Locally Led Peacebuilding
A Case Study of a Chieftaincy Dispute in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana

White Paper by the Purdue Peace Project | February 2018
Summary

Locally led peacebuilding, also referred to as locally driven peacebuilding, is a move to recognize that those who are directly affected by conflict should drive peacebuilding efforts. This white paper responds to calls for more data-driven exemplars of locally driven peacebuilding. It does so by presenting as a case study the work of the Purdue Peace Project (PPP) in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana to help prevent violence related to a long-standing chieftaincy dispute. This paper:

- Summarizes the PPP’s approach to locally led peacebuilding generally and in response to the chieftaincy dispute specifically;
- Identifies key peacebuilding strategies enacted by the local peace committee that emerged from the PPP’s efforts to bring diverse actors groups together to engage in dialogue to promote peace, including advocating with influencers, spreading peace messages through media, engaging in community outreach, and mobilizing the community;
- Details the range of monitoring and evaluation efforts by the PPP team to assess the impact of the project;
- Highlights key outcomes of the project at the community, group, and individual levels;
- And offers key takeaways and recommendations to advance locally led peacebuilding.

About the Purdue Peace Project

The Purdue Peace Project’s (PPP) mission is to encourage and assist local citizens in fragile states to address clearly identified situations that threaten to lead to political violence. In promoting locally driven and inclusive approaches to peacebuilding, we seek to reduce the likelihood of political violence and contribute to lasting peace. In doing so, we also seek to add to the body of knowledge in this field by documenting and disseminating our work to practitioners and scholars alike.

For more information, contact PPP Director Dr. Stacey Connaughton, sconnaug@purdue.edu.

Beering Hall of Liberal Arts and Education, Room 2114 | 100 N. University Street West Lafayette IN 47907, USA Phone: 765.494.3429 | Fax: 765.496.1394 | Web: https://www.cla.purdue.edu/ppp
Introduction

All too often, peacebuilding processes consist of international policymakers meeting in major cities such as London or Washington D.C. to decide how to address specific instances of conflict. Frequently, the only representatives of the communities being discussed are elites, who may not have any real connection to the instances of violence or even represent the local citizens involved (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). Outside parties determining plans of action for peacebuilding is not sustainable. How are they supposed to truly understand the complex issues that comprise specific instances of violence, value the outcomes that do not affect them personally, or know what local community members want or are willing to implement?

Recently, there has been a local turn in peacebuilding (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013) – a move to include those most affected by conflict in peacebuilding as decision-makers in violence prevention activities. To be able to sustain this turn toward locally driven peacebuilding, also referred to as locally led peacebuilding, there has been a call for more models and exemplars to be shared and discussed that illustrate how such projects can be implemented, as well their successes in preventing violence (“Locally Driven Peacebuilding,” 2015). Additionally, there have been calls for greater transparency and demonstration of (cost-)effectiveness in the field of peacebuilding. Models and exemplars that use an evidence-based approach are needed to illustrate the fact that successes of violence prevention can be measured in terms of evaluating empirical data (Blum, 2011).

This white paper responds to these calls. It explicates one example of an evidence-based, locally led peacebuilding approach, using a case study of the Purdue Peace Project’s (PPP) work related to a chieftaincy dispute in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana to do so. PPP, a university-based political violence prevention initiative that is committed to a data driven, locally led approach, has been working with local citizens in this region since June 2012 to support the prevention of violence related to a lengthy chieftaincy dispute. In this white
paper, we first describe the PPP’s approach to peacebuilding and the context of the conflict. Second, we detail the peacebuilding strategies and activities that have been designed and implemented by local citizens. Third, we discuss the monitoring and evaluation method used by the PPP that allows for understanding how activities are working within the community and whether they are successful. Fourth, we identify impacts of this locally led peacebuilding initiative at the community, group, and individual levels. Lastly, we offer recommendations for those interested in advancing locally led peacebuilding.

