researchers have propounded varied meanings depending on the circumstances. Cousens, Kumar and Wermester (2001) attest to such difficulty in the conceptualisation of peacebuilding by indicating that, it is even more difficult to achieve it in practice. Nevertheless, more and more researchers continue to advance in the area of peacebuilding. Nwolise (2005) for instance perceives peacebuilding as a way of preserving, ensuring an enduring peace in society, removing the root causes of conflict and genuinely reconciling the conflicting parties. Similarly, Porter (2007) defined peacebuilding to involve all
processes that build positive relationships, heal wounds, reconcile antagonistic differences, restore esteem, respect rights, meet basic needs, enhance equality, instil feelings of security, empower moral agency, etc.

In the wake of such difficulties in conforming to an agreement, the definition by the former United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali has received much attention globally. Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding in his *Agenda for Peace* as “The process by which an achieved peace is placed on durable foundations and which prevents violent conflict from recurring by dealing with the underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems responsible for the conflict” (Smoljan, 2003).

**Linkage between peacebuilding and conflict management**

Peacebuilding, although not synonymous with conflict management, is closely identifiable in practice. The reason for this is that the critical elements of peacebuilding; building up local capacities, strengthening civil society, restoring essential infrastructure and commercial relations are the same elements on which conflict management thrives. In view of that, Sandole (2006) outlines the phases of peacebuilding to include conflict management. Based on the linkage between the two concepts, the study adopted and established the relationship between CSOs and government institutions in the context of conflict management.

**Civil society**

Endeavours to define civil society have been exceptionally difficult and befuddling as there is the problem of agreement on whether the concept itself can be applied in Africa. The expansion of literature about the concept of civil society and its commitment to peace is a recent phenomenon.
Adopting from Ekiyör (2008), defining civil society and identifying where it befits within societies continues to be a challenge for scholars. Ekiyör’s claim is such that, there is the tendency to focus on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) without paying attention to groups and associations that reflect West Africa’s associational culture which includes traditional governance structures. Meanwhile, Diamond (2010) notes that NGOs comprise only a segment of civil society. Notwithstanding the claim, several arguments have been provided by scholars to define civil society.

Mwatumu (2002) points out that civil society covers a wide range of organised groupings which occupy the public space between the state and individual citizens. They are normally interest groups with different degrees of accountability to their membership bases. Ako and Ekhator (2016) defines civil society as comprising social groups; professional groups; NGOs, Community-Based Organisations (CBOs), voluntary organisations; and cultural organisations. Among other segments, women, youth, children, national Diasporas and elements of the private sector such as market women’s associations and the media are listed by Ako and Ekhator as civil society. Additionally, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), defines civil society as all associations or organisations that are private, voluntary, not-for-profit, partly independent or autonomous of the state and are pursuing a common interest, protecting a common value or advocating a common cause (Nasr, 2005).

Linz and Stepan (1996) argued that civil society is the arena of polity where self-organisation groups, movements and individuals, are relatively autonomous from the state. Kasfir (1998) also agrees by identifying four
principal characteristics that define civil society; its capacity for collective action and the promotion of the interests and passions of the broader society, its ability to act in concord within civil rules through the conveyance of mutual respect, its ability to devoid from all intentions to seize power and finally its ability to maintain absolute autonomy from both social interests and the state.

In contrast to the notion of civil society being autonomous, Edward (2004) sees civil society as a political association governing social conflict through the imposition of rules that restrain citizens from harming one another. Spurk (2010) summarises the two viewpoints about a civil society by stating that it is a sphere of voluntary action that is distinct from the state, political, private, and economic sphere, keeping in mind that in practice the boundaries between these sectors are often complex and blurred.

**Civil society organisation**

Where civil society is organised, it becomes a civil society organisation. Despite the terms ‘civil society’ and ‘CSOs’ often being used synonymously, there is a fundamental difference between the two. CSOs are defined as an organised civil society and can come in many forms; informal and formal. These range from entities such as NGOs, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs), among others.

CSOs are a wide array of non-governmental and non-profit organisations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interest and values of their members or others based on cultural, ethical, political, scientific, religious, or philanthropic consideration (UNDP, 2006). This definition based on non-profit excludes women groups and youth groups which strive to safe guide and protect the interest of members.
In the view of Foster and Mattner (2007), the term CSOs goes beyond the narrower category of development-oriented NGOs and depicts a broad range of organisations such as community groups, women associations, labour unions, indigenous groups, youth groups, charitable organisations, foundations, faith-based organisations, independent media, professional associations, think tanks, independent associations and social movements. These scholars have broadened the concept of CSOs to include a number of organisations which are within the African society and are not classified as CSOs by the ‘conventional’ notion of CSOs.

In addition, the UNDP (2006) has made a more robust inclusion of the scope of CSOs. To UNDP, CSOs include NGOs, professional and private sector associations and trade unions. They also include families, churches, neighbourhood groups, social groups and work groups. In this research, CSOs included formal and informal organisations; NGOs, indigenous groups, religious organisations, trade unions, business associations (farmers, community associations, cultural groups etc.).

**Functions of civil society organisations**

Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) provided an analytical framework which spells out the functions of CSOs. By focusing on the functions, it can help to define better outcomes, impacts and expectations of peace and development in conflict areas. The framework explains CSOs contributions for managing conflicts in afflicted societies. Protection of citizens and the community is one of the core functions of CSOs. The activities included in these functions include monitoring and advocacy, watchdog activities, creating zones of peace, and human security. Although CSOs are said to be protective of its citizens, they
also need at least a little security and protection from the state and non-state armed actors to carry out its management and peacebuilding activities (Aall, 2001; Barnes, 2005; Jeong, 2005).

Monitoring and accountability are vital when considering the functions of CSOs. The monitoring function that CSOs possess is fundamental to other functions to work (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2010). A civil society that can monitor and hold a state accountable for its actions and behaviour is a prerequisite in a democratic society. In peacebuilding and conflict management, monitoring is often related to the conflict situation and human rights abuses, as well as giving recommendations and spreading information. Nevertheless, the monitoring function is also associated with violence. Monitors, according to Paffenholz and Spurk can be subjected to threats of violence and assassinations for performing this task.

Role of CSOs in conflict management in Ghana

In an effort to help ensure sustainable peace in violence-prone communities in Ghana, the role of the CSOs via the conflict management agenda cannot be overemphasised. The CSOs have been instrumental in ensuring some level of stability in conflict-affected areas, especially in northern Ghana where a number of post-independence challenges have conspired to create pockets of relative instability and armed conflict. In an attempt to resolve some of the conflicts, the government rather prolong it due to the perceptions of some feuding parties about government’s position in the conflict (Issifu, 2015).

The situation tends to make CSOs the preferred option for peace mediation and management in the country. Many of the conflicts in Ghana have
often had to involve the mediation efforts of CSOs/NGOs to end them since factions often perceive the government as parties to the conflicts (Bukari & Guuroh, 2013). In cases where the CSOs intervened, stability prevailed. CSOs role is particularly unique since they are often seen by factions in a conflict as very neutral and trustworthy. A typical example is the joint efforts of the Permanent Peace Negotiation Team (PPNT) and the Nairobi Peace Initiative (NPI) in Ghana. The PPNT made up of a consortium of NGOs and the NPI helped to resolve the long-standing ethnic conflicts between the Konkomba and Nanumba/Dagomba and Gonja and Nawari/Konkomba in northern Ghana (Issifu, 2015).

Furthermore, when it was finally realised that the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba war had engulfed most areas of northern Ghana, including parts of the Brong-Ahafo and the Volta regions, the PPNT ensured that the conflict did not escalate into violence in those areas. In addition, the effort by these two agencies ensured the Kumasi-Accord signed on 30th March 1996, between Dagombas on one hand, and Komkonbas and Nanumbas on the other. The Accord was signed between Komkonbas and Nawuris, between Gonjas and Komkonbas and lastly between Gonjas and Basaris all by the initiatives of PPNT and the NPI. Even though the Nawuris refused to sign an agreement with the Gonjas, at least they recognised the fact that there were differences between them and the Gonjas. This could be the reason why there has not been any war between the Nawuris and the Gonjas since 1995 (Issifu, 2015).

The tremendous role played by the CSOs in conflict management and resolution has made it an important partner in contemporary peace efforts. Specifically, the cases of the Bawku chieftaincy conflict, Dagbon chieftaincy
conflict and the Alavanyo-Nkonya land dispute, where the government on several occasions intervened to restore peace but failed, it was the CSOs that intervened to achieve results (Issifu, 2015). For example, when Action Aid Ghana, WANEP, Advocacy Peace Group, Catholic Relief Services, etc., in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict and the FOMWAG, UNDP, Community Life Improvement Programme (CLIP) and Ghana Danish Community Association, Committee of four Eminent Chiefs led by Otumfuo, etc., in the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict intervened, they helped to ensure relative peace in the area (Bukari & Guuroh, 2013).

In addition, when the Gender and Development Office of the Catholic Diocese of Ho, the Evangelical Presbyterian (EP) Church, Paramount chiefs, National Peace Council, Consultative Committees of the Nkonya-Alavanyo, the Catholic Relief Service, UNDP, etc., also intervened in the Alavanyo-Nkonya land dispute. They helped to build peace and, in some cases, prevented the conflict from escalating to other areas. Therefore, a collaborative effort involving all stakeholders in conflict management, especially government institutions are essential for disabusing the negative thoughts about government as not being neutral in handing mediation issues. In so doing, the government having the adequate resource than most of the CSOs could help ensure sustainable peace in a timely manner in Ghana.

**Impacts of CSOs on conflict management in Ghana**

CSOs participation in conflicts in recent times has seen a major reduction in the severity, and the number of conflict cases in Ghana. Consequently, without their involvement in contemporary conflicts, most of the protracted violent conflicts, including Bawku and the Dagbon chieftaincy
conflicts could have led to serious violence as realised in the 1994 Kokomba-Nanumba vicious conflict in which 5,000 people died (Bombande, 2007). One of the key reasons for Ghana’s current stability in general and the relative peace in Northern Ghana, in particular, can be attributed to the contribution of the CSOs. Because of their influence, the UN in recent times has put efforts into supporting and collaborating with CSOs who have been involved in conflict resolution in Ghana (Bombande, 2007).

CSOs through awareness creation, sensitisation, education, dialogue, workshops, seminars, fora, mediation, peace accord initiatives, financial and technical assistance and other activities have positively impacted largely on chieftaincy related conflict management, conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Ghana. For instance, when WANEP, Action Aid, the Catholic Church, Muslim Groups and other CSOs intervened in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict, their impacts brought the warring parties together to the Damango Peace Talks in June 2001 and the subsequent Kumasi Peace Talks in 2010, resulting in the relative peace in Bawku (Bukari, & Guuroh, 2013). In addition, when Action Aid Ghana, WANEP, Advocacy Peace Group-IBIS (Ghana), Catholic Relief Services, Ghana Danish Community Association and the Committee of the Four Eminent Chiefs intervened in the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict, they helped to facilitate a ‘Roadmap to Peace’ between the two battling gates. The contribution of CSOs ‘Roadmap to Peace’ initiative has been the burial of the late Ya Na Yakubu Andani II and the installation of the regent of the late King, and the funeral performance of the deposed Mahamadu Abdulai IV. This has at least ensured relative peace in Dagbon.
In addition, CSOs have made and are still making a significant contribution to the Ghanaian policy terrain by calling for and ensuring transparency in the political and policy-making process (Arthur, 2010). For example, during the 2000 elections, several CSO groups such as Ghana Alert, Ghana Legal Literacy Resources Foundation and the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) recruited, trained and deployed more than 15,000 observers to cover events and developments that occurred at about half of the more than 20,000 polling stations (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). This was followed with the deployment of 7400 observers in all 10 regions of the country to observe the presidential and parliamentary elections (Arthur, 2010) so that in the case of electoral dissatisfaction that could lead to conflict, evidence could be provided in a resolution. The attempts by CODEO and other CSOs contributed positively to Ghana’s peaceful atmosphere and the international admirations as the doyen of democracy in Africa with accompanying benefits and international support. For instance, Ghana’s growing international prestige has helped bring a substantial external aid and assistance to the country (Arthur, 2010).

These benefits and recognition could not be obtained without the active role of the CSOs in conflict management and conflict resolution and democracy in the country. As Bukari and Guuroh (2013) assert, since Ghana’s democratic transition in 1992, the country has made significant efforts to consolidate its democracy, and there have been a number of significant changes and improvements in its democratic system influenced largely by the CSOs in the country.
Challenges facing CSOs in conflict management in Ghana

Although CSOs/NGOs in Ghana have played and continue to play a key role in conflict management, conflict resolution and peacebuilding, they are also faced with criticisms. For instance, lack of accountability is a key challenge facing CSOs in Ghana. The majority of these groups often do not have accountability measures and oversight mechanisms, which ensure that their actions are regulated both by the state and by the populace (Sinatti, 2010). There are limited mechanisms to hold them accountable if their actions are unacceptable because some of the CSOs/NGOs do not have institutional accountability mechanisms.

