

# Diaspora Students' Role and Strategies in Peacebuilding in the Bawku Chieftaincy Conflict

Issaka Akudugu<sup>1</sup>; Linus D. Nangwele<sup>2\*</sup>;  
Chrispin Mwinkyogtaa Kuupiel<sup>3</sup>; Bernard B. B. Bingab<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Centre for African Studies, University of Education, Winneba

<sup>2</sup>. Centre for Conflict, Human Rights and Peace Studies, University of Education, Winneba

<sup>3</sup>. Department of Peace Studies, University of Cape Coast

<sup>4</sup>. Department of Management Sciences, University of Education, Winneba

Corresponding Author: Linus D. Nangwele

Publication Date: 2025/09/15

**Abstract:** Previous research has elucidated the origins, consequences, characteristics, and impediments to the settlement of the Bawku chieftaincy dispute, in addition to the function of civil society organizations in promoting peace in the region. This study investigates the potential contributions and approaches that Bawku diaspora students may make to peacebuilding initiatives, with a focus on the interplay between governance structures, leadership agency, and diaspora engagement. A case study design and a qualitative approach were employed. Interviews were conducted with fourteen (14) Bawku diaspora students attending the University of Education, Winneba. The findings revealed that Bawku diaspora students leverage their human, social, and local capital to advocate for peace, refuse to fund violence, and foster inter-ethnic cohesion. However, the absence of institutionalized governance mechanisms to integrate diaspora efforts into formal peace processes limits their impact. The paper argues that effective leadership and inclusive governance frameworks are critical to harnessing diaspora potential for sustainable peace. We recommend structured partnerships between diaspora groups, traditional authorities, and state institutions to align grassroots peacebuilding with top-down governance strategies.

**Keywords:** *Diaspora Students, Peacebuilding, Governance, Leadership, Bawku Chieftaincy Conflict.*

**How to Cite:** Issaka Akudugu; Linus D. Nangwele; Chrispin Mwinkyogtaa Kuupiel; Bernard B. B. Bingab (2025) Diaspora Students' Role and Strategies in Peacebuilding in the Bawku Chieftaincy Conflict. *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology*, 10(9), 506-518. <https://doi.org/10.38124/ijisrt/25sep460>

## I. INTRODUCTION

Although conflicts over chieftaincy, land, identity and ethnicity, resources, and political power continue, Ghana is regarded as the most peaceful nation in West Africa by the world community (Kendie & Akudugu, 2010; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). Over the years, some conflicts in the country have been managed and resolved with the help of committees of inquiry, government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and religious organizations, however, others have proven abortive in all attempts at resolution. For example, the 1994–1995 Konkomba and Nanumba/Dagomba conflict, which claimed over 2000 lives and was the most devastating in Ghanaian history, was resolved through the combined efforts of the Nairobi Peace Initiative (NPI) and the Permanent Negotiation

Team, which is composed of various civil society organizations and the government, to mediate and promote reconciliation (Mahama, 2003). The Dagbon chieftaincy dispute also appeared to have been "resolved" (BBC News Pidgin, 2019 January 25; Yakubu, 2019; GhanaWeb, 2019 January 19; Joy Online, 2019 January 18). However, there seem to be certain unresolved issues in Nanton and Karaga that could jeopardize the region's peace (Nasam, 2021). Today, there are numerous conflict situations that are still open in Ghana. One of the major, ongoing conflicts in the country that has not been settled is the chieftaincy dispute between the Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic groups (Lund, 2003; Awedoba, 2009, Mahama & Longi, 2013; Bukari, 2013ab, Long, 2014; Adjei, 2016, 2019). The chieftaincy conflict between the Kusasis and Mamprusis has produced numerous negative

consequences such as loss of life and property, infrastructure damage, closing of medical facilities and schools, collapse of the local economy and business community, slower development, and elevated levels of fear and uncertainty. Nonetheless, it does not seem like the peacebuilding efforts in Bawku are leading to a resolution of the conflict.

Bawku community is still volatile and unstable. Since November 2021, Bawku has experienced tensions and security concerns (gunshots, attacks, carrying of weapons and ammunition), which have been linked to the scheduled celebration of the last funeral rituals for the late Bawku Naba, who passed away 40 years ago (Fugu, 2021). As a result, the Interior Minister, acting through the Upper East Regional Security Council, banned the wearing of smocks on November 24, 2021, in response to concerns that people were carrying weapons in them. Additionally, a dawn-to-dusk curfew was imposed in Bawku (Ministry of the Interior, 2021; Joy Online, 2021 November 24; Fugu, 2021; Kwafo, 2021; GardaWorld, 2021 November 25). The renewed hostilities in Bawku have caused a great deal of fear and uncertainty, loss of lives, teachers and nurses to leave the town, schools to close, and economic activity to drastically decline.

The Bawku chieftaincy conflict continue to protract (Adjei, 2016). This demonstrates the complexity and variety of actors and interactions in the conflict. Determining conflict parties' position, interests and needs in the issue could be crucial to organizing efforts to guarantee the Bawku chieftaincy dispute is fully resolved and to foster communal harmony. Diaspora members of the conflict community are one of the actors in the conflict whose involvement, participation, support, or influence could have a strong decisive effect on the conflict and peace process, or resolution or peacebuilding. This is because extant literature (such as Shain, 2002; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006; Smith & Stares, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2009, 2011; Abutudu & Emuedo, 2011; Freitas, 2012; Laakso & Hautaniemi, 2014; Democratic Progress Institute, 2014; Pande, 2016; Tas, 2017; Mariani et al., 2016, 2018) has shown the role or contribution of diaspora in conflict and peace-building. Diasporas are understood in this paper as not only people who have moved outside their originating country but also those living outside their "ancestral homeland" but within their home state (Tas, 2017). Féron and Lefort (2019) observed that diasporas can be induced or created by conflict, makers or wreckers of peace or both, and can carry along conflict from their originating country to the country of resident. This suggests that diasporas can engage in conflict related mobilizations (Féron & Lefort, 2019).

Particularly, remittances of diaspora members have been found to be critical in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding in conflict-affected environments (Rodima-Taylor et al., 2013; Abutudu & Emuedo, 2011; Gioli et al., 2013; Nabar-Bhaduri, 2013; Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2013; Pheiffer, 2013). Their remittances play significant role in facilitating reconstruction

of infrastructure, rebuilding of institutions, addressing vulnerabilities and supporting livelihoods (Rodima-Taylor et al., 2013). The importance of remittances in recovery after the conflicts have been reported in Sri Lanka (Nabar-Bhaduri, 2013), El Salvador (Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2013) and Liberia (Pheiffer, 2013). Gioli et al. (2013) found out that remittances enabled local resilience to adversities caused by the conflict in Northwestern Pakistan. But Abutudu and Emuedo (2011), Brinkerhoff (2011), Democratic Progress Institute (DPI) (2014) and Mariani et al. (2016) ask us to pay attention to the fact that diaspora remittances can be a double-edged sword; that is, can promote or fuel the perpetuation of conflict as well as help recovery, reconstruction and economic development in conflict-affected environment. For that reason, Collier and Hoeffler (2000) cautioned that diaspora financial remittances particularly have the potential of renewing conflicts and making their resolution difficult.