Approach and Context

Locally driven peacebuilding is an approach in which the individuals who are involved in and are most affected by violent conflict work together to create and implement their own solutions to prevent conflict and create peace (“Locally Driven Peacebuilding,” 2015). This approach promotes local ownership of peacebuilding activities by assuming that those who live amongst violence and its consequences must play the biggest role in addressing said violence. In a locally led approach, outsiders to the conflict, such as aid workers, academics, and funders, work to support the local groups by encouraging and assisting their efforts. Support can consist of providing spaces for conversations about the design and implementation of peacebuilding strategies, offering technical and financial support, and/or connecting or forming local groups. Ultimately, in locally led peacebuilding, outsiders must take the backseat to the peacebuilding work that is done by local citizens.

PPP’s Approach

The Purdue Peace Project (PPP) is a university-based initiative that takes a locally led approach to peacebuilding. The PPP works with everyday citizens in fragile states to assist in the prevention of violence in local communities. PPP’s work is based on a set of guiding principles including the following: (a) local citizens have the capacity to develop and implement strategies to prevent the escalation of disputes into full-fledged conflict; (b)
dialogue may inspire initiatives that prevent violence; and (c) peacebuilding efforts are optimized if originating from, and led by, individuals local to the dispute.

PPP engages in data-driven work to advance knowledge about political violence prevention and aims to use evidence-based results to impact both peacebuilding in communities and peacebuilding scholarship. Projects are selected based on the criterion that PPP's work with local citizens may help reduce the likelihood of political violence. Before projects begin, PPP researchers travel multiple times to a community to meet with community members with the goal of building relationships and collecting information. Importantly, these trips help determine whether the community members would like to collaborate with PPP. Once a community invites the PPP to collaborate with it, the PPP team constantly communicates with its in-country director and local citizens to understand what is working, what might need to be adjusted, and the overall success of its collaboration with local actors in building peace.

**Chieftaincy Dispute in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana**

PPP has been working with community members in a district in the Brong Ahafo Region since 2012. Threats of violence in this district originated from a chieftaincy dispute between royal families that had stretched on for more than a decade. The chieftaincy dispute began after the incumbent chief passed away; each family believed a different person should have been named as the successor. Lacking a chief, the community experienced years of stalled education and development. This was further complicated due to the disputing families belonging to opposing political parties, creating fear that violence would erupt during the 2012 elections.

As a response to this potential for violence, in June 2012, PPP convened a group of local actors in the community – chiefs, queen mothers, elders, youth, women, media representatives, political parties, and opinion leaders – to discuss ways to prevent violence and promote peace as part of what we call an actor meeting. This meeting was an opportunity for the groups to dialogue about how to prevent violence. This meeting, as well as follow-up meetings with
representatives of these actor groups, resulted in the emergence of a local peace committee (LPC). The 8-member LPC then went on to engage in a number of strategies to prevent violence and promote peace, as will be discussed in the next section.

**Peacebuilding Strategies**

LPC members employed several different strategies to de-escalate conflict and encourage a peaceful solution to the chieftaincy dispute between the two royal families. This section details the four primary strategies advanced by the LPC to prevent violence related to the chieftaincy dispute. These strategies, some of which emerged from the initial actor meeting, were both designed and implemented by LPC members with the support and encouragement of PPP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advocacy</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Outreach</th>
<th>Mobilization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • In-person appeals to royal families and opinion leaders  
• Engagement with police and judiciary  
• Sharing a report | • Local, regional, and international coverage  
• Statements to newspapers and radio  
• Use of web platforms and social media | • Programs in schools  
• Visits to churches and homes  
• Community forums | • Demonstrations and peace marches  
• Petitions  
• Attendance at judicial hearings |

**Advocating with Influencers**

One such strategy entailed engaging and collaborating with policy officials, police, and other key actors within the community. Members of the committee made personal visits to the police divisional headquarters where they met the district police commander. After committee members spoke with him and presented him with their goals, the police commander guaranteed support from the police in upholding a peaceful resolution to the dispute. The LPC also met with the former president and the then-president of the judicial committee of the Regional House of Chiefs to appeal for peaceful resolution of the conflict. The LPC also met with some influential chiefs in other parts of the country to encourage them to lobby their colleagues in the Brong Ahafo Region. All of these in-person meetings and visits helped to demonstrate community dedication toward a peaceful resolution. Additionally, a report of findings from the initial actor meeting was also circulated among chiefs locally and regionally, political parties, and opinion and religious leaders.
Spreading Peace Messages through Media