The accountability of certain CSOs vis-à-vis the local communities is generally low, as well as their transparency. As legal frameworks do not provide accountability mechanisms, some fraudulent CSOs take advantage of this vacuum to defraud communities (Warhurst, 2005). Besides, other CSOs have developed higher responsiveness upward to donors than downward to beneficiaries. This raises concern as their activities have the potential to create tensions. Despite some key concerns with the role of CSOs in Ghana, given their traditional relationships and perceived neutrality, their role in conflict management, conflict resolution and peacebuilding has been indispensable.

The meaning of the concept government

Scholars find it befuddling to conceptualise what government entails. Hughes (2010) for instance, links at least four different meanings to the term "government." First of all, government denotes exercising a measure of control over others. Second, government is a condition of ordered rule. Third, it refers
to a body of people charged with the duty of governing. Fourth, government is the method of ruling a particular society.

In the Commonwealth of Nations, the word “government” is also used more narrowly to refer to a ministry; a collective group of people that exercises executive authority in a state (Bealey & Johnson 1999) or, more narrowly, the governing cabinet as part of the executive. Therefore, capacities characterised by government means that, they have the ability to control, direct resources and manage violence as the need be.

Adding to the complexity of what constitute government, Pattakos (2004) conceptualises it as a system by which a state or a community is controlled. Considering this broad associative definition, government normally consist of legislators, administrators, and arbitrators who convene the means by which state policy is enforced, as well as the mechanism for determining the policy of the state. Pattakos’ definition guided the study in the use of the concept ‘government’.

**Government strategies in managing conflict in developing countries**

Due to the fact that, governments have control over national resources and security forces in almost every state, governments play a key role in managing any violence or conflict that may arise (Ikelegbe, 2003). Abdulrahman and Tar (2008) agrees that governments of states may respond to conflict within their territory in diverse ways. There are times where security forces are deployed in order to halt a perpetuated violence; sometimes, such deployment comprises a longer-term operation to disarm the conflict parties and monitor the situation after calm has been restored. At other times, with respect to the deployment of security forces, government representatives mediate in the
conflict or cooperate with CSOs in arranging talks or peace conferences. Government may also address an emerging conflict by referring it to judicial channels, such as the court system or ad-hoc judicial panels.

To Ohlson (2008) when communal conflict occurs as a result of a natural resources related issues, the government could make continued violence too costly by forcefully separating the warring parties and increasing the cost of renewed hostilities through monitoring and punishing violent acts. On the other hand, Ohlson further argued that as the desired peace is achieved, it may be necessary to provide positive incentives as well. In the case of the Nigerian government, the ‘amnesty option’ was adopted to manage conflicts that emerged along the Niger delta. Although the conflicts in the Niger delta has to do with oil, the dynamics of its management can be likened to that of mining since they all deal with natural resource management. The Niger Delta amnesty programme was adopted because the use of military force failed to deter the militants and bring normalcy to the region. While the use of force was consistently employed by the Nigerian government as a strategy to manage the Niger delta crises, it failed to achieve the desired result; peace (Ekumaoko, 2013). Hence, the government use of what was termed ‘blanket amnesty’ was adopted.

This strategy according to Udegbunam (2013), included forgiveness and automatic freedom from any form of prosecution, whatsoever to the militants on the condition that they surrendered their arms and ammunitions, and embraced peace. The amnesty option was employed as a conflict management strategy to aid in the transition of the Niger Delta imbroglios to peace. The
stages in this conflict management process were sequentially ordered as; disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) (Ekumaoko, 2013).

**Obstacles to the roles of government in managing natural resource conflicts**

The state’s relationship to managing mining related conflicts is often very complex and at times highly problematic. Case studies suggest that in several scenarios, the response of the state may aggravate situations rather than help to resolve it. For instance, a ruling regime may benefit from letting the conflict continue, and in other cases it may be biased in favour of one of the conflict groups (Kahl, 1998; Kalyvas, 2003). Hence, one of the key obstacles to a successful conflict management pointed out within the civil war literature is that, the parties may be unwilling to demobilise and de-escalate due to security concerns: they fear becoming vulnerable to be attacked by each other, creating incentives to cheat while the DDR process is on-going (Walter, 2004).

The government’s actions may also be hampered by a lack of capacity to fulfil the roles of monitoring, peace enforcement and provision of peace dividends. Hence, the institutional and economic capacity of the state remains a challenge for government to successfully manage natural resource conflicts in developing countries. This is evident in the work of Herbst (2000) which sees Africa as highly dispersed with cost of consolidation and nature of boundaries being an issue. He further argued that, border areas and areas located far from the capital often lack local government structures and are more difficult to monitor and patrol. For instance, many of the pastoralist conflicts in Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda take place in the border areas, with groups moving across the state borders following raids and clashes, complicating security enforcement (Osamba, 2001; Frank, 2002; Mkutu, 2008). In such circumstances, it is difficult
for the government to try to monitor and enforce a peaceful settlement between communal groups.

Civil society organisations and state relations

CSOs relationship with the state has had a dark past. Before the institution of democratic politics in 1992, the military regime for instance, saw a relationship of hostility as the state at that era saw CSOs as a threat to their existence. This changed as Ghana entered into democratic politics in 1992 and the establishment of the constitution in favour of freedoms of association and speech, created an enabling environment for CSOs to operate.

Within the past two decades of democratic rule, CSOs have attained increased engagement with the state at all levels of governance. Government has recognized the important role played by CSOs in development especially in the formulation of policies and not just restricted to the mobilization of groups to facilitate political and social interaction, but also to enhance cohesion and stability of society (Dennis, 2014).

According to Bell and Morse (2012), Government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) invite CSOs to participate in policy formulation and reviews and through consultative and high-level meetings with these MDAs, CSOs have made inputs in policy formulation and gone further in drawing roadmaps for the implementation of such policies. For instance, CSOs have participated in producing the annual government budget and the Annual Progress Report on the implementation of the government’s medium-term development plan (Driscoll & Evans, 2005). The passage of the Presidential Transition Bill in parliament in May 2012, which was initiated by the Institute
for Economic Affairs (IEA) after the 2008 general elections, confirms the role and impact of CSOs as partners to government in development.

Mohan (2002) states that CSOs have advocated for and influenced a number of policy decisions in Ghana. Their inputs and lobbying influenced the passage of the Public Procurement Act and the Disability Act. Civil Society in March 2014 forced government to suspend bilateral negotiations with the European Union (EU) on the signing of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). CSOs involvement in policy making and implementation has led to better analysis and assessment of issues as they represent those directly affected, prioritisation of issues by the government, increased awareness of activities to enable citizens hold governments and CSOs accountable and improved mechanisms for monitoring activities and projects.

**Overview of Ghana’s mineral sector**

The mineral potential of Ghana and the country’s contribution to global minerals output, especially gold is well acknowledged. The mining industry has been an important segment of the Ghanaian economy due to the significant role it plays in the country’s socio-economic development since the colonial period. As Quashie (1981) rightly puts it, the country was one time, a leading producer of gold in the world and accounted for about 35.5% of total world gold output between 1493 and 1600. However, the country’s share of world gold output has since dwindled over the subsequent years even though Ghana is positioned tenth globally and second in Africa (Klare, 2012).

The country is significantly endowed with varied other mineral resources including manganese, diamond and bauxite that are currently under commercial exploitation. Silver is produced as a by-product from gold mines.
while aluminum is produced from imported alumina. Ghana also has considerable inventories of iron, limestone, salt, and various other industrial minerals. Gold, however, is by far the most important mineral currently being exploited. Gold accounts for, on the average, 90% of total value of minerals won (Akabzaa, Seyire, & Afriyie 2007). The mining industry, on the whole, accounts for over 50% of foreign direct investment flows into the national economy since the commencement of reforms under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1983.

**Mining and conflicts**

Historically, Jenkins (2004) argues that the mining industry have caused major devastation, leaving an area bare when exhausted of all economically valuable resources. In the context of mineral extraction, Hilson (2002) states categorically that mining activities can be potentially destructive and can cause irreversible damages. This very nature of mining operations carries with it the inevitable phenomenon of conflict. The removal of large tract of forest cover and productive top soil, are often then breeding grounds of conflict. For Lawson and Bentil (2013), mining induced degradation, violation of human rights, forceful evictions and demolitions affect the way mining is perceived and contributes to intensifying the conflictual aspect of mining. As a result, Hilson (2002) maintains that communities might be aware of the existence of the environmental complications of mining, but it is other factors such as poor communication, broken promises and lack of working agreements between mines and communities that intensify conflicts.

In addition to the historical causes of mining related conflicts, Arthur (2012) revealed that in developing countries, natural resources such as gold, oil,
diamond and other minerals have contributed to instability, war and degradation, a phenomenon which was triggered by the “resource curse” in the early sections of the 21st century. The “resource curse” or the “paradox of plenty”, argues that countries endowed with abundant mineral and natural resources, are expected to witness immense economic and social progress, but have sadly experienced economic troubles, social instability, and conflict-ridden issues (Sovacool, 2010, Lawson & Bentil, 2013). Although other scholars, such as Haber and Menaldo (2011) contradict the “resource curse” hypothesis, evidence across most mining communities in Africa shows otherwise and are rather in consistence with the findings by Arthur (2012).

Furthermore, conflicts are rampant in mining areas due to the fact that operations are normally undertaken in rural areas where people depend on land for agriculture and subsistence purposes. In as much as land remains a primary source of food and shelter for the local folks (Veheye, 1997), financial compensation and social support offered to affected communities makes an insignificant contribution to the loss of land due to the connection of indigenous people to the environment. Hilson (2002) supports such claim by adding that compensation alone is practically unrealistic to the satisfaction the indigenous people derive from their land. Hence, mining and conflict will coincide because both companies and communities place different socio-economic values on land (Hilson, 2002).

Once mining companies commence work, company and community relations do not emerge in an optional situation. The very dynamics of mining imply a relational dimension of interaction which is actively embraced by the indigenes. Undertaking mining operation suggests that international and
transnational corporations interact with communities or indigenous people who have emotional and historical links to the land (Garvin, McGee, Moyer-Tomic & Aubynn, 2009). However, scholars often see the relations between mining companies and community members as a strained one. The relations are often seen as conflictual encounters (Kemp, Owen, Gotzmann & Bond, 2010). The conflictual encounters to Whiteman and Mamen (2002), Jenkins (2004), Barton (2005), Garvin et al., range across economic, geographic and cultural contexts. Since the goals, interests, perceptions and outcomes differ, it widens the cleavages within the relationship context thereby creating tensions and its associated conflicts.

Empirical review

Many scholars assume different positions with regard to CSO and government in relation to conflict management. These entities are seen as either cooperative or conflictual. Some authors assume that cooperative relationships are the norm while conflictual relationships are not, or vice versa. This part of the chapter discusses related works of other scholars in relation to the objective of the study.

It is expected that there will be a cordial relationship between mining companies and their host communities due to the supposed interdependence between the mining companies and the host communities. However, the extraction of gold has caused widespread disaffection between gold mining companies and their host communities leading to significant backlash and occasionally, violent conflict.

Jehn (1997) sort to find out the different types of conflicts that appear within an organisational context and what causes the different types of conflicts
within the organisation and among the employees. Qualitative methods were
used to illustrate the research topic and the empirical data in the study. The
findings showed several causes of mine related conflicts, within the
organisation and among the employees. The analysis identified four key
categories that affected the organisation and the employees. These were
expectations among the employees, organisational change, multicultural work
environment and management. Through the findings, it came to light that the
conflicts that appeared within the organisation and among the employees were
very conceptual and therefore were practically unavoidable. It is explained that
in any organisation where more than one employee has to work with others,
conflicts will appear to a certain interpersonal level. In relation to the study,
conflicts are likely to occur especially in mineral rich communities where the
mining company and the community members coexist. Expectations by
community members on how these conflicts are managed affect the relations
between CSOs and state actors to either cooperate or have a strained
relationship.

In addition to the causes of mining related conflicts, a study was
conducted by Mensah and Okyere (2014) in AngloGold Ashanti (AGA)
company in Obuasi. They sought to analyse cases of company-community
conflicts over gold mining and the underpinning causes, dispute resolution
strategies used and the weakness in existing framework. The authors collected
data through informant data collection approach and secondary data for its
analysis. The approach for their research was fundamentally oriented towards a
qualitative dimension. Hence, the case study approach was employed as it
enabled the understanding and identification of factors that influenced the
variables in the study. Purposive sampling methods were employed to obtain information from respondents who were directly involved in the case study and possessed information for the analysis.