Equally, remittances from diaspora can lead to sustenance of violence or conflict, emergence of conflict entrepreneurs, and funding of insurgencies (Brinkerhoff, 2011). Diaspora can thus be peacemakers or peace-wreckers, at different times or stages of conflicts in the homeland. This observation has been made about the activities of the Kurdish diaspora (Natali, 2007; Tas, 2017), the Tamil diaspora of Sri Lanka (Pande, 2016), Somali diaspora (Abdile, 2014; Mariani et al., 2018), Eritrea diaspora (Koser, 2007) and Croatian diasporas (Skrbiš, 2007). Abdile (2014) stated that diasporas can support insurgencies and opposition movements through arms, money, publicity, and propaganda. They can engage in advocacy, campaigns, lobbying and petitions to promote peace efforts (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006; Toivanen & Baser, 2019). Sometimes, diasporas can send "financial support to armed groups, joining the army or the insurgent group as fighters..." (Toivanen & Baser, 2019, p. 49). Specifically, they can be negotiators, peacemakers, mediators or facilitators in conflict situations as well as help in reconciling and ensuring healing among conflict parties, but can also be spoilers (Toivanen & Baser, 2019).

Indeed, diasporas' active participation in political engagements, affecting of behaviours and repatriating of skills and knowledge to influence capacity building and functioning of institutions support peacebuilding (Pheiffer, 2013). Abutudu and Emuedo (2011) argued that diaspora sometimes engage in "mobilization of public opinion in their homeland and the world through the use of internet to canvass attention to conflicts and unwholesome practices of home state and economic agents in the home countryside" (p. 124). Diaspora can influence attitudes, public opinion, and support for human rights and freedoms through advocacy and participation homeland politics (Brinkerhoff, 2011). They can lobby the international community to intervene to restore peace and ensure reconstruction (Abutudu & Emuedo, 2011). In addition, diasporas development initiatives such as the building of schools, roads, or hospitals, can also offer a platform for dialogue on which conflicting interests are translated into

common needs (Orjuela, 2006). Through fund-raising, lobbying, publicity, skills and experience, and networks or links in the resident land, diaspora can contribute to peacebuilding and development in their homeland (Abdile, 2014). Similarly, they can support local capacity building and mediation between the conflicting factions (Abdile, 2014) by acting as facilitators during mediation or peace talks between warring parties (DPI, 2014). Furthermore, Ionescu (2006) stated that diaspora human capital, financial and entrepreneurial capital, social capital, affective capital (personal commitment and good will) and local capital (such as family ties and familiarity with local context) can contribute to development and peace efforts in the homeland. Diaspora human capital (knowledge, skills, expertise and capacities) is one of the most pervasive ways in which they contribute to peace and development efforts (Ionescu, 2006; Brinkerhoff, 2011).

In Africa, diaspora intervention or involvement in home conflicts has centered around socio-economic and political development and change through the utilization of their resources, skills and personal involvement (Bakewell, 2009). In the Horn of Africa, Laakso (2014) noted that diasporas have been involved and cooperated with in peacebuilding and governance at multi-levels. In Somalia, diasporas played a leading role in the second phase of peace-building by making investments in the educational (funding of universities) and economic sectors (such as establishment of hotels) (Hoehne & Ibrahim, 2014). The Ethiopian Muslim diaspora deployed humanitarian activities, rights-based advocacy, economic support and capacity building, and demonstrations to advocate for the protection of the rights and freedoms of their folks in the homeland (Feyissa, 2014). They also refused to be radicalised and used as extremist tool and this helped to further the peace efforts in Ethiopia (Feyissa, 2014). Still in Ethiopia, Zewde et al. (2014) revealed that the Tigray diaspora established the Tigray Development Association through which they pursued reconstruction of infrastructure, helped displaced people and dealt with the famine created in the region by conflict. They also engaged in activities such as provision of educational materials and medical supplies, skills training, fund-raising and organization of symposia to support development and recovery from the conflict (Zewde et al., 2014). Diaspora role in homeland conflicts can therefore be complex, multifaceted and controversial (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006). Diaspora can play several and differing roles in building peace (Toivanen & Baser, 2019).

Despite the significant attention being drawn to the potential contributions of diaspora to homeland conflicts and peace efforts, there seems to be little understanding of the role Bawku diasporas can play or are playing in peacebuilding in their homeland which continues to struggle with the chieftaincy conflict between the Mamprusis and Kusasis. The voices of the Bawku diaspora people appear to have been left out of discussions and studies on the chieftaincy dispute and peacebuilding throughout the years, despite the fact that the

extant literature have shown that diasporas have an impact on homeland conflicts and can play a role in promoting peace. This brings up some questions of concern: What role can members of the Bawku Diaspora play in making sure that the Bawku area successfully build peace? How specifically can the Bawku diasporas help to ensure that the Bawku community is established on peace? Are people from the Bawku Diaspora peacebuilders or peace-spoilers or wreckers?

Previous research on the Bawku chieftaincy dispute have not been able provide answers to these questions. They have largely focused on: "challenges and prospects" of the Bawku peace process (Bukari, 2013a); indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms (Bukari, 2013b) the ways in which the Bawku chieftaincy conflict caused migration and how migrants support regional peace efforts (Nambe, 2017); the influence social networks had in migration in Bawku during times of peace and violence (Nikoi et al., 2019); role of civil society organizations in promoting peace in the Bawku region (Bukari & Guuroh, 2013; Adjei, 2016); ongoing peacebuilding mechanisms (Salifu, 2018); how the Bawku chieftaincy dispute affected the region's basic education system (Alhassan et al., 2017); understanding women's livelihoods in the context of the conflict (Mumuni, 2016). To this end, the voices of the Kusasi and Mamprusi diasporas are still mostly unheard and unrecorded in the talks about guaranteeing peacebuilding in Bawku. As a result, it is possible that the viewpoints and active voices of the Diaspora community members were left out of the understanding of the Bawku conflict and the peacebuilding efforts since the emergence of the conflict.