The LPC further engaged with local, national, and international media outlets in order to spread their message about the need for peace while further encouraging community members to reinforce that call for peace. Youth belonging to the community wrote discussions about the need for an end to the chieftaincy dispute and submitted them to local, regional, and national media outlets such as newspapers and radio stations. Many of the media outlets used also had partners in the countries around the globe, thus resulting in international engagement in the conversation around peace. The LPC organized press statements and internet discussions on Twitter, Facebook, and other online media and blogs to further disseminate information and engage the community.

Engaging in Community Outreach

Engaging in direct community outreach was also a key strategy for the LPC. A program for local primary and tertiary schools was implemented. This program featured a public forum for discussion of the conflict with important stakeholders, thus engaging the youth and their families in the conversation. Advocating for violence-free elections was also a center of these conversations, thus building a framework for long-lasting, sustainable peace. Many of these conversations were also replicated at churches and homes in order to educate the entire community about the possibility of violence-free elections and upholding peace.

Mobilizing the Community

The LPC also mobilized the community through a series of public demonstrations, petitions, and their continued presence at judicial hearings. The committee organized 18 football clubs for a peace march. Women's groups also mobilized and celebrated the International Day of Peace and International Women's Day by marching through the town in red and black clothes to denote a mood of sorrow, thus telling the royal families that the community was in a state of mourning due to the dispute. Marches ended at the houses of the royal families involved in the dispute, where local citizens presented written petitions. Another peace march was held in anticipation of the verdict, bringing together various citizens, including women, children, religious leaders, and many more, and urging all in town to accept the anticipated verdict of the judicial committee. This march received media coverage from local and national media outlets. With the help of the youth, the LPC collected signatures from the students in both secondary and tertiary institutions in order to appeal to the royals and the chiefs to resolve the conflict. The committee also worked
together to ensure the physical presence of the LPC and other local citizens at judicial hearings regarding the chieftaincy dispute between August 2012 and September 2013.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The PPP employs a rigorous, context-sensitive approach to the monitoring and evaluation of its initiatives. Being a university-based initiative, the PPP’s mission includes contributing to new knowledge for both practitioners and scholars. In this section, we highlight the ways the PPP engaged in monitoring and evaluation of the locally led peacebuilding initiative in the Brong Ahafo Region.

Monitoring

PPP monitored the chieftaincy project’s progress in several ways. First, the PPP’s West Africa Program Manager (WAPM), a staff member who was Ghanaian and based in Ghana, was in regular correspondence with the LPC and documented project activities through reports and photos. During field visits, PPP team members, including the WAPM, observed activities and engaged in conversations with community members concerning their perception of work done. Further, PPP researchers based at Purdue University also regularly monitored local, regional, and national media coverage; conducted weekly Skype calls with the WAPM; and discussed the work being done at weekly team meetings. Additionally, an external consultant offered weekly feedback to the PPP director.

Evaluation

In terms of evaluation, PPP collects data before, during, and after its collaborations to assess its impacts (see Appendix for more details). PPP typically searches for perceptual and behavioral change among individuals over time, media coverage change over time, and other outcomes specific to each project. Indicators of impact for specific projects are emergent and co-determined with local citizens, in particular with the LPC. PPP also considers if other non-governmental organization are working in the area at the same time, and how that may affect attributions of our impact. Overall, all assessments are established upon empirical data, collected at multiple points over time.

In the case of the chieftaincy dispute, PPP relied primarily on qualitative data, particularly in the form of interviews and focus groups, throughout the life cycle of the project. These forms of data collection reflected PPP’s emphasis on locally driven action to enact
sustainable change in every step of the process, as well as its desire to gain understanding toward building new knowledge with local collaborators. By integrating local direction, insight, and evaluation into the methodology of this project, the PPP was able to more effectively analyze and assist the LPC in addressing the chieftaincy dispute. In this sense, reliance on empirical data and local participation is key to any project enactment with PPP.