Cases of conflicts as found by the authors centred on compensation, resettlement packages, unfulfilled promises, mistrust and lack of alternative livelihoods for economically displaced groups. The conflict resolution strategy was seen as being too bureaucratic, poorly connected to the cultural and social intricacies of local communities and primarily company oriented. The Study proposed the need for a new framework that considered communities as integral but not peripheral in the general national framework as well as sustaining and enhancing local alternative livelihoods and community led co-designed sustainable development plans.

Further, Elizabeth-Jane (2015) did a related work to find the causes of conflict between gold mining companies and their host communities using AngloGold Ashanti in the Tarkwa - Nsuaem Municipality as a case. The study was conducted to critically examine the issues that lead to conflict between gold mining companies and their host communities. Adopting both quantitative and qualitative methods, primary and secondary sources of data, stratified and purposive sampling methods, the study revealed the causes of conflict in the companies host communities to include; inadequate information, selfishness on the part of the mining companies, failed promises, the disregard for local authorities, aggressive nature of mining companies, lack of maintenance and the negative effects of mining operations on the Community.

The study further revealed that, the disregard of safety rules by the host community, and over dependence on mining company was the cause of conflict
The study therefore recommended education on; mining laws, reforms and compensation, the effects of mining operations, traditional norms and taboos and the importance of formal education to the host communities. Additionally, Elizabeth-Jane, 2015) argued that effective communication and consultation between mining companies and their host communities, should desist from creating dependency and engaging in speculative activities. The causes of conflicts in mining areas calls for prudent management by both government actors and CSOs. In order to achieve this, relations between CSOs and state actors must be a collaborative one in order to avenge the possible causes of mining related conflicts.

With reference to the relations that exist between CSOs and government, Kaliba (2014) studied and analysed the relations between CSOs and the state using a legal lens to understand the environment within which CSOs operates as well as the other cultural and political issues that impede civil society organisations (CSOs) from being independent and effective in Zambia. Through interviews conducted by the researcher, it was found that the relationship between the Zambian government and civil society organisations was laden with suspicion, hostility and conflict. The relations between the two development actors hampered the effectiveness of CSOs. As such, civil society in Zambia lacked a sustained engagement with the government; instead it took a reactionary approach to issues (Kaliba, 2014).

**Conceptual framework of the study**

Based on the literature review, a conceptual framework which explained the relationship between CSOs and government in management situation was developed (see Figure 2). The causes of mining related conflicts include
unemployment, compensation, unfair distribution of resources and others. When government and CSOs adapt proper management techniques, the management process is most likely to be successful. According to the construct, being Co-operative means investing resources, plans, strategies etc. by government and CSOs into a common pool and committing to working in a single process to achieve a unified result.

Hence, the relationship between government institutions and CSOs can be considered cooperative if the policies of the CSOs reflect the policies of the government and if government seeks to expand the work and policy initiatives of the CSOs. The same assumption holds if the registration process provides no significant barriers to the commencement of CSOs work and when there is no limit to the number of CSOs that can operate within a state.

On the other extreme, the construct indicates that, relations between the government of a state and CSOs may be conflictual when CSOs promote policies in opposition to those of the government, or when CSOs consider themselves to be an advocacy group that directly contests the actions and policies of the government. Other conflictual measures according to Campbell (1996) in relation to the construct, is the fact that when government and CSOs compete for resources from foreign donor states and attempts to limit the number of CSOs entering the state, the relationship between them remains conflictual.

Conflict and suspicion may also arise if the government structure itself is so weak that CSOs bypass state institutions, establishing ‘parallel’ structures for implementation of projects (Campbell, 1996). Relatedly, if the condition is such that CSOs replace the state as the primary social service provider,
undermine the legitimacy of the government as a main promoter of development, and receive the majority of development aid, conflict between the state and NGOs will be more likely to develop due to the power relations between the two groups (Gaventa, 2004).

**Causes of mining related conflicts**

- Unemployment
- Compensation
- Unfair distribution etc

![Figure 2: Models of government - CSOs relations in conflict management (co-operative / conflictual relationship)](image)

*Source: Author’s construct (2016)*

**Conclusion**

Conflict is an inevitable phenomenon that confronts every society and, in an attempt, to deal with it, stakeholders such as CSOs and government institutions should adopt appropriate measures to deal with them. This has paved the way for CSOs and government institutions to relate in ways that
would lead to continuous improvement of Ghana’s development. Although CSOs relations with the state has had a dark past, the trend changed as Ghana entered into a democratic regime in 1992. This has created the enabling environment for CSOs to coexist with state institutions peacefully. Since the institution of a democratic regime, CSOs have attained increased engagement with the state at all levels of governance influencing policies for the betterment of Ghana’s democratic development.

Further, conflicts in every society have both positive and negative impact on the individual and community as a whole. The positive aspect could greatly be achieved when conflicts are properly managed using the appropriate conflict management styles by stakeholders (i.e CSOs and government actors). However, in adapting any style of managing conflict, some important factors such as the policies, plans, strategies of stakeholders must reflect each other’s needs as well as the society as a whole for proper cooperation and success of the management process. This goes a long way to affect the overall development of the society at any particular point in time.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Every research is conducted along a certain pattern following some methodological considerations. The research methods are important because they describe the various steps adapted in solving a research problem. This chapter gives a detailed description of the procedure that was used in conducting the study. The chapter is in two sections. The first section focuses on the profile of the study area and this involves the mining affected communities of the Asutifi North District. The second section focuses on the research methodology which includes the research approach, research design, study population, data collection, sampling technique, and data analysis method.

Study area

The Asutifi North District was chosen as the study area because the communities that form the district are those who are directly affected by the activities of Newmont’s mining company. Mining related conflicts abound among these communities. Since the mining industry deals mainly with land which is occupied and sometimes belongs to indigenes, it is appropriate that these communities be managed well in order for the mining industry to have easy access to the land which is the primary factor of their production process.

Considering the above issue, it was ideal to select one major mining organisation in the country that projects the research agenda. There are other similar mining communities which could have been dealt with but with respect to the topic under study, the community has not gained much research into the area since its operation is quite recent as compared to the other major mining
companies in Ghana. Smaller mining organisations are also relevant but their relevance on CSOs relations with government in terms of managing mining related conflicts is quite minimal as compared to that of the bigger mines. Hence the focus on Asutifi North District, which is one of the biggest mining communities in Ghana.

The Asutifi North District with Kenyasi as the capital was carved out of the former Asutifi District by Legislative Instrument 2093 of 2012 (Mohammed, 2011). The Asutifi North District occupies a total land surface area of 1500 sq.km, being one of the smallest in the Brong Ahafo Region. The communities that form the district include; Kenyase No. 1, Kenyase No. 2, Ntotroso, Gyedu and Wamahinso. The five communities in the Asutifi North District have an estimated population totalling fifty-two thousand, two hundred and fifty-nine (52,259) people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The community is made up of predominantly farmers, who rely mostly on the land for the cultivation of crops.

In terms of distance, the district capital is about 50km from Sunyani the regional capital of Brong Ahafo region. The abundant natural resources in the area including mineral deposits, forest and forestry products make the area very important for development (Bukari, Aabeyir, & Basommi, 2014). Topographically, Kenyase lies within the forest dissected plateau with average height of about 700 feet above sea level and the lowest part of Kenyase found along river basins whilst the highest point is found within a chain of mountains. In terms of geological formation, the district is made up of rocks of Birimian and Dahomeyan formations where the rocks are known to be gold, manganese and Bauxite bearing rocks (Bukari, Aabeyir). This explains why currently gold
is being mined in the areas where these rocks are found by the NGGL; one of the biggest mining companies in the world.

The predominant occupation in Kenyase is subsistence agriculture which engages about 66.7 percent of the economically active labour force Opoku-Ware (2010). As a matter of fact, the sector (farming and animal husbandry) employs majority of women in Kenyase and about 91 per cent of those engaged in other occupations outside agriculture still take up agriculture as a minor activity. With the recent operation of mining activities by the NGGL to mine gold within its boundaries, it has created concerns about the tremendous implications of the mining activities on the local economy. For instance, farmers feel threatened by the mining operations, but on the other hand, a lot of job opportunities are being created both directly and indirectly. Kenyase therefore finds itself in the middle of profound structural changes providing opportunities and challenges to managers of the town. Figure three (3) presents a map of the Asutifi North District where Kenyase and the other affected communities are located.
Research approach

The qualitative approach was the guiding principle and framework for the collection and analysis of data for the study. Qualitative research is a system of inquiry which seeks to build a holistic, largely narrative, description to inform the researcher’s understanding of a social or cultural phenomenon. The qualitative approach takes place in natural settings employing a combination of...
observations, interviews, and document reviews. McMillan and Schumacher (1993) defined qualitative research as “primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among categories” (p.479). This definition implies that data and meaning emerge “organically” from the research context. The research adopts an entirely qualitative approach because it seeks to explain a social phenomenon. The qualitative approach is also in relation to the research questions which seek to find out mostly what and how. According to Hancock (2002), qualitative research is concerned with finding the answers to questions which begin with, why? how? and in what way?

**Study design**

The study employed a case study research method because it involved the collection of data on the relations between government and CSOs in managing mining related conflicts in a district. It took the form of a descriptive interpretation analysis and synthesis of the data. Hancock (2002) stated that like a survey, a case study research is one of those research strategies which can take a qualitative or quantitative stance. This study however took a qualitative stance; this was due to the fact that the orientation of this research was more of a subjective view of social reality which is based on assumptions derived from social values, opinions, emotions, personal feelings and intuitions. In principle, human relations are based on values and ideals (Neuman, 2014). Since the orientation of this research is based on human relations as well as subjective perspective of social reality, an entirely qualitative approach was adopted for this research.
The issues concerning government and CSOs relations in managing mining related conflicts are so diverse that a study would require due diligence and an in-depth analysis which calls for the need for case study. Case study research is used to describe an entity that forms a single unit such as a person, an organisation or an institution. Some research studies describe a series of cases. Case study research ranges in complexity. The simplest is an illustrative description of a single event or occurrence. More complex is the analysis of a social situation over a period of time. The most complex is the extended case study which traces events involving the same actors (Hancock, 2002). This study utilised the most complex which is an extended case study. This is due to the fact that the topic under study which is government versus CSO relations is an on-going process which involves the same actors and the communities within which they operate.

As a research design, the case study claims to offer a richness and depth of information not usually offered by other methods. By attempting to capture as many variables as possible, case studies can identify how a complex set of circumstances come together to produce a particular manifestation. It is a highly versatile research method and employs any and all methods of data collection from testing to interviewing (Hancock, 2002). The study employed interviews with some key respondents such as heads of government institutions, CSOs and individual citizens who do not constitute either of the groups. These respondents were identified as mainly involved in the affairs of the community. Review of reports, meetings and other gatherings as part of CSOs-government relations in managing conflict situations were also employed by the researcher to authenticate the information given.
Study population

The term population in research simply refers to all the members and individuals targeted for the research (Walliman, 2017). In social science research, population according to Kumekpor (2002) may be considered as the total number of all the units of the phenomenon to be investigated. Kumekpor further maintained that the population for any research work depends on the purpose of the study. With regards to the purpose of this study, the population included all government institutions and CSO groups concerned in the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District. Individuals who were believed to have stayed in the district long before the operations of NGGL and who were identified as knowledgeable in issues concerning the district were also interviewed to authenticate the data collected. These individuals included clan heads, assembly members and elders of families.

The entities that formed the CSO groups were the youth group from the district, the media, traditional authority, Christian council, disabled group, Wassa Association of Communities Affected by Mining (WACAM) and an NGO (Global Alliance for Development). Similarly, the government actors included the District Assembly, the police and the Department of Social Welfare. The other individuals constituted mostly the elders from the five communities in the district.

In the case of the government institutions, heads and deputies from the District Assembly, the Department of Social Welfare and the Police were interviewed. Likewise, CSO groups interviewed were; the traditional authority from the two paramouncies in the district (Kenyasi No. 1 and 2), youth group
(Omanbotantim), WACAM, disabled group, the Christian council, the media and an NGO (Global Alliance for Development) all from the district. Since Kenyasi No. 2 is the District capital, most of the government institutions and CSOs had their offices in the town. Hence, interviews and FGDs were conducted mostly in Kenyasi No 2. to represent the other communities. The remaining individuals were contacted in the various five communities where the study sought to cover. All these groups gave a detailed account of the relations that existed between CSOs and government institutions in terms of managing mining related conflicts in the district. The following are the general mandates and reasons for selecting the said CSOs and government institutions for the study:

Sampling procedure

In most cases, social researchers are interested in the characteristics of large numbers of individuals. However, it is impossible for them to study all these people directly, so in such situations, research studies concentrate on sampling (Giddens & Diamond 2005). According to Trochim (2006), sampling is the process of selecting units from a population of interest so that by studying the sample, a generalized conclusion could be drawn.