The protracted nature of the Bawku conflict underscores systemic governance deficits, including fragmented authority, weak institutional coordination, and a lack of inclusive leadership (Bukari & Guuroh, 2013; Adjei, 2019). While diaspora students exhibit agency in peacebuilding, their efforts remain ad hoc due to the absence of governance structures that formally recognize and integrate their contributions. Effective leadership—whether traditional, state, or civil society—must bridge this gap by creating platforms for diaspora participation in decision-making (Brinkerhoff, 2011; Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2017). Tas (2017) argued that involving and tapping the efforts of all key stakeholders involved in conflict situations is important to beginning a peace process and perhaps, in ensuring the effectiveness, success and sustenance of reconstruction. Therefore, the research that informed this paper was undertaken to explore the role of the Bawku diasporas in the peacebuilding in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict, using the Kusasi and Mamprusi students attending the University of Education, Winneba (UEW) as case study. The study was interested in the Bawku diaspora students in Ghana. This is because Tas (2017) indicates that diaspora involves not only people who have moved outside their originating country but also those living outside their “ancestral homeland” but within their home state. The Bawku conflict have forced natives to migrate to other parts of Ghana and appear to be making some members to feel

like they are staying outside their country of origin. The rest of the paper is structured as follows: the next section states the objective that directed the study. This is followed by a discussion of the theory that has been drawn upon to inform the study. After that, the study discussed the methodology deployed. Next, the findings were presented and discussed. The paper ends with the conclusion, implications and recommendations.

#### ➤ *Research Objective*

The objective of the study was to:

- Analyses the roles the Bawku student-diasporas in UEW can play in peacebuilding in Bawku.

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### A. *Stakeholder Theory of Crisis Management*

The study used the Stakeholder Theory of Crisis Management by Alpaslan et al. (2009) to analyze how the student diasporas from Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic groups of Bawku contribute to peacebuilding efforts in the Bawku region. The theory is a well-known and frequently applied theory for managing crises in the business world. But since the theory's development, it has been used in a number of domains. The stakeholder theory has become more widely used in academia and is now applied in numerous sectors (Hickman & Akdere, 2017; Chan, 2021; Harrison et al., 2015; Freeman et al., 2010; Freeman et al., 2020; Langrafe et al., 2020; Harrison & Bosse, 2013). The attempts made in the 1980s to adapt to the complex and dynamic commercial or organizational environment can be traced back as the origin of the stakeholder theory (Langrafe, 2020). The 1984 landmark work, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach* by Freeman, who contends, among other things, that managers must adapt their practices to the highly dynamic and complex organizational environment that prevailed at the time, is largely credited with the development of the general stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984). According to Alpaslan et al. (2009), stakeholders—regardless of their influence or financial worth—may be better included in crisis planning and response, which can help prevent potential accidents in the workplace or organization. Alpaslan et al. also noted that crises may cause the importance of stakeholder groups to shift. For Freeman et al. (2020), in order to maximize value for all stakeholders, organization's planning and management process must take into account the needs, interests, and concerns of all individuals who "have a stake" in it. Stakeholder theory encourages proactive and accommodating behaviors in crisis management (Alpaslan et al., 2009).

This study applies the ideas of the stakeholder theory to the Bawku peacebuilding process by arguing that stakeholders—including members of the diaspora—will be able to participate in the process more actively and accommodatively when they are involved in peacebuilding efforts. This implies that peace-builders or mediators intervening in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict should always

evaluate and include the needs, interests and values of the spectrum of stakeholders (including diasporas) in the conflict situation. The peace process should not cause any stakeholder to feel excluded or left behind. "Inclusion and ownership" of peace process are encouraged by the stakeholder approach to peacebuilding (Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2017). Tas (2017) thus suggests that the engagement of all stakeholders is crucial when starting a peace process. This study argues that value would be added to the entire Bawku peace process if all the parties involved in peacebuilding in the Bawku area participated and were actively involved. This is because stakeholder theory is centered on value generation (Hickman & Akdere, 2017).

It is believed that for peacebuilding in Bawku to be successful, all stakeholders must be committed (Asian Development Bank, 2012). Therefore, the creation of strategic and reciprocal relationships with stakeholders (Harrison & Bosse, 2013) and the "sharing of knowledge and information, ...decision-making process, [including] mutual trust and alignment of the stakeholders' interests in the strategic planning process" (Langrafe et al., 2020, p. 297) by all parties involved in the conflict, including those living outside the Bawku community, would greatly enhance the value of the Bawku peace process.

The stakeholder theory aligns with principles of participatory governance, where inclusive leadership ensures all actors—including diaspora—are engaged in peace processes (Freeman et al., 2020). In Bawku, traditional leaders and state institutions must adopt transformative leadership approaches to mobilize diaspora capital (e.g., advocacy, education) while mitigating risks like remittance-fueled violence (Collier & Hoeffler, 2000).

The contention is that decision-making procedures, knowledge-sharing, and information-sharing related to peacebuilding should incorporate Bawku diaspora students because they are actors in the Bawku chieftaincy struggle. The diaspora students and other stakeholders in the peacebuilding process should also have mutual trust and shared interests. This would ensure that participants to the peace process would not only come to value the process but also find it legitimate and comfortable to express their opinions (Adzahlie-Mensah & Benson, 2018). Because "bringing together the resources, knowledge, perspectives, skills and constituencies of the various stakeholders can lead to the political will, collective capacities and sense of ownership needed to prevent conflict and build sustainable peace," it is imperative that the Bawku peacebuilding process be approached from a stakeholder perspective (GPPAC, 2017, p. 2). Involvement, participation, cooperation and support from all actors in the Bawku chieftaincy conundrum are necessary for peacebuilding to be successful.



### III. METHODOLOGY

The study used a qualitative methodology to investigate how Bawku diaspora students may contribute to the efforts to promote peace in the Bawku community. To gain a deeper understanding of the part Bawku Diaspora students can play in fostering peace in their native community, a case study design was employed. Students from Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic groups studying at the University of Education, Winneba, Ghana, made up the study population. Seven (7) Kusasi students and seven (7) Mamprusi students, comprising a total of fourteen (14) participants were chosen using convenient and purposeful sample techniques. Prior to conducting the interviews, the participants were asked for their consent. The instrument utilized to gather the data was an interview guide. Participants were asked open-ended questions that elicited their perspectives on the role they play towards peacebuilding in their home community. Open-ended questions gave participants the freedom to freely discuss how they could support peacebuilding efforts in their community. Thirty to forty-five minutes were spent on each interview. In order to elucidate some of the statements they made in the interviews, the participants were asked probing questions. Interviews with each participant took place on the University of Education, Winneba campus. A thematic analysis was performed on the gathered data. Both verbatim and theme coding informed the coding regime. Patterns emerging from the coded data were categorized and used to generate themes. The themes generated were reviewed. The final themes that emerged from the review were presented and discussed. Pseudonyms (A, B, C...N) were used to represent the participants. This ensured the protection of participants' confidentiality, anonymity and identities. Thick description was done in the discussion of the findings, thereby guaranteeing the trustworthiness of the findings.

### IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### A. *Role and Strategies of Diaspora Students in Peacebuilding in the Bawku Community*

The data revealed that the Bawku diaspora students in the study can play a number of roles in promoting peace in their home community, including peace advocacy and education, refusing to donate funds to purchase arms and weapons, making use of local capital (familiarity and family ties), mobilizing public opinion against the conflict, and declining to enlist as combatants.

##### ➤ *Peace Advocacy and Education*

Through peace advocacy and education, the study found that diaspora students can contribute to peacebuilding in Bawku. Østergaard-Nielsen (2006) and Toivanen and Baser's (2019) studies, which found that diaspora can contribute to peacebuilding through advocacy and campaigns supports this finding. Some participants disclosed that they speak up for peace in Bawku on the radio, in person, and at social events.

Some of the participants indicated the following responses in the interviews:

I am fortunate that the local radio stations always call me to respond to issues on certain matters on air. There is no day I will be called and I will not ask this statement first, that is, how are we bringing back the peace in Bawku? I will always say this. For example, there was one time I traveled to Sapelga and was coming back to Zeble, some ladies had an encounter with me. They were Mamprusis and they thought I was Kusasi and might hurt them. I used that opportunity to preach peace. [Interview with Diaspora Student G, 2022]

I tell those who believe in me that peace is the only thing that we need. I preach everlasting peace and not temporal peace. [Interview with Diaspora Student I, 2022]

What I do most times is that, I always try to talk to my colleagues. I always try to tell them that there is a brighter future. I always try to tell them that, you will get married and you will give birth and you need to cater for your kids...so I always tell them your wife and kids are looking unto you so in case you go out and something happen to you, the life of your kids and your children will be endangered. So, I always try to talk to colleagues for them to know that there is life so that they might not engage themselves into this war [Interview with Diaspora Student L, 2022]

In areas impacted by conflicts, peace advocacy helps to foster peace. People living in communities touched by conflict become more conscious of the value of peace through peace advocacy and education. According to Brinkerhoff (2011), diaspora can affect views, public opinion, and support for human rights and freedoms by advocating for peace and getting involved in politics back home. Some participants bemoaned that though the manner in which the Bawku peacebuilding is designed does not include their active participation, they continue to advocate for peace at every event they attend. One of the participants said as follows:

...how people have designed the resolution process in Bawku is beyond some of us. ...I have led the people of Mamprusi, Bisangas, Moshis, and all the groups in my capacity as the Kusaal chief of which, in that role anytime we have a gathering I use the opportunity to preach peace. I have served as the organiser and the entertainment chair for the Bawku Students' Association popularly called Tonde Students' Union for two years and I used the opportunity to preach peace. I have also been a parliamentary candidate and in all these, I use the little chance I get I make people think we are one people. [Interview with Diaspora Student G, 2022]

It is clear from the comments that some students from the diaspora feel left out of the peacebuilding process. According to the stakeholder theory, peacemakers and mediators must constantly make sure that no stakeholder is excluded or feels left out of the peace process ((Global

Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2017). This is so because, according to the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2017), the stakeholder approach to peacebuilding encourages "inclusivity and ownership" of the process. Participants also mentioned that, as a result of their illiteracy, the majority of those who fight during the conflict are unaware of the consequences for themselves. This speaks to Bukari's (2013a), which indicates that one of the reasons it is difficult to establish long-lasting peace in Bawku is illiteracy. Further, some of the diaspora students claim that educated people encourage their uneducated tribal mates to go the front lines of conflict to fight. A participant said that:

...some people are ignorant about what is going on. It is only those who are ignorant that goes to the warfront to fight because someone who is well educated will not agree to risk his life and go there. Most of the people that goes there to fight, it's those that are educated that are pushing them. That is from my point of view. Those that are good to go [educated], they push them [illiterates], they deceive them to go and kill themselves. They themselves don't go there at all. [Interview with Diaspora Student D, 2022]

From this statement, it was clear that some Bawku diaspora students think that their tribesmen back home continue to fight partly due to their ignorance and lack of literacy. To this end, participants said that telling some members of their tribe about the dispute and its consequences can persuade them to give up fighting. Some participants say they concentrate their peace education on the younger generation because they believe it is quite hard to persuade the older generation. Some participants stated:

One big problem I personally have is that somebody who has been fighting for twenty years, somebody who has been fighting since I was not born. How do I convince such person to stop fighting? It is very difficult. So usually, I channel my effort to the children and the younger generations so that they will not grow to be like their parents. [Interview with Diaspora Student A, 2022]

I educate people on the effects of the conflict. I think education is also a key thing here, most of the people, the frontliners that are pushing the people at the war front are not educated so if the youth are able to be educated or if we should educate people more, I am not sure the conflict will reach that level because people wouldn't have time to do so many things. [Interview with Diaspora Student B, 2022]

Other participants indicated that they are working with civil society organizations into peacebuilding and they use that opportunity to campaign for peace in Bawku:

About the issues or ways to promote peace in Bawku, I am part of CRS [Catholic Relief Services], we have done a lot,

peace campaign and other things within the catholic church... [Interview with Diaspora Student A, 2022]

Some students from the diaspora stated that their human capital – knowledge, information and experience – gained through education enable them to educate their people about the consequences of the chieftaincy struggle in their community and the necessity for them to embrace peace. A participant stated:

You see, the people of the north believe in leadership and once you have offered yourself to lead them you will get their respect. So as you are saying human capital, they believe that once you have gone to the university, you have some kind of knowledge and experiences, you can help them achieve whatever they want. Due to this, people listen to me and I will say that if we students draw our plans very well and do the needful, then we can contribute to and help resolve the conflict. ...when I come in contact with small groups, I sit them down and let them know the effect of conflict within the community. [Interview with Diaspora Student G, 2022]

From this statement, it is clear that one strategy that diaspora students can use to play a role in peacebuilding in Bawku is their human capital. That is to say, diaspora students can use the skills, knowledge and experiences acquired in their educational journey to educate their homeland people on the need to embrace peace, cordiality and friendliness and stop the bloodshed. Diaspora students can help to create more awareness about the threat of the conflict to the community's development, image and way of life. Thus, this supports the findings of Brinkerhoff (2011) and Ionescu (2006), who emphasized the importance of human capital in the diaspora's ability to promote peace back home.