Baseline data were established in June 2012. These data were collected through four focus groups, each with different actor groups within the community. These citizens worked to identify and develop possible strategies to resolving the chieftaincy dispute. Furthermore, PPP observed and documented a corresponding two-day actor meeting as well as conducted 10 post-meeting interviews.

In both August and October 2012, individual and group interviews were conducted as well as regular meetings with the LPC. These visits following the initial actor meeting also involved debriefing meetings to discuss the findings thus far and challenge or confirm interpretations.

Following the court ruling in September 2013, PPP conducted four additional field visits to evaluate the initial project. In November 2013, PPP conducted focus groups with the LPC and with prominent community members as well as 11 interviews with individuals and groups of community members. In March 2014, PPP conducted a focus group and interviews with LPC members. Additionally, PPP conducted seven interviews with community members to further understand more local views and responses. That following October 2014, seven in-depth interviews were conducted with LPC members about their involvement in the initiative. Finally, in December 2014, PPP organized a focus group discussion and debriefing meeting with the LPC. While this ended the formal evaluation of the outcomes of the initial chieftaincy dispute project, PPP continues to be in regular contact with the LPC to monitor the status of peace in the community. PPP has also conducted subsequent focus groups with the LPC about committee members’ roles in intervening in other conflicts in neighboring communities.

### Monitoring
- Photos and reports
- Field visits
- Meetings with WAPM
- Media reports
- Team meetings

### Evaluating
- Data collection at multiple time points
- Interviews
- Focus groups
- Observations
- Debriefing meetings
In all cases, focus groups and interviews were recorded with permission and transcribed by team members. PPP team members analyzed the data to assess the outcomes and learnings of the project and to inform next steps.

Project Outcomes

Through its data collection efforts, PPP documented several outcomes emerging from this locally driven peacebuilding initiative. These outcomes occurred at the community, group, and individual levels. Participants attributed these outcomes to the peacebuilding efforts of the LPC supported by the PPP.

Community Level Impact

Speeding up the Resolution

“We pleaded to other chiefs, those who are involved. So we advised them. We talked to them. We tried to advise them so that they can forget about [it]. They can speed up the case.”

A key outcome of the LPC’s efforts involved speeding up the court judgment. A major hold up in the resolution of the dispute had been consistent court delays. The LPC’s advocacy efforts reduced the amount of time between sittings from months to weeks. Committee members noted that the Regional House of Chiefs was “more or less dragging their feet” and it was the LPC’s advocacy and education efforts that gave them the impetus to act. A ruling in the 13-year chieftaincy dispute was issued in September 2013, 14 months after the LPC became involved.

Lack of Violence

“[Before when] the queen mother nominated [the chief], in fact, there was a big problem here. The police fired the tear gas. In fact, people were all aggressive to attack the police. But later on, we sit and advise them that the matter is before the court, so they should wait for the court’s ruling. There wasn’t a day to fight each other, no, no, no... Yes, there is no fights. You can’t see that the two factions are fighting.”
Participants also discussed how the LPC’s efforts and involvement in the issue helped reduce the likelihood of political violence, both during the December 2012 elections and after the ruling was issued. No incidents of violence related to the dispute were reported after the judgment, despite fears that there would be a high likelihood for violence. The LPC’s persistent and pervasive appeals to the factions as well as the community to keep the peace no matter what the ruling stated helped the aftermath of the judgment be peaceful. As one LPC member stated, “The majority has now seen that there is no need for any sort of conflict, and that the conflict would rather destroy [the town]. People are now come to accept it.” A community member expressed his appreciation of the committee, saying, “For it to calm down the violence, we are very grateful.”