The study used the non-probability sampling technique. According to Glass and Kenneth (1984), non-probability sampling presents a situation where selection is made based on other factors aside probability. One of such non-probability sampling techniques is the purposive sampling technique, which was used in this study. Purposive sampling is where the researcher uses his judgment to select respondents whom he thinks will give him the needed results. The rationale behind the use of purposive sampling technique was because it
enabled the researcher to select the required category of people for the research (i.e. specific CSOs and government institutions as well as identifiable individuals in the district). It also helped the researcher to obtain the needed responses.

The Asutifi North District is located within ten core communities. These communities are Adrobaa, Terchire, Afrisipakrom, Susuanso, Yamfo (Tano North District); and Kenyasi No. 1, Ntotroso, Gyedu, Wamahinso, and Kenyasi No. 2 (Asutifi North District). The Ahafo Mine Project has been categorised into two, based on the stages of development and these are Ahafo North and South projects. This study focused on the Ahafo North Project which is hosted by the five core communities in the Asutifi North District.

The study targeted key informants from these communities. Key participants included ten groups all from both CSO groups and government institutions. These groups were contacted and interviewed purposely due to the fact that they were believed to be directly involved in the management of mining related conflicts in the district.

In the process of undertaking the study, other respondents who appeared to be key to the research such as indigenes involved in the community activities of the district were also interviewed to gain more insight into the subject. These respondents numbered twelve (i.e two individuals from each community). Through referrals from previous interviewees, other members were contacted for clarification to issues until all the twelve indigenes were interviewed. For purposes of anonymity, these identifiable participants who were believed to be knowledgeable about CSOs- government relations in managing mining related conflicts in the district were labelled A, B, C, D and E in no particular order. It
is believed that these participants gave general and specific information that answered the research questions on CSO-government relations in mining related conflict management.

Table 1 below gives a detailed description of the respondents sampled.

Table 1: Respondents for the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Location within the district</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Government Institutions</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of social welfare</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Assembly</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District police</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CSO groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media (FM)</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian council</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth group</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional authority</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO (Global Alliance for Development)</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WACAM</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled group</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identifiable individuals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent A</td>
<td>Wamahinso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent B</td>
<td>Ntotroso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent C</td>
<td>Gyadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent D</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent E</td>
<td>Kenyasi No. 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fieldwork (2016).

Sources of data

The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was obtained from key informants who were selected purposely to champion the research agenda. The key informants in this case were CSOs, government institutions and individuals who were concerned in the topic under study. Likewise, the secondary data sources constituted the core of the literature review and these were drawn from journals, articles, minutes of meetings,
documents from traditional institutions, youth groups and other CSO groups in the district. Previous studies of related works, media reports and official documents from participant groups, including the District Assembly were also used.

**Data collection methods and research instruments**

Data collection methods comprise the procedures and the processes involved in gathering the data. This was achieved with the aid of research instruments. Research instruments are the tools that are used to collect the data. In this study, interviewing, focus group discussion (FGD) and observation were the main data collection methods. According to Patton (1999), the choice of data collection instrument depends on an overall judgment on which type of data is needed for a particular problem.

In examining the relations between CSOs and government actors in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District, in-depth interviews were held with some CSO groups and government institutions to solicit their views about the topic. The interviews mainly targeted heads of the various groups but their deputies and other concerned members were involved for authentication purposes. The in-depth interviews were generally unstructured and depending on the responses, probing questions were asked for clarification or to solicit further information.

According to DiCicco- Bloom and Crabtree (2006), interview is a face-to-face verbal exchange of information in which one person, the reviewer attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinions and or belief from another person or persons. The prefix “in–depth”, suggest that the researcher probes until saturation is achieved. With the exception of two groups (youth
group and disabled group), a total of eight groups were interviewed; five from CSO groups and three from government institutions.

The researcher engaged the respondents in a face-to-face interview using an interview guide to give the interviewer a sense of direction. The face-to-face in-depth interview was appropriate because it gave the researcher the opportunity to probe further the opinions expressed by respondents. The use of the interview guide was necessary due to the fact that it was a useful way of collecting qualitative data. As confirmed by Sarantakos (2012), the use of the interview guide is ‘introspective’ and allows respondents to report on themselves, their views, beliefs, practices, interactions and concerns. To ensure and promote validity and reliability of the data collected; interviewees were briefed on the subject matter of the interview before the actual interview began. This was to allow them to better understand the information being requested from them.

The use of the in-depth interview necessitated the administration of the interview guide. The interview guide sought to elicit responses from both CSOs and government institutions concerned with the management of mining related conflicts. The first set of questions sought to describe the types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District. The subsequent questions probed on the dynamics of conflicts after the establishment of NGGL in the district, events leading to stakeholder’s collaboration in managing mining related conflicts, and the likely triggers of conflicts among CSOs and government institutions in the process of managing mining related conflicts.

With the aid of the focus group discussion guide, FGD was then conducted with the remaining groups (i.e the youth group and the disabled
group). Yin (2011) argued that FGD involves gathering individuals who beforehand have had some common experience or presumably share some common views. The FGD was administered only on the youth group and the disabled group, due to the fact that those groups were not well structured as the others, hence, there could have been distortion of facts which the FGD sought to correct.

In conducting the interviews and discussions, permissions were sought from research participants so that recordings could be done as well as pictures taken where necessary. The FGD was also successful with the help of some organised youth leaders who assisted in organising the respondents in the various groups for the discussions. Each FGD consisted of 8-10 people. Field assistance helped to ensure that discussions went on well.

Observation was also employed by the researcher during the administration of the interviews and the FGD. This involved my observed experiences from Asutifi North District to understand and complement some of the issues arising from the other data collection methods. According to Hancock (2002), not all qualitative data collection approaches require direct interaction with people. It is a technique that can be used when data collected through other means can be of limited value or is difficult to validate. For example, in interviews, participants may be asked about how they behave in certain situations but there is no guarantee that they actually do what they say they do. Observing them in those situations is more reliable: it is possible to see how they actually behave. As part of gathering information for the purpose of this study, the researcher observed some organised demonstrations by the youth of
the Asutifi north district over unemployment. The researcher also reviewed minutes of meetings taken by some CSOs and government institutions.

Observation can also serve as a technique for verifying or nullifying information provided in face to face encounters. Hancock (2002), further states that techniques for collecting data through observation in qualitative research can take four forms namely; written descriptions, video recording, photographs, artefacts, and documentation. Written description and photography were used in collecting data for this study during the observation. These were the only available tools to the researcher at the time of collecting data.

**Data analysis and presentation**

During the collection of the data, the interviews were audio-recorded and notes were also taken. After each field visit, reports were written down based on the field notes and the transcription of the recordings. These were later grouped into themes for analysis. According to Panneerselvam (2004), after data is collected, proper tools and techniques should be used for classification and analysis of the data.

The qualitative data collected through interviews were analysed using content analysis. Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This method considers communication through texts, gets to the core of social interactions and identifies relationships among concepts. Data was prepared and organized through editing by correcting mistakes and deleting some responses. Data was then grouped under five thematic areas which corresponded with the set objectives. This was to ensure that each set objective was addressed.
The researcher therefore used descriptive techniques to analyse and present the data. The analysis and interpretation of the data aimed at making reading simple by reducing complex human beings to a few identifying words on a page. Based on the findings, the data were interpreted and discussed in relation to the objective of the study.

**Ethical consideration**

In order to enhance truth value and credibility of the study, the researcher sought ethical approval from the University of Cape Coast. Bond (2004) states that, the rights of any individual involved in a research study are: confidentiality, anonymity, voluntary participation, informed consent, not to be harmed, dignity and self-respect. As such, it was ensured that all participants in the study completely volunteered. Thus, no one was forced to participate. Several measures which includes community entry process and seeking the consent of the participants were employed to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of respondents. Some respondents harboured the thought that, the study would pry into their job security which may cost them their jobs. The researcher therefore had to educate them that the focus of the study was far from their perceptions and that it was just meant to evaluate from their perspectives, the relationship that existed between CSOs and government actors in managing mining conflicts in the district. Also, all audio and transcribed materials were kept in a secured location with restricted access.

Further, there were no intimidation or manipulation whatsoever on the respondents and names of respondents were not used anywhere in the study. This explains why the identifiable individuals as found in the study were labelled ‘A’ or ‘B’ in no particular order. Moreover, once individuals who
participated in the study were assured of their confidentiality of the information, the issue of informed consent was addressed. Participants were fully informed about the nature of the research both verbally and in writing.

**Field challenges**

During the data collection process, some challenges were encountered. These included the unwillingness of some respondents to provide information and documents relevant for the study. There were disappointments by some respondents over an agreed time scheduled, absence of some of the targeted respondents, and the busy working schedules of some of the respondents. However, a good financial and time management and rapport with the people helped to overcome these challenges; hence, the study was carried out successfully.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussions of the data. The analysis includes a description of the demographic characteristics of the respondents and the discussions from the data essentially captures the opinions and views of the key respondents in the study area.

The opinion of the stakeholders centred on the types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District and the dynamics of conflicts after the establishment of NGGL in the district. The discussion also covered events leading to stakeholder’s collaboration in managing mining related conflicts, and the likely triggers of conflicts among CSOs and government institutions.

Characteristics of respondents

This section examines the demographic characteristics of the population used for the study. Primary information was obtained from civil society organisations and government institutions who were known as concerned stakeholders of the welfare and development of the Asutifi North District.

Government institutions have the primary responsibility for ensuring that the rights and freedoms of all the citizens are protected. Equally, Feldman and Geisler (2012) believe that government institutions are charged with ensuring that the nation prospers while communities gain from development that takes place on their land or in their local vicinity. Government institutions take the lead in setting policy and standards to ensure that sustainable that development takes place at the local level, including developing systems for
project monitoring and evaluation, and to protect citizens from any kind of abuse. In this sense, it was assumed that the District Assembly (DA) in the Asutifi North locality is capable of formulating and executing plans for the development of social and physical infrastructure in the district.

The Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 empowers district assemblies in Ghana as the fulcrum of local governance. The DA provides security including managing conflicts within the region, settling chieftaincy, tribal, land and religious disputes, coordinate district development plans and programmes and ensure that these plans and programmes are compatible with national development objectives (Zanu, 1997). The structure of a District Assembly is made up of the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and Sub-committees as well as the Coordinating Directorate and the Decentralised Departments of the District Assembly (Mahama & Otten, 2008). The general assembly is the highest decision-making body of the district. They perform deliberative, legislative and executive functions and these functions are performed under the leadership of the Presiding Member. In the performance of its functions, the DA works through the Executive Committee and its subsidiary committees of development planning, social services, works, finance and administration, justice, security and others.

The police being one of the important government institutions with the mandate of protecting and preserving internal security of the country through law enforcement also shared their view on their relations with CSOs in managing mining conflicts. The police were included in the study due to the many functions they performed as a state institution. Their functions include the protection and detection of crime, apprehension and prosecution of offenders,
maintenance of law and order, protection of life and property etc. Due to the nature of mining and its attendant conflicts embedded in the struggle for employment, land and others, it was reasonable to have the views on how the police managed conflicts that came with it.

Section 16 (1) (i) of Act 462 of Ghana’s Constitution admonishes District Assembly officials to liaise with organized groupings and other persons in the district for local development. Due to the fact that the DA cannot work alone, several groups in the community are very relevant to the activities of the District Assembly and other government institutions. These are non-state actors who are referred to throughout this study as CSOs. The efforts of CSOs in the global democratization process, poverty reduction, advancement of human rights, good governance, debt relief and good aids have been widely acknowledged. CSOs do support the District Assembly in terms of capacity-building, financing, knowledge-sharing and policy advice. The involvement of these key Stakeholders in local governance has been given credence in the Constitution of Ghana and other legal instruments. For instance, In the appointment of District Chief Executives, the laws urge the President to consult the traditional authorities and other interested parties such as the Christian council, the media, NGOs youth groups etc. As development agents, CSOs are best known to undertake two main activities, direct service delivery to people in need and policy advocacy.