#### *B. Cordiality and Mutuality with Colleague Diaspora Students from the Opposing Faction*

Participants indicated that amicable interactions with their counterparts in the opposing faction is one way they engage in that may contribute to Bawku's peacebuilding efforts. They claimed that they try to have cordial relationships with everyone irrespective of whether the person is a Kusasi or a Mamprusi. For instance, a participant said that:

I try to have a good relationship with everybody that I meet on day-to-day basis. When people meet me, they know I am the kind of person who is peace loving. If I say something about what is happening in Bawku and the effect on us, I think it carried a lot of weight. [Interview with Diaspora Student I, 2022]

According to several of the participants, having positive relationships with their colleague diaspora students from the other tribal faction would foster friendly links, affection, and concern for one another rather than lead to conflict or the perception of one another as adversaries. In the following

comment, a participant described his efforts to maintain cordial relationships with friends in the opposite faction:

I engage in a lot of things wherever I live. I don't do tribalism. The friends I have in Mamprusi area I call them, some of them are living with me and anytime they find themselves at the Kusaasis place, I take them as brothers. Some are living with me as am speaking now so I don't have anything like tribalism against them. [Interview with Diaspora Student K, 2022]

This suggest that despite the conflict between the Kusasis and Mamprusis, some diaspora students from both sides seem to continue to keep friendships ties and bonds with each other. Such social capital is essential in reducing tensions and enhancing peacebuilding efforts in Bawku. In the following comment, a participant described how her friendly interactions with a senior high school classmate from the other faction allowed them to form strong bonds, look out for one another, and not view one another as enemies:

Back at SHS [senior high school], I think we had something we called Bawku union and with that one I was part of the executives. When we go for meetings, though Bawku is a Kusau traditional area where Kusau is dominated but because of the Bawku conflict, we decided that when you go there and speak Kusau. Though it is a Kusasi area but it's not only Kusasis living there so when we do that, they felt that we are too big so we used English, a common language so that all the people will understand and with that too we were associating ourselves to them. I remember my senior was Girls' Prefect of the school and she was a Mamprusi girl so like the way we were communicating, the way we were relating in the dormitory, when she was leaving, she wrote a note to me and she told me that she will wish we had people in Bawku who will be like me. She thinks if we had people like that, we won't have conflict in Bawku. Despite the tribal differences we were able to live happily till she completed and we were not having any problem. Even food, if she gets food and I am not there she won't eat. The same way applies to me. I think the way we related can also play a role. So, we should have good relations with our opposite parties. [Interview with Diaspora Student B, 2022]

Other participants indicated the following:

What I do is that my friends that are there, when the disturbances start, most of them go through emotional breakdown so periodically making them feel at home and at ease and I engage them in phone conversations and Whatsapp chat so that it will keep them busy and keep them away from engaging in the fight. [Interview with Diaspora Student H, 2022]

Naturally I am a generous person and for you to have friends around you and also speak for people to listen to you, you need to be generous when you are living with them. I have

friends from both parties – Mamprusis and the Kusasis. There was an instance my classmate in Bawku, there was a time the conflict started and my classmate is a Mamprusi and the school is found in the Kusasi's area so such guy was a target so part of the Kusasi guys targeted this guy and wanted to harm him, I told them that personally, I don't encourage this and the guy came to me and spoke to me if I can intervene or else his life is in danger so I thought it wise and spoke with my colleagues that they should not harm him and truly nothing happened to the guy. Me, personally I give, whether you are my friend or not and when it is within my capacity. [Interview with Diaspora Student H, 2022]

From the comments participants seems to agree that carrying their homeland conflict along with them to campus and exemplifying it in their interactions would harm peacebuilding efforts in Bawku. This is because conflictual relationships undermine efforts to promote peacebuilding. Instead, amicable and cordial relationships strengthen social cohesiveness.

#### ➤ *Refusal to Contribute Money to Buy Arms and Ammunitions*

Also, the data revealed that some diaspora students in the study claimed to have declined to provide funds for the purchase of weapons and ammunition, as well as to participate in the combat as soldiers for their tribes. Some participants said that in order for them to purchase weapons like rifles to combat their opponent, their tribes constantly ask for financial contributions. Studies (such as Mariani et al., 2016; Skrbis, 2007; Natali, 2007) have shown that financial contributions from diasporas can contribute to and maintain disputes. For example, Democratic Progress Institute (2014) study showed that financial contributions from the Tamil diaspora in Sri Lanka supported the conflict in their country. Some of the diaspora students stated that they tend to be asked their communities to fight as soldiers in the Bawku conflict on behalf of their ethnic groups. Mariani et al. (2016) draws attention to the fact that diaspora's military actions can impact the conflict in their home country. For these reasons, participants stated that one way they can help to bring about peace in their own homeland is by refusing to give money to buy weapons and ammunition when members of their ethnic group ask them to. One participant said:

I think the role I play personally is that you know life is not all about what you can do but what you have refused to do can also be a solution to a societal problem. Like we are living within a society that they force you to bring something; that is they want to buy ammunitions and other things then you are part of the youth who contribute and you claim you are a faithful member of the Kusau kingdom so it's like sometime they believe. That why is it that you can pay other contributions but this one you are delaying, so the delay tactics will give clue as in releasing money for any weapon, bullet and other things. It is also a role to play because Bawku is an area we cannot rely on. I don't believe that personal

relationship can change the mentality of people when the conflict is revived because most of the people in the warfront are friends, they sit in the same base groups, chat during Sallah, kill animals and prepare and eat. When the conflict strikes, that friendship is halted and they are haunting each other. So the issue is you are killing your friend and I am the one killing my friend and your friends are comfortable killing because they are the true advocate of the opponent so it's not about what we do alone but what we refuse to do. So I will advise that other scholars should not be contributing monies to the conflict because if we are able to disarm the place, we are in a way reduced the level of damage the conflict will have. [Interview with Diaspora Student F, 2022]

This narration reveals the ways in which the different factions in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict raise money to purchase weapons and engage in combat. According to the data, students from the diaspora refuse to donate money for purchasing weapons and ammunition for use in battle in order to contribute to disarming the parties involved in the conflict. Therefore, even though Toivanen and Baser (2019) indicated that diaspora can play roles such as "...sending financial support to armed groups, joining the army or the insurgent group as fighters" (p. 49), this study found that the Bawku diaspora students appear to be refusing to fight for their tribes and contribute money to purchase weapons. This suggests that diaspora students are willing to support efforts to promote peace in Bawku. It is important to indicate that the statement that "Bawku is an area we cannot rely on" seems to imply that funds given or sent for noble purposes might be misappropriated and used to purchase weapons and ammunition to further conflict objectives. According to Democratic Progress Institute (2014), financial donations from the diaspora can inadvertently fuel conflicts, particularly when there are differences in the goals of the diaspora (sender) and the conflict players (receiver).