Peaceful Initiation of Community Development

“The statue was erected to honor the people. We are a farming community, especially cocoa farming community, so some, one of the inhabitants, he felt he had to do something for the town, so he erected this statue. He didn’t use that of any personality but a farmer. The statue is at the big roundabout. But the other faction didn’t want this thing to be inaugurated, because if they allowed it, it will mean that the next time that this something happened, so they were sabotaging it here and there. But after the verdict, [the chief] has succeeded in getting the thing inaugurated. There was a big function.”

Community members identified as significant the peaceful initiation of community development initiatives following the initial ruling. As the participant above indicated, previous attempts to inaugurate a statue at the center of a major hub in town had been disrupted and the statue itself had been damaged as a result of the conflict. The fact that such an activity was able to be completed without violence was considered an indicator of peace. In the past, such community development activities would have been met with violence had one or both sides fully rejected the judgment. Other examples of community activities that occurred peacefully included launching a community-supported educational and health fund, cleanup activities, and street naming, among other initiatives. Similarly, the hosting of a local festival that had not taken place in years and during which the new chief assumed his position without violence was also considered a sign of peace.
Group Level Impact

Formation of the Local Peace Committee

“We educated our people. We went on radio. We organized some kinds of forums and other things, and people also heard our voices and they accepted us in the community.”

From the initial actor meeting and subsequent conversations emerged a group of individuals who formed a local peace committee that remains active to this date. The 8-member committee includes representatives from the various actor groups involved in the original meeting including both men and women and elders and youth. As discussed earlier, members voluntarily took action related to the chieftaincy dispute in multiple forms to promote peace in the community. By taking action to effect change, LPC members began to identify and act both individually and collectively as agents for peace. Members described the committee as a “strong force to reckon with” as a result of not taking sides and gaining the respect of the parties involved. Following the judgment in 2013, the LPC continues to mobilize when there are indicators of the potential for violence to promote peace within and beyond the community, as recently as 2017 mobilizing in response to a court appeal related to the original chieftaincy dispute and monitoring disputes between nomadic herders and farmers in the district.

Recognition as Peacebuilders

“When we talk, they listen. That is a good thing. And two, when they have a problem, they know we exist, so they contact us.”

LPC members became recognized by others as peacebuilders both within and beyond the community. Others’ acknowledgement of their legitimacy and roles as agents for peace was considered significant as they were not only praised for their efforts to maintain peace but also sought after for advice and to intervene in other conflicts. As one member said, “In fact all the chiefs have recognized the peace committee, the role we have played.” The LPC has also been asked to intervene in neighboring conflicts, including at the time preventing bloodshed in another chieftaincy dispute within the district and advocating for peace in communities outside of area involved in a land dispute. Different entities have also consulted with the LPC on a variety of issues. They have informed the police about early warning signs of violence, discussed security and stability issues with the municipal security council, and been invited to attend municipal assembly meetings.
Individual Level Impact

Increased Knowledge and Skills

“I think it’s good idea or it’s good education for us to know how to approach people, and how to get people’s mind, and how to talk to them. So chieftaincy issues [are] very complicated and we learn a lot from that.”

LPC members increased their knowledge and skills through their involvement in the committee. In particular, they identified gaining communication skills, specifically learning how to engage in conversations with people in a variety of positions in the community and conflict. Members also indicated they had increased confidence in enacting their newfound knowledge and skills. One committee member described these as “something like communication skills...you know, the approach, and how to keep secrecy and other things so you are not be biased in how to you know go about your resolution. We learned a lot actually.”

Expanded Network and Status

“It is introduced me to a lot of people. As you know in this part of our, the world, if you are a young guy and you are always with the big people or the elders, they rank a bit high, because the saying is, if you know how to wash your hand, you eat with the elders, and because of that personally, I think I have gained a lot of recognitions.”