Types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District

Experience in human society has shown that there are degrees of variation in conflicts. Psychology for instance espoused on the intra-personal conflict of which Folarin (2015), explains as the kind of conflict that has been
described as “man against self” in which man continues to contend or battle with his mind and habits. On the other hand, sociology identifies inter-personal as well as intra-group conflict of which Nikolajeva (2005) discussed as a type of conflict that may be direct opposition as in exchange of blows, gunfight, or a more- subtle conflict between the desires of two or more persons. The type of conflicts in the Asutifi North District before NGGL began their operations is discussed along the types given by sociologist.

The analysis was done according to the research question posed. The first research question was: What type of conflict existed in the Asutifi North District before mining started? This question was directed at CSOs who were believed to have the historical facts of the communities. This included the traditional authority, the media, and some identifiable individuals in the district. Also, historical facts were provided by the Department of Social Welfare and the District Assembly representing the government institutions. The disagreement that existed in the district were discussed along the types espoused by sociologist as intra-personal and inter-group conflicts. Below are the responses from the respondents:

From the interviews, respondents from the media revealed that the District Assembly formed the town council; an entity which was commonly called “tankas” by the indigenes of the district. The membership of the town council included citizens from the district who were appointed by the District Assembly to represent them. The Assembly used to deploy the town council to do community inspection to aid them identify irresponsible citizens. The members constituting the council, took hostage of properties belonging to community members with the claim that they cause public nuisance. These
exercises according to the respondents, took place without prior notice of the citizens concerned. Respondents from the media gave specific reference where goats belonging to members of the district were the major hostage material. The actions taken by the town council as explained by the media, often resulted in conflicts between members of the community and the Assembly.

In relation to the objective, the DA revealed a type of conflict slightly different from what the media accounted for. The DA stated that, before the arrival of NGGL into the district, land issues were one of the main causes of conflict. These were in two folds; between families, and also between towns. For instance, between the traditional leaders, Kenyase No.1 & 2 had boundary disputes. This is what a leading member from the Department of social welfare had to say in connection with the boundary dispute:

“...According to K.1 people, they were the first to settle on the land before K.2 joined. So they (K.1) gave K.2 people their current land on which they reside...” (A respondent from Social Welfare, Kenyasi No. 2)

The above extract implies why K.1 claimed to be the sole determiners of the exact boundary within which K. 2 befalls. The fact that Kenyasi No. 1 held claims to both communities (i.e K 1 & 2) while their neighbours (K.2) strongly disagreed, led to conflict between the two communities even after the coming of NGGL into the district. This explains why the boundary disputes remains contested even after NGGL. This type of conflict has been described by Morell (2009) as “man against society” type of conflict. Morell posits that “man against society” type of conflict arises when man stand against a man-made institution or practices. These to her, includes bullying, human right
abuses, bad governance etc. According to her, “man against man” conflict may shade into “man against society”. For instance, following the land boundary issue, it was also noted from the interviews that Kenyasi No.2 paramount chief and his elders encroached on lands belonging to Kenyasi No. 1 and fell trees, leading to severe tension between the two paramountcies in the district. As noted by a media practitioner during the interviews:

“...Although we were young we saw what happened, it was disastrous ...” (A media man, Kenyasi)

It can be inferred from the quote that, the statement given by members from the media explains the intensity of the boundary dispute between Kenyasi No. 1 and 2. Hence, given the importance of land, managing land and boundary grievances and its associated conflicts are considered a fundamental prerequisite for sustainable peace (Oluduro & Oluduro, 2012). Although the consequences are hardly felt outside national boundaries, there is often the tendency to forget that land conflicts do have significant impact on inter-group relations at the local level, and that many of the resource-centred conflicts that ultimately resulted in more profound national conflicts had their origins at the local base (Alao, 2011). As such, some political elites as revealed by the media, have taken advantage of the situation causing schism among members of the two communities in the district.

Additionally, respondents from the Department of Social Welfare narrated how naming of a community created conflict between two towns. According to the respondent, Kenyasi No. 2 chief wanted to associate the name, ‘Atwedee’ to a particular community whilst the citizens of that particular community preferred Kenyasi No. 3. This, according to the respondent, resulted
in conflict between Kenyasi No. 2 traditional authority and the said community members. This issue still pertains as a respondent had this to say:

“...when letters are sent and it bears the name Kenyase No. 3, It is accepted but when you write Atwedee they will not accept because their community is not Atwedee...” (A member from Social Welfare, Kenyasi)

The above quote explains the fact that, members of the community were not ready to compromise with their preferred name with which their community should be called, hence, creating conflict between the two towns. This type of conflict between the two communities presents reasons why Krietner and Kinicki (2004), relates the type of some conflicts to structural and personal factors which were further explained as goal difference, inconsistencies and most importantly, jurisdictional ambiguities. The disagreement between the two communities are due to the fact that humans have incompatible needs and are likely to rebel against each other when the conditions arise.

Further to the type of conflicts that existed before the arrival of NGGL, the youth group (Omanbotantim) in the district gave a different twist to the story line which rather showed a complete difference in the responses given by the earlier respondents. A leading member revealed that:

“...Before Newmont came, there wasn’t any conflict as such. We all lived like brothers and sisters. Even when one visits the farm for food crops and realizes that his food isn’t ready for harvest, you could visit a friend’s farm and take something home with the view of informing him later...” (A youth group respondent, Asutifi North District).
By implication, the quote, as uttered by a leading member from the youth group, shows that the various communities coexisted peacefully with the inhabitants living as one big family. It can also be deduced that, although the majority of the youth were not educated, and occasionally recorded few misunderstanding, such disagreement was quickly resolved through the intervention of the civil society groups. Also, disputes related to the completion of projects and land administration were quickly resolved through the intervention of the civil society groups (religious leaders).

The traditional authority from the five communities agreed to what the youth group had to say but with a slight difference. They recounted scenarios they encountered when they were young. Specifically, the recalled how monies levied by their chiefs for a particular project were channeled into other projects rather than their preferred choice. According to one of the chiefs, when such ordeal occurred, the youth normally boycott meetings summoned by their chiefs due to the disagreement that existed between them and their chiefs. This action was taken by the youth in order to avoid criticism from them as being disrespectful against them.

The emerging issues concerning the types of conflict in the district, as seen above illustrates the relevance of the democratic theory as suggested by Ake (1996), Paris (1997) and Ayelazuno (2007). To these authors, “democracy as a conflict management tool possesses some inherent ideals that mitigate the typical severe grievances that cause societies to engage in violent protest” (Ayelazuno, p.16). The authors further explain that the principles provided in a democratic theory provides the essential starting point to resolve conflicts through delegation of more power to the civil society.
Situating the practicability of the democratic principles into the study area, it is observed that at least government institutions, CSOs and individuals in the Asutifi North District now use the media to express their grievances. On the other hand, the media in the district has offered the “democratic space” within which conflicts are managed and resolved. For example, the “tankas” (town council) which used to take hostage of others property without prior notice now use the media to channel information as to when they will operate. Also, with the boundary dispute between Kenyase No. 1 & 2 which still pertains, the Department of Social Welfare have liaised with the traditional authority in the afflicted communities and have sent messages through DISEC to the “Acheamehene”. Following the intervention, Otumfuo (Asantehene) has delegated people to meet the chiefs and elders of the two communities for a final ruling over the issue. The matter was referred to Otumfuo because he was seen as the custodian and overlord of all the Asante Kingdom. His office is now working to resolve the conflict for a lasting peace between the two paramouncies involving Kenyasi No. 1 and Kenyasi No. 2. At best, once political actors (government institutions) and CSOs accept the need for peaceful management of deep - rooted conflicts, democratic system of government can help them develop habits of compromise, co-operation, and consensus building.

On the other hand, as it is argued that democracy has seen the best system of governance such as rationality, stability and accountability, Huntington (1991), argues that democracy do not provide all the inherent good qualities as suggested. Democratic principles sometimes generate destabilizing side effects, hindering the consolidation of peace. At worse, the naming of a community by the Kenyase No. 2 chief is a typical example. Although there
were deliberations as to how the town should be named, members did not concede to an agreement, leading to a simmering conflict. In this regard, Hirschman (1989) states that the democratic approach to conflict management have had the “perverse effect” of undermining the very peace societies were meant to buttress.

In conclusion, it can be said that the type of conflicts recorded before NGGL operations in the district centred on intra and inter community relations. These were mainly on land boundary and community relations. These types of conflicts often emerged because people have different uses for resources such as forests, water, pastures and land, or want to manage them in different ways. Disagreements arise when these interests and needs are incompatible, or when the priorities of some user groups are not considered in policies, programmes and projects. Such conflicts are inevitable feature of all societies.

**Causes of conflict after the establishment of NGGL in the Asutifi North District.**

There are several issues that result in disagreements in mining areas which have the propensity to impact on the attitude of mining communities to mining sector policies and interventions. Conflict in mining communities is a major problem that confronts many resource rich countries, which requires special attention. A general impression from the researchers’ perspective before going to the field was that, the type of conflict in every community was dependent on the kind of resources available. The study thus wanted to find out the type of conflicts and their dynamics following the coming of NGGL into the district. The study found that the type of conflict in the district was completely different as compared to the period before Newmont’s arrival in the district.
Selected members of the following distinct groups constituted the category of respondents from the district including all the CSO groups, government institutions and identifiable key individuals from all the five communities in the district. The study considered these respondents to be quite knowledgeable with the type of conflicts and their causes following the establishment of NGGL in the district. They were selected by virtue of their close association and involvement in the community relations processes.

During the interview and the FGDs, respondents mentioned that the type of mining related conflict in the district emanates from issues relating to unemployment, compensation resettlement and spillage. With respect to employment related issues, a media practitioner explained that before NGGL was granted the licence to operate in the district, there was agreement between the people and the company. NGGL promised the people of massive employment, but as time went by, the initial arrangement did not materialise after NGGL realised the people were not skilled enough to take up their jobs. This according to a media practitioner in the district, led to series of protest and demonstrations against NGGL. Upon probing to ascertain the reality of Newmont’s claim, a member from WACAM explained that:

“...when you observe Newmont company, all their activities are technical. Because they use huge and complex machines which require skills...... But we are farmers, we don’t know anything about mining...” (A WACAM respondent, Kenyasi No. 2)

The quote above gives credence to why most of the indigenes in the community are unemployed. The majority of the Ahafo population are largely made up of farmers who are unskilled to take up jobs offered by Newmont.
Hence, although agreement was reached between Newmont and the community members over massive employment, most of them are now side-lined paving way for expatriates who are believed to possess the skills needed by Newmont for its production and services. This has occasionally resulted in series of demonstrations in the district; blockage of roads, etc. However, it was evident that given the low level of education and low skills available, only a tiny proportion of the local inhabitants and indigenes would have secured jobs on the mines even if these employment opportunities were largely available. The greater part of the people interviewed in these communities have been peasant farmers for most part of their adult lives with apparently no technical skills that could effectively be deployed for mining operations.

Respondents from the Department of Social Welfare and the District Assembly added to what WACAM had to say by giving reasons why majority of the members were not employed and how these have resulted in conflict. According to these respondents, when the company came, it was agreed that 40% of employment be given to the natives so that 60% go to the people from other parts of the country. Members from the Department of Social Welfare and the District Assembly respectively lamented that:

“...During the exploration stage, Newmont did not need much expertise to put up their structures, so the 40% which was initially agreed was achieved. But as they finished putting up their structures, the issue of skilled labour came into the complexities of the employment process...” (A member from the Social Welfare, Kenyasi No. 2)
“... They promised the people of a massive employment of their members. But as time went by, this initial arrangement did not materialize since Newmont realized the people were not skilled enough to take up their jobs. So it was the informal sector that they were employing them...” (A DA member, Kenyasi No. 2)

By implication, most people felt they were not treated fairly because there was an initial employment agreement and for that matter, a breach of contract. Meanwhile, just as the WACAM group in the district commented, the indigenes could not genuinely take up the new jobs from Newmont since it was technical and complex. As part of the strategies to manage and resolve problems of unemployment with the members of the communities and the mining company, NGGL have agreed with the community members to recruit and reserve all unskilled jobs such as sweeping, cleaning, and others for the natives in the district. Also, NGGL has come out with policies to help avert the situation. For instance, the Newmont Ahafo Development Foundation (NADeF) established by Newmont company now advertise vacancies on notices placed at vantage points throughout the district. This is to ensure that people with eligible qualification could apply for employment. The police in the district have been instrumental in solving issues that bring about conflicts. At least, a chief inspector (name withheld) for instance, hold regular consultation with all parties and interest groups for a dialogue between the citizenry, the members in the district and all interest groups (e.g CSOs and other government officials). This has relatively maintained peace in the district.