#### ➤ *Mobilization of Public Opinion for Peace Using the Internet*

The study also found that, by using the internet as a tool, diaspora students in the study contribute to the mobilization of public opinion for peace in the community both inside and outside of Bawku. Some of the participants stated the following:

I think now social media is common platform that everybody belongs to. I think there was this crusade that was led by one Journalist that there should be peace in Bawku and all the youth including myself tried to preach peace. The reason why we couldn't do much is that there is a place in Bawku that we couldn't go. If you are passing, they will stop you and ask you a lot of questions, you know there is a curfew in Bawku and you cannot organize peace crusade anyhow because it might generate something else. So the only platform that we have is the social media. So I have been on social media preaching this peace. [Interview with Diaspora Student K, 2022]

Speaking on my role in bringing peace in Bawku, I have tried so many ways in bringing peace to Bawku by preaching on social media on the need for peace and development and all that I can mention to the extend to encouraging inter-tribal marriages between these two conflicting parties. [Interview with Diaspora Student I, 2022]

Admittedly, participants mentioned that over the years conflicting messages have been disseminated and people have been incited to engage in the conflict through the internet and online media. For that reason, they said that they can use the same media to mobilize ideas regarding the best means of resolving the Bawku chieftaincy conflict and to educate people about the need of embracing peace. A participant stated:

Though many things on social media or the internet are fueling the conflict I think we can equally promote peace using that same channel if we are able to remove bad accounts on Facebook, WhatsApp and create a peace-building account. The way we managed to promote this conflict, we could use that same means to educate people on the ways of resolving the conflict in Bawku and also publish it, [Interview with Diaspora Student B, 2022]

Meanwhile, some participants indicated that because the internet has been used to spread misleading information about the conflict and incite people to react, it cannot help them mobilize opinions against the Bawku conflict. Some of the participants gave the following explanations for why they believe attitudes against the conflict may not be effectively mobilized over the internet:

So, I will say that the internet is actually the harm and it cannot be used in the peacebuilding process. Most to that point is that, our people who are fighting, most of them cannot read. [Interview with Diaspora Student F, 2022]

I don't see the internet as an effective tool to promote peacebuilding in Bawku. I believe not all the people involved in the conflict use that platform. So, the internet cannot be used as a medium to pass information to those people. [Interview with Diaspora Student L, 2022]

Due to the concerns about the viability of the internet to support mobilizations for peace in Bawku, some diaspora students proposed that in order for the internet to effectively support the mobilization of public opinion for peace in Bawku, conflict-instigating accounts on the internet should be taken down and replaced with ones that advance peace. The belief is that public opinion can be greatly influenced by the internet to oppose the Bawku war. Thus, this supports the finding of Abutudu and Emuedo's (2011) study, which found that diaspora occasionally participate in "mobilization of public opinion in their homeland and the world through the use of internet to canvass attention to conflicts and



unwholesome practices of home state and economic agents in the home countryside" (p. 124).

➤ *Use of Local Capital (Family Ties)*

The study also revealed that students from the diaspora use their local resources to support efforts to promote peace in Bawku. Ionescu (2006) pointed out that diasporas can support development and peacebuilding by using their local capital, which includes linkages to the community and expertise with the local environment. Participants mentioned that when the Bawku conflict flares up, they usually have some success in reducing tensions partly because of their familial ties. One of the participants stated:

In my village for instance, when you come, we have the Kusasis and the Mamprusis. We have married each other and have children. Once that kind of relationship is always there, the attempt to calm down tensions is always successful. [Interview with Diaspora Student A, 2022]

Some of the students from the diaspora said that because of their ties to their community and experience with it, they are able to dissuade or stop family members from making financial donations to support the conflict. They clarified that occasionally, money sent by members of their tribe who are in the diaspora is used to finance the fighting. Consequently, a few of them mentioned that they make an effort to present themselves within their family as someone who supports peace or that they inspire other family members to do the same. They claim that when one supports peace, it becomes more difficult for their tribe's faction to approach them and ask for assistance with the fighting. A participant indicated the following comment:

We are all from extended family and we are all affected, let's say today if am killed because of the conflict, from my side to my friends, my family, my loved ones, even those who hate me, they will miss me. ...let them know that you are someone in the family who stand for peace and when there is something like that, within this time, let's say there has been call for contributions for weapons, there has been contributions towards certain things but there are certain people that they cannot just go to them and tell them bring money. We all know good sons of the land who give contribution toward something but it's been used for different things so I think that the ties we have with people if we stand out, if they all stand for peace and preach in the society, I think things will get better. [Interview with Diaspora Student A, 2022]

Participants also said that they advocate for peace at home and urge their family to oppose the fighting. One of them stated:

With family ties, it lays the foundation for one to be able to reach out to others, so if I have a brother, a cousin, or uncles

or in-laws in that community, in any of the tribes, it makes it easy for me to get access to people to appeal to them not to engage themselves in the conflict. Again, I would want to reach out to them by way of supporting them with food or clothing... [Interview with Diaspora Student H, 2022]

This response shows that whenever fighting resumes, the factions involved usually force families to provide a fighter. As a result, some participants said that keeping a family member away from serving on the front lines in the conflict is one way they contribute to peacebuilding. A participant said that:

Like my side if you are going out for war, every family, you will need someone and it's compulsory. I think my side we had someone who will always go but it got to a time he got married and the mother left him alone. My direct sister also got married to him. I went and told my sister that we can't prevent him from going because... do you know what we do? When there is a fight in Bawku, they don't go to work so we have stopped going to work since they started because he is working in the court. So, what we did was that he has to travel and my sister said he won't agree and I told my sister that you are the wife so you can control him, let him travel. I think there was one time I went to the house and it was raining and he was supposed to go and lie at the war front... when he came, come and see the way he was shivering. I was looking at him and my tears were dropping; I felt for him. So in the evening I went home and the following day I told him that he has to travel and really, he left the town. Since he is not there they cannot force him to go for to the war. So, I think preventing some of your family members also helps. [Interview with Diaspora Student B, 2022]

It is clear from this response that, despite the fact that some individuals are not always inclined to fight in the chieftaincy struggle, their tribal group tend to force them to do so. Thus, one way diaspora students contribute to fostering peace in Bawku is by keeping family members from joining the fighting. Ionescu (2006) suggested that diaspora members can support domestic development initiatives by their personal dedication and goodwill. Asian Development Bank (2012) maintained that for peacebuilding to be successful, all parties involved must be committed. Overall, the findings demonstrate that Bawku diaspora students are making efforts to support efforts to promote peace in Bawku. This demonstrates that students from the diaspora are significant stakeholders with important potential roles in promoting peace in their home community. Bawku diaspora students are willing and able to assist with community peacebuilding initiatives. According to Shain and Barth (2003), a diaspora's capacity and willingness to affect events in their homeland are key to supporting peace efforts. Bawku diaspora students in the study understand that the Bawku conflict and the process of promoting peace have an impact on their needs, identities, and interests. In order to guarantee that more value is produced for everyone, Freeman et al. (2020) state that the stakeholder theory requires that the needs, interests, and concerns of all

parties who "have a stake" in the Bawku dispute be taken into consideration in the peacebuilding process. Hence, regardless of their influence or financial worth, Bawku diaspora students should be involved in planning for and managing to community peacebuilding initiatives.