Committee members also reported that their networks within and beyond the community expanded, in some cases resulting in enhanced status in their families or in the community as a result of their involvement in peacebuilding efforts. One of the members reported having been elevated in his family’s hierarchy due to his involvement in the LPC. He noted that his family now holds him in very high esteem, “The part I have played in fact has enhanced my position as a person in [the community].” A male youth member reported that the project had helped him develop relationships with elders and those in decision-making positions in the community, and learn how to appropriately communicate and behave in settings with those individuals. This same committee member was nominated to serve in an official role with the new chief's health and education fund.
Conclusion

Locally led peacebuilding represents a turn toward recognizing that those who are directly affected by conflict should be the ones driving peacebuilding efforts. In this white paper, we have responded to the need for more evidence-based exemplars of locally driven peacebuilding by explicating an initiative supported by the Purdue Peace Project to prevent violence related to a chieftaincy dispute in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. In doing so, we have highlighted the peacebuilding strategies enacted by local citizens, the methods for monitoring and evaluation, and the outcomes of the initiative.

Key Takeaways and Recommendations

To conclude, we identify key takeaways and offer recommendations for those seeking to advance evidence-based, locally led peacebuilding efforts:

- As this case illustrates, those who are directly affected by conflict can work together to build peace. In fact, our findings demonstrate that when provided with the space to engage in dialogue (as seen through the actor meeting), local citizens are able to identify and collectively enact peacebuilding strategies to prevent violence in their own communities. We encourage those interested in advancing locally led peacebuilding to consider how such dialogic spaces can be created, what conditions must be met, and how such moments can serve as a catalyst for action. Additional models and exemplars are needed to understand the possibilities and constraints of such spaces for locally led peacebuilding initiatives. In particular, cases of both success and failures of these spaces to catalyze productive action to prevent violence and build peace could contribute to more effective practice.

- When those local to a conflict lead peacebuilding efforts, this case demonstrates how their efforts can contribute to change at multiple levels. As seen in the case of the chieftaincy dispute, change occurred at community, group, and individual levels. We recommend that those evaluating such efforts attend to these multiple levels of change over time, as they have the potential to highlight the unique contributions of locally led approaches especially at the group and individual levels.

- Further, we recognize the importance of working with those local to the conflict not only in the design and implementation of peacebuilding strategies, but also in how we monitor and evaluate locally led peacebuilding initiatives. Local citizens and collaborators may be better able to identify key indicators of impact, especially those that may not be immediately obvious to outsiders. For example, in the case of
the chieftaincy dispute, the initiation of the community statue as an important indicator of peace for the town emerged out of continued conversations with community members and the LPC. As a result, we see important synergies between locally led approaches to peacebuilding and participatory methods for evaluation that merit further exploration. We encourage those engaging in and/or supporting locally led peacebuilding approaches to consider adopting participatory evaluation methods and incorporating them throughout a project’s life cycle.

- Additionally, the formation and recognition of the voluntary local peace committee and the sustained participation of most members over time provides evidence of both the motivation of those local to a conflict to mobilize for action in their own communities but also the (potential) staying power of such structures beyond their initial impetus, both of which are central arguments for locally driven approaches (see “Locally Driven Peacebuilding,” 2015). We invite further attention to and support for local peace committees and other similar entities to encourage locally led peacebuilding. These local and at times informal groups may have a significant impact, yet we recognize that external constraints and internal conflicts may limit their continued action. More attention is needed to how to support such groups’ resiliency and sustainability over time.
References and Recommended Reading


## Appendix

### Data Collections

The following data collections were conducted as part of monitoring and evaluation efforts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Data Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ongoing throughout | ● Monitoring and documentation by the West Africa Program Manager who reported weekly  
                        ● Regular monitoring of local, regional and national media |
| June 2012 (Baseline) | ● 4 focus groups  
                          ● Observations and documentation of two-day actor meeting  
                          ● 10 Post-meeting interviews |
| August 2012  | ● Individual and group interviews  
                          ● Debriefing meeting with the local peace committee (LPC) |
| October 2012 | ● Individual and group interviews  
                          ● Debriefing meeting with the LPC |
| November 2013 | ● Focus group with the LPC  
                        ● Focus group with opinion leaders  
                        ● 11 individual and group interviews with community members |
| March 2014   | ● Focus group with the LPC  
                          ● 2 interviews LPC members  
                          ● 7 individual and group interviews with community members |
| October 2014 | ● 7 in-depth interviews with LPC members |
| December 2014 | ● Focus group and validation workshop with LPC members |