The Department of Social Welfare further explained that, although such agreement between the district and the company had been in place, conflict
occur from time to time as the people believe the company is not doing what it promised them. This is due to the fact that the indigenes see foreigners in the unskilled jobs reserved for them. The above implication according to the respondents, has led to series of demonstrations where the military had to step in from the regional capital, Sunyani to intervene. People were ready to die until the company go by the initial agreement. Hence the military subjected people to severe beating and at the end of it all, the Regional Security Council (RESEC) also came in to support the District Security Council (DISEC) to manage the matter (a leading member from WACAM, Kenyasi No. 2).

The promise of jobs has been one of the major incentives for most communities to open up mining activities. In order to confirm the responses on high levels of conflicts as a result of unemployment by the mining communities, some identifiable key individuals and other members from the CSO groups in the district were asked about the employment situation in the community. The aim was to draw a link between unemployment levels and the rate of conflict in the district as indicated by the other respondents. As a response to this question, all the respondents especially the traditional authority from Kenyasi 1 and 2 indicated that the promise of jobs for the people of Kenyasi at the mines was a major reason for accepting the proposal for the company to start mining in the community. They believed that employment in the mining firm would alleviate their financial problems and poverty and therefore accepted that promise readily.

In sequel to this question, respondents were asked if they or their children have been employed by NGGL since the mining operations began. All except the traditional authority and some key individuals reacted angrily to this
question and stated that they have not been provided with the promised “employment”. Neither their children nor any relative had been provided with any form of employment linked with mining activities in the community. Only the traditional authority, the Christian council and some identifiable individuals stated that few of their members are employed by the mining company. In a further probe of those who angrily reacted to the question of unemployment, it was revealed that the few employed indigenes were relatives of the traditional leaders and other key stakeholders in the district and as a result, those leaders supposedly used their influence as leaders to get their wards employed in the company.

The respondents (youth group, key individuals, disabled group, media) were asked to give explanation as to why the indigenes have not been employed by the mining firm. They indicated that the mining company failed to employ members in the district because they complained that the local people do not have the relevant and requisite skills to work in their company. One interviewee stated this when assigning reasons as to why they are not employed:

“...Newmont people are saying that we have not gone to school and we are illiterates. They say they need people who have gone to school and have knowledge about how to do mining. For us here, we are only farmers and we are not educated. So if you want your son or daughter to work at Newmont, then you have to pay bribe. Sometimes, they say we have to pay GH¢1500 if we want employment...” (Male respondent, Personal Interview, 2016) ...”
The above quotation implies that most of the workers of Newmont are basically not local people from the district but rather migrants from other mining areas in Ghana particularly Obuasi, Tarkwa, Prestea, Kumasi, Sunyani and even Accra where mining companies have operated for quite long periods of time and the people have somewhat high educational levels and standards. Only a few people from the community have managed to pay bribes and have got employment as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in other related services of the mining operation like catering and driving of vehicles. A close observation from the community confirms the fact that only few local men and women are employed at Newmont and hence, they can be seen readily loitering about in the community or playing football or engaging in demonstrations during working hours of the day. Below are sections of the youth demonstrating as a result of unemployment by Newmont company:

Figure 4: A youth member ready for a demonstration against NGGL as a result of unemployment.
Source: Field work (2016)
On the contrary, a review of Newmont’s documents indicates that the company have been committed to their promise to the community by hiring 100% of unskilled labourers from the local communities and have given priority to local community members in jobs where skills and experiences are required (Fonseca, 2010). This is in sharp contrast to the respondents’ responses and
what was observed as well as the response on employment from the CSOs interviewed (see above). According to Newmont, its employment rate has been increasing since 2003 with an initial start of 706 employees, rising to 2,693 and 4,803 for the year 2004 and 2005 respectively with a national employment rate in the mines being 50 percent whereas local employment rate is 38 percent (Fonseca, 2010).

It can therefore be realized that comparatively more people from other parts of the country are employed than local residents of the district and confirms the respondents’ responses that more outsiders are employed by the mining firm than local district residents. The failure of Newmont to employ local people has resulted in grief, frustration and hatred from the people towards the mining company and its employees resulting in some conflicts. In the FGDs, members indicated that there is a simmering tension in the community between the youth especially and the mining company and that any least provocation can trigger a clash. One of the members in the discussion stated that there had been a time when the youth tried to kill one of the employee drivers of the mining company. They smashed all the screens of the car and had attempted to kill the employee driver but for the early intervention of one opinion leader. It is particularly revealing when one other respondent reported in an interview:

“...Let me tell you, when you come to the district here, all of us have guns in our rooms waiting for a day when tension sparks. That day, only God knows what will happen to these people (Newmont officials) ...” (Male respondent, personal interview, 2016).

This comment shows the extent of grief and frustration that has filled the hearts and minds of most of the people in the community as a result of unemployment. In a similar situation in Canada, “while efforts have been made
to ensure employment quotas of local and or Aboriginal workers, outsiders still disproportionately occupy the highest rank and paid positions” (Gibson & Klinck, 2005: 131).

The lack of employable skills especially those related to mining have been cited by Newmont Company as the major reasons why most of the people in the district are denied employment at the mines. This has created a situation where employment at the mines have favoured people with high levels of education and experience leaving behind those with low educational levels and qualifications to their fate (Gibson & Klinck, 2005, p. 131). With more outsiders and migrants working in the mines due to their high educational levels, qualification, skills and experiences as opposed to the low educational background of the local residents, there is a clear violation of the company’s (NGGL) promise to the people in terms of priority to local people in jobs where skills and experience are required (Fonseca, 2010).

In relation to spillage as a type of conflict, it was revealed that although there were no major spillages, respondents reported the spillage of human excreta by NGGL company into the main source of drinking water in the districts. During the interview, it was noted that, in 2005, NGGL’s human excreta from their septic tanks leaked into the main source of the communities drinking water. Meanwhile, that was the main water source the community depended on for all their activities such as cooking, bathing, drinking, washing and for all other household chores. The problem persisted for about six (6) months until it was noted by stakeholders.

A member from WACAM explained that when they got the information they took NGGL to the Sunyani High Court for compensation for the citizens.
The respondent from WACAM again stated that in 2008 and 2009, NGGL polluted the community’s source of drinking water with cyanide leading to confrontations between the NGGL and the affected communities. WACAM reported the issue to the then minister for Environment and Natural Resources (Hon. Sherry Ayeetey). The minister setup a committee to investigate the matter. The result of the committee’s work saw NGGL fined Gh¢7,000,000 as compensation for the indigenes, EPA and the Minerals commission.

In support of the above findings, Singh, Koku and Balfors (2007) have reported a similar case of spillage caused by the BGL (Bilington Bogoso Gold now called Golden Star Resources Bogoso/Prestea Limited). This spillage, according to Singh et al., emanated from a tailing dam of the company into the River Aprepre, which flows into other rivers, including Egya Nsiah, Bemanyah, Manse and Ankobra. They indicated that the cyanide spillage affected Dumasi and other towns, including Goloto, Juaben and Egyabroni and that some residents of Dumasi and other villages in this area picked up and ate dead fish, crabs, shrimps and other aquatic organisms that were found floating on the surface of the river.

Spillage is a major cause of mining related conflict in mining areas in West Africa. In Prestea for example, increased mining activities have resulted in the disproportionate contamination of major water bodies leading to loss of aquatic organisms, destruction of the biodiversity, removal of vegetation, depletion of soil resources and loss of farmland. For instance, a study by Serfor-Armah, Nyarko, Dampare and Adomako (2006) in Prestea, found high levels of arsenic and antimony concentrations in the rivers ranging from 0.90 – 8.25 ppm and 0.09 – 0.75 ppm respectively, far exceeding the World Health
Organisation’s (WHO) recommended values of 0.01 and 0.005 ppm respectively.

Irregularities in compensation and resettlement following the displacement of affected indigenes was another cause of conflict found in the Asutifi North District. Displacement has residual effects that could drive conflicts between mining companies and their host communities. Owen and Kemp (2014) have noted that household level dependency increases as people are displaced as a result of mining activities. They observed that companies may act on behalf of the state in providing goods and services for resettled communities where governments are either not willing or unable to provide. The challenge though is that, much as these interventions by the mining companies could ease tensions in the short term and help ease access to land for mining, they could be a recipe for future conflicts when the mining companies withdraw their assistance or fail to meet the expectations of resettled communities later on (Owen & Kemp, 2014).

During the interviews and the FGDs with the various CSOs, government officials and the key individuals, it came to light that displacement and compensation was another area causing conflicts among the people in the district. It was found that when mining started in the district, lots of family lands were taken. As a result, the mining company resettled the affected families. The resettlement was such that, affected lands were measured and compensation given accordingly. Those who had not yet completed their buildings were only compensated with money (cash) while those who had structures on their lands were replaced as such.
Members from the youth group and the disabled group gave a similar perspective of how compensations were offered by Newmont. According to these groups, Newmont compensated only for crops and in 2004, 2005 and 2006, all the compensation paid was only for the crops and not the land. The cost of the crops was also another problem where people with about twenty acres of land were only compensated with two acres. It was also found that Newmont paid Gh¢3,200 for an acre of land. Again, if there were structures on the land such as houses, the company will either relocate or resettle you. The relocation of houses also posed a major problem; a family with about five rooms were compensated with only two rooms.

These were simply rejected by the indigenes as those without structures also demanded for one. Monies given to those displaced were also considered very small since their only source of livelihood was taken. Instead, the indigenes wanted a package that would cater for an initial compensation and the future generations. This, according a member from the District Assembly, resulted in conflict between the people and Newmont. These words were uttered by a respondent in relation to the conflicts surrounding compensation and resettlement packages:

“…. Compensations are not adequate to secure the future; I was happy working on my land....” (An elder from Ntotroso)

A second farmer (elder) also noted that:

“...All our fertile lands are being taken over and if those responsible for this do not give us any recognition then it’s bad...” (An elder from Kenyasi No. 1)
By implication, the indigenes want Newmont to respond to their (indigenes) every need, even the ones that compromises their future generations. Indigenes expect NGGL to compensate them for properties that were speculatively developed, employ them into positions they do not have expertise in and maintain their (indigenes) services even when their (indigenes) contracts are over. To them, this will sustain them and their unborn generations since their source of livelihood is taken from them. In relation to the conflicts surrounding compensation and resettlement packages, a similar account can be drawn from the Newmont Mine in South Africa. The Minera Yanacocha jointly owned by Newmont in South Africa, originally paid families the market price for their lands but in the course of time, many of the landowners felt they had not been adequately compensated following the massive negative impact of the mining activities on their health, social and environmental lives, as well as the effects on displacement and relocation. Owing to that, the community returned to the company demanding more compensation using unfriendly approaches such as violent and nonviolent demonstrations and physical attacks (Whellams, 2007).

Newmont has now set up resettlement committee to see to the resolution of all resettlement issues. In relation to that, a member from the Department of Social Welfare had this to say:

“...I have been on several sub-committees on resettlement negotiation committee...” (A respondent from the Department of Social Welfare, Kenyasi No. 2)

The quote is a confirmation from a member of the Social Welfare in the district indicating the intervention taking to ensure adequate resettlement and compensation of affected members in the district. According to the respondent,
by the help and intervention of the resettlement committee, most people are now resettled. To this extent, it can be concluded that, as land remains a primary source of food and shelter for local folks, financial compensation to affected communities makes an insignificant contribution to the loss of land and displacement due to the connection of the indigenous people to their land. Hence, irrespective of the compensation given, some local folks will always turn around demanding for more, which sometimes leads to conflict just as the situation in the Asutifi North District.

In conclusion, it has to be emphasized that giving out monies as well as partial compensation packages to affected members is not a sustainable solution. Therefore, modern mining operations should expend considerable resources in social infrastructural investment, including schools, hospitals, roads, water sources, electric power source, alternative livelihoods and most importantly, business and technical training to ensure that monies paid in compensation are not wasted, but in support of community development, relevant for preventing any potential mining conflict in the long run.

**Events leading to stakeholders (government institutions and CSOs) collaboration in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.**

The entire sampled population were asked the third research question, which is how CSOs and government officials collaborate in managing mining related conflicts. The responses were that, a good collaboration help fill the lack of information flow and eliminate the conflict that arises as a result of the lack of information flow. All the CSOs, government institutions and the key individuals mentioned that, good cooperation among them and the mining
Company make it easier, in that they are able to communicate much better to the indigenes on what is going on and how the people are going to be affected by the mine, so that appropriate measures are taken to avoid confrontations. Further, some key elders from the five communities in the district also stated that a collaboration between CSOs and government officials enables them to come into close contact with the indigenes, listen to their grievances and help the indigenes understand the operations of the mining company. This fosters a healthy relationship between the organisation and the community thereby averting lots of conflicts.