#### C. Governance Gaps and Leadership Opportunities

The diaspora students' peacebuilding strategies reveal a critical governance gap: their efforts operate in parallel to, rather than in synergy with, formal peace mechanisms. For instance, while students refuse to fund weapons, traditional leaders and local governments lack protocols to hold violent actors accountable (Awedoba, 2009). Transformative leadership could institutionalize diaspora roles by:

- Establishing diaspora advisory councils under the Upper East Regional Peace Council;
- Training traditional leaders in collaborative governance to integrate diaspora advocacy (Tonah, 2005);
- Leveraging local government structures (e.g., Municipal Assemblies) to fund diaspora-led peace education (DFID, 2010).

### V. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Sustainable peace in Bawku requires governance reforms that recognize diaspora students as strategic stakeholders. Leadership at all levels—traditional, state, and civil society—must adopt inclusive policies to harness diaspora contributions while addressing structural inequities fueling the conflict. Diaspora social, human and local capital can be assets in building peace in Bawku. Legitimizing and ensuring value in the peacebuilding process in Bawku requires the involvement and participation of all stakeholders in the Bawku conflict.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Base on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:

- Integration in Peace and Security Governance: Formalize diaspora roles in Bawku's peace process through partnerships with the National Peace Council, local government and civil society organizations (CSOs).
- Leadership Capacity Building: CSOs are encouraged to train Bawku diaspora leaders, traditional leaders and municipal officials in collaborative governance models (Asian Development Bank, 2012) that promote peace.
- Resource Allocation: Government should channel part of the district assembly funds (e.g., DACF) to support diaspora-led peace education programs in Bawku.

### REFERENCES

[1]. Abdile, M. (2014). The Somali diaspora in conflict and peace-building: The peace initiative programme. In: Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P., *Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*, Zed Books Ltd.

[2]. Abutudu, M. & Emuedo, C. (2011). The diaspora and conflicts. In *ECOWAS and the Dynamics of Conflict and Peace-building*, pp. 115-130.

[3]. Adjei, J. K. (2019). A SPITCEROW analysis of the Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict in Bawku East Municipality of Ghana. *Issues in Conflict, Human Rights and Peace*, 1(1), 130-146.

[4]. Adjei, J. K. (2016). Tracking the peacebuilding approaches in the Bawku chieftaincy conflict: prospects and challenges. In Tonah, S. and Anamzoya, A. S. (eds.), *Managing chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts in Ghana*, Chapter 3, pp. 67-89. Woeli Publishing Services.

[5]. Adzahlie-Mensah, V. & Benson, G. H. (2018). The process model of conflict resolution. *International Journal of Community and Cooperative Studies*, 6(3), 1-15.

[6]. Alpaslan, C., Green, S. E. & Mitroff, I. I. (2009). Corporate governance in the context of crises: Towards a stakeholder theory of crisis management. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 17(1), 38-49.

[7]. Alhassan, E., Abdul-Karim, I. & Degraft-Arthur, D. (2017). Implications of the Bawku Chieftaincy conflict on basic education in the Bawku Traditional Area of the Upper East Region of Ghana. *UDS International Journal of Development [UDSIJD]*, 3(2), 60-69.

[8]. Asian Development Bank (2012). *A peacebuilding tool for a conflict sensitive approach to development: A pilot initiative in Nepal*. Asian Development Bank.

[9]. Awedoba, A. K. (2009). *An ethnographic study of Northern Ghanaian conflicts: Towards a sustainable peace*. Saharan Publishers.

[10]. Bakewell, O. (2009). *Which diaspora for whose development? Some critical questions about the role of African diaspora organizations as development actors*. DIIS Brief, Danish Institute for International Studies.

[11]. BBC News Pidgin (2019, January 25). *Yaa Naa Investiture: Meet King Abubakari Mahama II, di new Dagbon overlord for Ghana*. BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-46983917>

[12]. Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2011). Diasporas and conflict societies: conflict entrepreneurs, competing interests, or contributors to stability and development? *Conflict, Security and Development*, 11(2), 115-143.

[13]. Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2009). *Diasporas and conflict societies: conflict entrepreneurs, competing interests, or contributors to stability and development?* Paper presented at: Global Effects and Local Dynamics of Intrastate Conflicts International Workshop sponsored by The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations Hebrew University of Jerusalem and RSAND/GATI Research Group, The Center for Advanced Study of International Development, Michigan State University, Jerusalem, Israel, May 17-19, 2009.