**Features of CSOs and government collaboration in managing mining related conflicts**

Commenting on the features of CSOs versus government relations in mining related conflict management, all the respondents mentioned that CSOs and government institutions are constantly engaging with NGGL to maintain healthy relations through the establishment of local committees. Interviews and observations with local community respondents revealed that there are a number of stakeholder committees that allow Newmont to deal directly with both indigenes, CSOs and government institutions; these committees include the Community Consultative Committee (CCC), Crop Rate Negotiation Committee (CRNC), Resettlement Negotiation Committee (RNC).

It was also revealed that both CSOs and government institutions extend interactions to key stakeholders (indigenes) and impact people on specific projects. Interactions with both RNC and CRNC leaders indicated that all representatives were local community members representing all stakeholder groups and most of them were elected by their own people; there were other
interest groups in the committees and these included government representatives and some CSOs (NGOs, Christian council, youth groups). Discussions in these meetings were done in a very fair and decorous environment with an independent moderator steering affair. Decisions were arrived at based on consensus and with expert input from an independent moderator. When there is disagreement, during meetings or community forums, the independent moderator postpones and convenes another meeting on a different occasion for a further dialogue. This exercise is repeated until a final decision is taken.

From the key identifiable individuals sampled from the five communities in the district, it became evident that CSOs and government institutions have maintained strong physical presence in the communities by virtue of their clear and unambiguous procedures and effective stakeholder collaboration and involvement. One elder had this to say:

“...Physical infrastructure and personnel which aids interactions as well as local stakeholder committees shows that both CSOs and government institutions really mean to work with and listen to the community...” (an elder from Ntotroso, 2016)

By implication, it can be deduced from the quote that CSOs and government actors have clear procedures and the infrastructure needed to carry out their duties for a smooth management of mining related conflicts. As confirmed by a DA official, government gives out funds in aid of CSOs activities which is directly related to conflict management education. Specific CSOs (e.g. the media) according to the DA, write to the District Assembly for either part or full sponsorship of their programmes. The media also provide the
arena for government actors to offer political education, tax education and policy implementation on their platform. The cooperative measures adopted by both CSOs and government institutions was particularly indicative when the district police command narrated how the media (Fm) in the district allows him space to do citizenship education. In the process, he teaches the people in the district to be law abiding and follow legal procedures as established by the constitution of Ghana.

In relation to the effective cooperation of CSOs and government institutions in managing mining related conflicts, two out of the five key members from the district also felt and thought otherwise, the elders said this:

“...I believe that government officials and some CSOs are not doing as expected of them...” (Elder from Gyedu, 2016)

“... is negligent in their responsibilities to the indigenes by ignoring their needs and concerns...” (Elder from Kenyase No. 1, 2016)

Inferring from the quote, it can be deduced that CSOs have created parallel government structures to implement programmes when government is unable to provide these institutions. The traditional authority is a typical example in this scenario. For instance, when demonstrations are being organised in the district, the police, as representative of the state, are sometimes ignored leading to massive destruction of public good in the district. It takes the efforts of the traditional leaders to calm down the conflicts. The rampage that took place in August 1, 2017 in Kenyase depicts the fact that government institutions are not up to task when it comes to managing mining related conflicts in the district. The police were simply side-lined and it took the effort of the traditional rulers to calm down the conflicts. This is a more reason why the elders from
Gyadu and Kenyase No. 1 exclaimed that the police especially, are not up to task when it comes to managing conflict in the district. The findings support the study revealed by Olufemi and Adewale (2012) which showed that the use of state instrument (i.e. the police and military) to crush out violent conflicts without the input of CSOs such as traditional rulers etc rather increased confrontations between the armed groups and the security officers.

Further, other CSOs added to what the elders had to say about the lack of cooperation between CSOs and government institutions when it comes to mining related conflict management. This was established by a staff of WACAM who pointed out that:

“...state institutions do not support us in any of our programs. They believe CSOs are the cause of their woes...” (A leading member from WACAM)

From the quote, it was realised that people perceive WACAM as an anti-mining organisation and are most often not consulted or involved in issues relating to the management of mining-related conflicts. This is so because of the fear that WACAM would not compromise on certain issues. The above narrative is in support of the conflict management school, where mediators i.e. the government, tend to concentrate solely on the top leadership of the conflicting parties (Lederach, 1997), often ignoring the need for facilitation by different internal and external actors; such as CSOs, during and after negotiations (Paffenholz, 2000). It can be deduced from the field study that the measures of cooperation as compared to the conflictual relationship between CSOs and government have been quite encouraging when it comes to the management of mining related conflicts in the district. However, managing
conflicts through directives and imposition by top officials as seen from Lederach’s top hierarchy of peacebuilding and the conflict resolution theory always creates unforeseen problems.

The various programmes offered by both the CSOs and the government institutions in ensuring successful collaboration in the Asutifi North District explains the conceptual framework introduced by the researcher. Thus, “Models of government-CSOs relations in conflict management”. The logic of the authors construct was such that being cooperative means investing resources, plans and strategies among others by CSOs and government institutions into a common pool, and committing to working in a single process to achieving a unified result. This is a clear picture of what pertains in the Asutifi North District. The various programs, plans and policies offered by both CSOs and government institutions reflect the efforts of each other. Hence, leading to a cooperative relationship. This finding is quite different from what Kasfir (2017) found, stating that CSOs remain side-lined and undermined as they do not enjoy the freedom and space to act freely and independently.

The various narratives concerning the strategies taking by CSOs and government institutions to enhance co-operation in the district are in conformity with the Conflict Resolution theory which throws more emphasis on the main theory of the study, thus, Lederach’s theoretical model. Lederach’s theoretical model spotted actors on different levels and how they can manage conflict. The third level of Lederach’s model which is also known as the grassroots-level represents the citizens who form the base of a society. This is where CSOs are most active engaging in a range of peacebuilding / management activities such
as community dialogue, trauma healing and local peace commissions (World Bank, 2006; Paffenholz, & Spurk, 2006; Sandole, 2010).

The approach advocates for stakeholders to understand peace as a change process based on relationship building (Lederach 1997). The conflict resolution theory follows the same trend by seeking to understand the basic reasons for conflict and reconstruct demolished connections between societies and parties. Their main activities performed are dialogue projects between groups or communities, peace education, conflict resolution training to enhance the peacebuilding capacity of actors from one or different groups, and conflict resolution workshops.

Additionally, Peacebuilding through a “bottom-up” approach is about integrating the various levels and spheres of society where the goal is to enhance cooperation, which requires strong links between the three levels of Lederach’s theoretical hierarchy. Effective peacebuilding can thus, not only be about an intervention and peace agreement at the top level but must also include the strengthening of local communities mostly found at the bottom levels of the hierarchy. Similarly, many transitions towards peace are driven largely by pressure from the grassroots level and therefore actions taken at this level are crucial to reducing conflicts destructiveness (Lederach, 1997). Hence, government actors and CSOs in the Asutifi North District mostly co-operate because of the extensive involvement of the grassroots peacebuilders.
Likely triggers of conflict among CSOs and government institutions during the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.

Conflicts in mining communities can occur between any of the following stakeholders; between communities, between CSOs and government authorities. The types, causes and nature of such conflicts are wide and varied involving many of the issues earlier discussed. The study sought to find out the likely triggers of these conflicts and to suggest a remedy to manage them when they arise. In relation to this, all the respondents were probed to give details of what trigger conflicts among them.

During the FGDs, the youth group, for instance accused the police of being indifferent towards organised demonstrations in the district. According to the group, they served notices ahead to the police in the district to embark on peaceful demonstration only to be disappointment on the day of the demonstration. This led to some of their members being brutalised. The group described these as worrisome as their members often threatened to rebel against the police. This is a more reason why Brooks (2009) stated that When a wrong approach to handling a particular problem is adopted, the end results could be disastrous. The finding is typical in the reactions exhibited by the police in the district over demonstrations.

Lack of monitoring came up as one of the issues that triggered mining related conflicts in the district. The various CSOs, led by the traditional leaders and the media explained that they sometimes do community inspection and upon identifying problems, they inform the DA about it. Instead, the DA took little or no action at all. If the media takes further action by addressing the issue
on their platform, the DA finds trouble with them. An example was cited by a media respondent and this was what he had to say:

“…In Antoa Odumasi there is a school which is in a deplorable state and has become a threat to the pupils. The media reported this issue but stakeholders do not pay attention to its state…” (a media respondent, 2016).

The above extract suggests how lack of monitoring on the part of government institutions in the district remains a threat to the management of conflicts. This confirms why Kalyvas (2003) predicted that the response of government may aggravate situations rather than help to resolve it. Closely linked to issues of monitoring, a leading member from WACAM in the district narrated problems they faced with government institutions. To them, it was only individuals who were fighting against the problems associated with mining in the district. The group lamented that government’s inability to closely monitor the activities of the mining company were issues that are likely to bring about conflicts in the district. Specifically, WACAM had this to say:

“…For government institutions, those in charge are the Mineral Commission, EPA and Water Resources Commission. Those are the institutions which are paid for monitoring and assessing any mining activity, and look at what is happening? All these are simply not done…”

This was further corroborated by a member from the disabled group, citing the spillage of cyanide as example. He added that:

“…anything that happens, the community members who have our (WACAM) contact, call and report to us what had happen in their community. We are not the institution to be reported to but
the community does not know anybody to make such report. So they report to us and we also further report to the EPA...” (A leading official from WACAM in the district, 2016)

By implication, it could be deduced that government officials such as EPA, the Minerals Resource Commission etc do not have offices in the district to closely monitor the activities of the mining firm (NGGL). Hence, any mishap caused by NGGL is reported to WACAM instead of the institutions in charge of monitoring. This situation existed because WACAM work closely with the indigenes and have established an office for such purpose. The monitoring function according to Paffenholz and Spurk (2010), is very crucial as it possesses the fundamental for other functions to work. In conflict management, monitoring is often related to the conflict situation and human rights abuses, as well as giving recommendations and spreading information. Nevertheless, the monitoring function is also associated with violence as monitors can be subjected to threats and violence (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2010). The lack of close monitoring as found from the study, makes some government institutions seem not to be in charge of their duties. This is likely to call for conflict in an attempt by some CSOs to take control. The reasons cited by WACAM gives evidence that the district lack effective monitoring by institutions in charge of minerals and the welfare of the citizens, a situation likely to cause mining related conflicts in the district.

The traditional authority had their own story to tell regarding the issues likely to spark off conflict between them and government institutions. The representative of the traditional authority explained that delay in payment of royalties accrued to the traditional authorities on time has been their biggest
impediment. Due to economic hardships, they could no longer ask for collective contribution from the citizens for development so they rely mostly on the payment of royalties for development. The group (traditional authority) further reiterated that NGGL in any way does not default or delay in paying these royalties to government and their biggest question was why government took so long a time to pay them. The traditional authority had this to say:

“...Just two weeks ago we celebrated the Akwasidae festival and I overheard the queen mother telling the chief that the royalties had taking so long a time. But if NGGL has been paying to government, of which I know they do not default, why does the government not pay back to us on time...?”

The above extract as expressed by the traditional authority demonstrates the grievances held against government institutions that are in charge of disbursing royalties to the chiefs. This is a typical example of the triggers of mining conflicts as established by Hilson (2002). Hilson states that communities might be aware of the negative impact of mining, but it is other factors such as lack of working agreements, poor communication and broken promises between stakeholders that may intensify the conflict. The situation in this case relates to the lack of working agreements and promise being broken in the study area.

The Department of Social Welfare in the district discussed their views as to the issues that were likely to trigger mining related conflicts in the district. The department lamented on the fact that CSOs such as NGOs do not account to them although they were supposed to submit their returns to the department. To the department, such ordeal was likely to cause conflict since there was
duplication of efforts and embezzlement. The department on the other hand, partly blamed itself for being under resourced to handle external issues from NGOs. The above findings from the Department of Social Welfare reveals the claims by Campbell (2006) that the relationship between CSOs and governments are characterised by cooperative and conflictual relationship. It is further concluded that, such unforeseen relationships are likely to develop into conflicts.

The DA on their part simply blamed the triggers of mining related conflicts on the perceptions of the people within the district. Just as the Department of Social Welfare, a member from the DA also blamed the issue on their inability to engage the citizens. Lack of engagement as stated by the DA, made people hypothesise factual and non-factual issues, which in itself is a trigger of conflict. The extract below shows certain perceptions of citizens about a project in the district. This was however echoed by the representative of the Department of Social Welfare:

“...The secret is that, the citizens believe – the delay to put up the market was a calculated attempt, especially the DCE to embezzle the money. The 31 billion was used only in some small project and the assembly claim there is no money...” (A leading member from Social Welfare, Kenyasi).

The extract above shows clearly the perception of individuals about completed and uncompleted projects. According to the respondent, these were beliefs which might not be true and could trigger conflict. This confirms why Nelson and Quick (2006), extended the causes of conflict to include perception, emotions, communication barriers, values and ethics. Also, the media’s remarks
about the ineffectiveness of the DA to take action or pay heed to their submissions confirms the fact that perceptions could cause conflict. As noted below in a statement by a media person:

“...When we identify certain troubles or unexpected occurrences in the community, the media reports this for the general public to be aware, yet the DA at times does not care...” (A media respondent, 2016)

The above information is a tentative statement made by the media, which has not been proven by any analysis. This is the more reason why Jenkins (2004), Barton (2005) and Garvin et al (2009) concluded that, since the perceptions, interest and outcomes of people differ, cleavages are widening within the relationship context, thereby creating tensions and its associated conflicts.

From the above, it can be concluded that the police reactions towards peaceful demonstrations has been unacceptable as seen from the brutalities given to some members of the district for embarking on peaceful demonstrations. In conclusion, all the five CSOs interviewed believed that the absence of government institutions such as EPA, Minerals Commission, Water Resource Commission and other government institutions who are charged with monitoring is a potential threat to peace. Also, perception and the delay in the payment of mining royalties to Nananom was another impediment that came up as a likely trigger of conflict in the district. This was evident in the comments made by the traditional authority throughout the interview sessions.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter of the study presents the summary of the objectives, main findings, the conclusions and the recommendations. The recommendations were made with respect to the findings and literature on CSOs versus state relations in mining related conflict management. Also, suggestions for further research were made.

Summary

The overall focus of the study was to explore the relations between government institutions and CSOs in the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District. The study specifically sought to:

- describe the types of conflicts before the presence of NGGL in the Asutifi North District.
- assess the dynamics of conflicts after the establishment of NGGL in the Asutifi North District.
- describe the events leading to stakeholders (government institutions and CSOs) collaboration in managing mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
- explain the likely triggers of conflicts among CSOs and government institutions during the management of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.

In achieving the objective of the study, the research employed a qualitative research approach and a case study design. Purposive sampling was used to collect data for the study. In addition to the primary data, which was collected
through a face-to-face interview, FGD and a personal observation during the fieldwork, a number of secondary sources were utilised. Moreover, content analysis was the main tool used for the analysis of the narratives.

**Key findings from the study are:**

Based on the research questions, the main findings of the study are summarised below:

- It was found that, before the arrival of the NGGL, there were issues of land and boundary disputes between paramountcies and families. These were in two folds; between traditional leaders, families, and also between two towns over boundaries. Although the district is relatively peaceful, the historical boundary dispute between Kenyasi No. 1 and 2 are in the hands of Otumfour (Asante King), who is believed, has the power to resolve it.

- The study revealed that matters relating to unemployment, compensation, displacement and spillage among others, were the main causes of the mining-related conflict in the district. More so, displacement of households in the community caused by the mining activity had created a residual effect that could drive conflicts between mining companies and their host communities. Spillage was a major cause of mining-related conflict in the area as the mining activities had resulted in the contamination of major water bodies leading to loss of aquatic organisms, destruction of the biodiversity, removal of vegetation, depletion of soil resources and loss of farmlands.
The Department of Social Welfare, office of the District Chief Executive, CHRAJ, NCCE, the District Police, the District Court and District Assembly officials served on committees together with the CSOs and NGOs on matters involving the management of mining related conflicts in the district. This engagement process is very elaborate with good feedback mechanism that allows for participation and for redress. All the stakeholders (i.e. CSOs and government actors), recognise the need for effective collaboration and interactions and the need for established platforms for continuous engagement.

Finally, besides, the problem of government institutions being under resourced, ineffective monitoring and inspection of mining activities due to the absence of government institutions such as the EPA, Mineral Commission and Water Resource Commission in the district was noted as a key trigger of mining related conflict in the district. Also, the DA’s perception about the media, youth groups, NGOs and other CSO groups, triggered conflicts between state actors and CSOs.

Conclusion

Based on the main findings of the study, it can be concluded that the types of conflicts in the Asutifi North District before the arrival of NGGL has been issues relating to land and boundary disputes between paramouncies and families.
Additionally, matters relating to unemployment, compensation, displacement and spillage among others remained the main causes of mining related conflicts in the district.

The events leading to the government actors and CSOs collaboration in matters related to the management of mining conflicts have been the creation of special committees, including the formation of the Ahafo Media Association, which have brought cooperation and togetherness between the media, the citizens, NGOs, Nananom and government institutions. Integrating good collaboration and cooperation in mining activities is important to the development agenda of NGGL, the district, the country and the global economy at large. As a result, effective collaboration of all stakeholders as well as an uninterrupted support from the government can provide CSOs in the district with the necessary boost to optimise the benefits and reduce the risk of conflicts in the district.

Finally, regarding issues likely to spark off disagreement among CSOs and government in the management of mining related conflict, the lack of monitoring and inspection, the delay in payment of monies accrued to the traditional authorities on time, as well as the absence of accountable stakeholders were noted.

**Recommendations**

Based on the main findings of the study, the following recommendations were made:

- The Manhyia palace, headed by ‘Otumfuo’ (King of Asante Kingdom) should use its powers as the overlord of the Asante Kingdom to end the boundary dispute between Kenyasi No. 1 and 2. The historical boundary
dispute between the two paramountcy which the ‘Otumfuor’ sought to resolve should involve the active participation of the two paramount chiefs and their elders in the resolution process to ensure a win-win outcome relevant for sustainable peace in the district.

- The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources and the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL) should revisit the initial agreement between NGGL and the host communities regarding employment and compensation packages. The terms and conditions in both packages should be made attractive and sustainable for members in the district. NGGL should increase the rate and intake of community members for in-service and skill training programmes in order for them to qualify and take up technical and challenging jobs within Newmont company. This will bridge the gap between the indigenous people and the expatriates over employment opportunities, thereby ensuring peace and development in the district. NGGL should intensify and interact with the affected community members so as to be able to address their concerns especially on compensation of destroyed properties resulting from mining activities. As such, NGGL should ensure that community members who are displaced and relocated are provided with alternative livelihoods for their continued survival. Furthermore, the EPA and the DA should be proactive enough to continuously monitor the activities of NGGL.

- The Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL) and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources should ensure that there are effective collaboration and coordination among all stakeholders such as
NGGL, the Department of Social Welfare, the police, the District Assembly, traditional authorities, youth groups, the Christian Council, the disabled group, WACAM and EPA. For this to be realised, effective dialogue procedures should be established through periodic meetings and seminars on the state and progress of the mines in the district. This can provide a conducive platform for deliberations of pertinent issues as well as discussing and finding solutions to identified challenges relating to the operations of Newmont in the district. The membership of CSOs available in the district should be maintained and expanded to include teacher’s union, market women’s association, farmer’s group among others. The presence of this additional group will serve as checks and balances to the existing groups for a smooth management of mining-related conflicts in the district.

- Governments should take the lead in setting policy and standards to ensure sustainable development takes place at the local level, including developing systems for project monitoring and evaluation and to protect citizens from any kind of abuse. As such, the government should consider setting up a close monitoring team made up of members from the EPA, Minerals Commission and Water Resource Commission in the district. These task force when instituted, will closely monitor and inspect the mining activities, send prompt feedback to their parent institution and radically address issues that may cause conflict. Government and NGOs should ensure that the DA and the media (Fm stations) in the district work collaboratively to avert any misconception created by the youth to prevent the occurrence of mining-related
conflicts. Additionally, the Office of the Administrator of Stool Lands (OASL) is encouraged to be quick in the release of mining revenues and royalties to the beneficiaries of the traditional authorities in the district. This will prevent misconceptions created by ‘Nananom’ (chiefs) and community members about royalties which are likely to spark off conflict among them.

**Areas for further research**

This study sought to explore the relations between CSOs and government institutions in the management of mining-related conflict in the Asutifi North District. The study could be replicated in other districts in the country where mining conflicts are prevalent, to find out what persists there. According to Paul and Dean (2002), there is so much emphasis on religion as a source of conflict and the role of religious actors as strong forces in conflict management is usually overlooked. Research in conflict management as stated by Hoggett (2015), failed to focus on the role religion plays in conflict management as opposed to its role in making conflicts intractable. Hence, future studies may single out faith-based organisations (FBOs) from among the larger CSO group and study their relations with government actors in terms of managing mining-related conflicts.
REFERENCES


Opoku-Ware, J. (2010). *The social and environmental impacts of mining activities on indigenous communities: The case of Newmont Gold (Gh) limited (Kenyasi) in Ghana* (Master's thesis, Universitetet i Agder, University of Agder).


APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS / CSOs

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THESIS TOPIC: CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND STATE RELATIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MINING RELATED CONFLICTS IN THE ASUTIFI NORTH DISTRICT.

1. Demographic characteristics of participants (CSOs / Government Institutions)
   a. Type of CSO interviewed …………
   b. No. of respondents in the group……
   c. Is the group legally registered to operate in the district? ………
   d. Type of government institution interviewed ………
   e. No. of respondents interviewed……………

2. The type of conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
   a. What disagreement existed in the community before Newmont came into the district? Probe (causes of disagreement, time, actors involved, category of the population etc.)

3. Causes of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
   a. Narrate the type of conflicts after the coming of Newmont into the district? Pay attention to (Unemployment, Compensation, Spillage, Management of resources, others as the situation may be….)

135
4. Events leading to government and CSOs cooperation in managing mining related conflicts.

a. Describe the general condition(s) / Events that facilitate the collaboration between CSOs and government in their quest to managing mining disagreement in the district. Probe on the following:

i. specific programs set by government institutions to champion the course of the collaboration with CSOs in managing disagreement.

ii. Programs set by CSOs to increase the collaboration with government in managing mining disagreements in the district.

iii. Policies in place to spearhead the collaboration between government and CSOs as they manage conflicts.

iv. Political climate affecting the nature of the collaboration

v. Government institutions promoting the growth of CSOs in the district

vi. Provision of funds by government in support of CSOs survival.

5. Issues likely to spark off disagreement among CSOs and government during the management of mining conflicts.

Probe on the following areas

a. Government organized NGOs as a source of constraint, preventing legitimate local CSOs to obtain funding.

b. Parallel government structures created by CSOs for implementing certain programs where government is unable to provide.

c. Government and CSOs competing for foreign aid?

d. Government restricting the amount of funding through legislation.
e. Government subject CSOs to strict monitoring of activities and intervention.

APPENDIX B

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE (FOR THE YOUTH GROUP & DISABLED GROUP)

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THESIS TOPIC: CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND STATE RELATIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MINING RELATED CONFLICTS IN THE ASUTIFI NORTH DISTRICT.

7. Demographic characteristics of participants (CSOs / Government Institutions)
   f. Type of CSO interviewed ............
   g. No. of respondents in the group......
   h. Is the group legally registered to operate in the district? ..........
   i. Type of government institution interviewed ............
   j. No. of respondents interviewed ..............

8. The dynamics / patterns of conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
   b. What disagreement existed in the community before Newmont came into the district? Probe (causes of disagreement, time, actors involved, category of the population etc.)

9. Causes of mining related conflicts in the Asutifi North District.
   b. Narrate the type of disagreements after the coming of Newmont into the district? Pay attention to (Unemployment, Compensation, Spillage, Management of resources, others as the situation may be....)
10. Events leading to government and CSOs cooperation in managing mining related conflicts.

b. Describe the general condition(s) / Events that facilitate the collaboration between CSOs and government in their quest to managing mining disagreement in the district. Probe on the following:

vii. specific programs set by government institutions to champion the course of the collaboration with CSOs in managing disagreement.

viii. Programs set by CSOs to increase the collaboration with government in managing mining disagreements in the district.

ix. Policies in place to spearhead the collaboration between government and CSOs as they manage conflicts.

x. Political climate affecting the nature of the collaboration

xi. Government institutions promoting the growth of CSOs in the district

xii. Provision of funds by government in support of CSOs survival.

11. Issues likely to spark off disagreement among CSOs and government during the management of mining conflicts.

Probe on the following areas

f. Government organized NGOs as a source of constraint, preventing legitimate local CSOs to obtain funding.

g. Parallel government structures created by CSOs for implementing certain programs where government is unable to provide.

h. Government and CSOs competing for foreign aid?

i. Government restricting the amount of funding through legislation.
j. Government subject CSOs to strict monitoring of activities and intervention.

12. Suggest on how to improve CSOs relationship with government in the context of managing mining conflicts.
APENDIX C

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

☐ The state of youth affairs in relation to unemployment