- [14]. Bukari, K. N. (2013a). The peace process in the Bawku conflict in Ghana: Challenges and prospects. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 12(2),1-12.
- [15]. Bukari, K. N. (2013b). Exploring indigenous approaches to conflict resolution: The case of the Bawku Conflict in Ghana. *Journal of Sociological Research*, 4(2), 86-104.
- [16]. Bukari, K. N. & Guuroh, R. T. (2013). Civil society organizations (CSOs) and peacebuilding in the Bawku Traditional Area of Ghana: Failure or success? *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(6), 31-41.
- [17]. Chan, G. (2021). Stakeholder management strategies: The special case of Universities. *International Education Studies*, 14(7), 12-26.
- [18]. Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2000). *Greed and grievance in civil war*. Policy Research Working Paper No. 2355, The World Bank Development Research Group.
- [19]. Democratic Progress Institute (2014). *Makers or breakers of peace: The role of diasporas in conflict resolution*. Democratic Progress Institute.
- [20]. Department for International Development (2010). *Building peaceful states and societies*. A DFID Practice Paper. Crown.
- [21]. Féron, É. & Lefort, B. (2019). Diasporas and conflicts – understanding the nexus. *Diaspora Studies*, 12(1), 34-51.
- [22]. Feyissa, D. (2014). The 2007 Delegation of the Muslim Diaspora to Ethiopia. In Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P. (eds.), *Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*, Zed Books Ltd.
- [23]. Freeman, R. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. Pitman Publishing Inc.
- [24]. Freeman, sR. E., Harrison, J. S., Wicks, A. C., Parmar, B. L. & de Colle, S. (2010). *Stakeholder theory: The state of the art*. Cambridge University Press.
- [25]. Freeman, R. E., Phillips, R. & Sisodia, R. (2020). Tensions in stakeholder theory. *Business and Society*, 59(2), 213-231.
- [26]. Freitas, A. (2012). *Diaspora groups in peace processes: Lessons learned and potential for engagement by the EU*. Africa Briefing Report, European Union Institute for Security Studies.
- [27]. Fugu, M. (2021, November 25). *Curfew on Bawku Municipality over renewed chieftaincy disputes*. Graphic Online, <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/curfew-on-bawku-municipality-over-renewed-chieftaincy-disputes.html>
- [28]. GhanaWeb (2019, January 19). *Otumfuo congratulates newly installed Ya-Na*. <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Otumfuo-congratulates-newly-installed-Ya-Na-716552>
- [29]. GARDAWORLD (2021, November 25). *Ghana: Indefinite 16:00-06:00 curfew in place in Bawku, Upper East Region as of Nov. 25 due to insecurity*. GARDAWORLD, [garda.com](http://garda.com)
- [30]. Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2017). *Multi-stakeholder processes for conflict prevention and peacebuilding: A manual*. Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict.
- [31]. Harrison, J. S. & Bosse, D. A. (2013). How much is too much? The limits to the generous treatment of stakeholders. *Business Horizons*, 56(3), 313-322.
- [32]. Harrison, J. S., Freeman, R. E. & de Abreu, M. C. S. (2015). Stakeholder theory as an ethical approach to effective management: Applying the theory to multiple contexts. *Review of Business Management*, 17(55), 858-869.
- [33]. Hickman, L. & Akdere, M. (2017). *Stakeholder theory: Implications for total quality management in higher education*. 4th International Conference on Lean Six Sigma for Higher Education, May 25–26, 2017.
- [34]. Hinojosa-Ojeda, R. (2013). Transnational remittances and development in post-conflict societies: The case of El Salvador. In Rodima-Taylor, D. and Estey, N., (eds.), *Remittance flows to post-conflict states: Perspectives on human security and development*, A Pardee Center Task Force Report, pp. 95-115, Trustees of Boston University.
- [35]. Hoehne, M. V. & Ibrahim, M. H. (2014). Rebuilding Somaliland through economic and educational engagement. In Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P. (eds.), *Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*, Zed Books Ltd.
- [36]. Ionescu, D. (2006). *Engaging diasporas as development partners for home and destination countries: Implications for policymakers*. International Organization for Migration.
- [37]. Joy Online (2019, January 18). *Yo-Naa Abubakari Mahama is new Ya Naa-elect*. <https://www.myjoyonline.com/yo-naa-abubakari-mahama-is-new-ya-naa-elect/>
- [38]. Kendie, S. B., & Akudugu, M.A. (2010). *Application of game theory in the management of Qnatural resources conflicts: the case of the Bongo District*. A Paper prepared for the 2010 Harmattan School Series. University for Development Studies (UDS), Centre for Continuing Education and Interdisciplinary Research (CCEIR).
- [39]. Koser, K. (2007). African diasporas and post-conflict reconstruction: An Eritrean case study. In Smith, H. & Stares, P. (eds), *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [40]. Kwafo, E. N. Y. (2021, November 24). *Curfew imposed, wearing of smocks banned in Bawku over gun shots*. Modern Ghana, <https://www.modernghana.com/news/1121221/curfew-imposed-wearing-of-batakari-banned-in-bawku.html>



- [41]. Laakso, L., & Hautaniemi, P. (2014). *Diasporas, development and peacemaking in the horn of Africa*. Zed Books Ltd.
- [42]. Laakso, L. (2014). Diaspora and multi-level governance for peace. In Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P. (eds.), *Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*, Zed Books Ltd.
- [43]. Langrafe, T. F., Barakat, S. R., Stocker, F., & Boaventura, J. M. G. (2020). A stakeholder theory approach to creating value in higher education institutions. *The Boston Line*, 33(4), 297-313.
- [44]. Longi, F. Y. T. (2014). The Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict in Bawku: A legacy of the British colonial policy in Northern Ghana. *Ghana Studies*, 17, 157-176.
- [45]. Lund, C. (2003). 'Bawku is still volatile': ethno-political conflict and state recognition in Northern Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(4), 587-610.
- [46]. Mahama, E. S., & Longi, F. T. (2013). Conflicts in Northern Ghana: Search for solutions, stakeholders and way forward. *GJDS*, 10(1 & 2), 112-129.
- [47]. Mariani, F., Mercier, M., & Verdier, T. (2016). *Diasporas and conflict*. Discussion Paper No. 10274, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).
- [48]. Mariani, F., Mercier, M., & Verdier, T. (2018). Diasporas and conflict. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 18, 761-793.
- [49]. Mahama, I. (2003). *Ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana*. Cyber Systems.
- [50]. Ministry of the Interior, Ghana (2021, November 24). *Imposition of curfew on Bawku Municipality and its Environs*. Ministry of the Interior, Republic of Ghana.
- [51]. Mumuni, V. S. L. (2016). *Female livelihoods in conflict situations: Case from Bawku – Ghana*. Master's Thesis, The Arctic University of Norway.
- [52]. Nabar-Bhaduri, S. (2013). Migration, remittances, development and the civil conflict in Sri Lanka. In Rodima-Taylor, D. and Estey, N., (eds.), *Remittance flows to post-conflict States: Perspectives on human security and development*, A Pardee Center Task Force Report, pp. 59-70, Trustees of Boston University.
- [53]. Natali, D. (2007). Kurdish intervention in the Iraq war. In Smith, H. & Stares, P. (eds), *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [54]. Nasam, J. K. (2021). *Perceptions of the people of Dagbon about the mechanism(s) used in 'resolving' the Dagbon Chieftaincy conflict*. Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Education, Winneba.
- [55]. Nambe, M. Y. (2017). *Conflict and migration in Bawku*. MPhil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon.
- [56]. Nikoi, E. G. A., Arthur, I. K. & Nambe, M. Y. (2019). Examining the role of networks in conflict-induced migration in Bawku, *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 11(1), 72-86.
- [57]. Orjuela, C. (2006). *Distant warriors, distant peace workers? Multiple diaspora roles in Sri Lanka's violent conflict*. Paper presented to the Expert Forum on 'Capacity Building for Peace and Development: Roles of Diaspora, Toronto, Canada, 19-20 October, pp. 19-20.
- [58]. Ostergaard-Nielsen, E. (2006). *Diasporas and conflict resolution –part of the problem or part of the solution?* DIIS Brief, Danish Institute for International Studies.
- [59]. Pande, A. (2016). Role of diasporas in homeland conflicts, conflict resolution, and post-war reconstruction: the case of Tamil diaspora and Sri Lanka. *South Asian Diaspora*, 1-16. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19438192.2016.1236458>
- [60]. Pheiffer, C. F. (2013). The role of remittances in post-conflict reconstruction: The case of Liberia. In Rodima-Taylor, D., & Estey, N., (eds.), *Remittance flows to post-conflict States: Perspectives on human security and development*, A Pardee Center Task Force Report, pp. 71-88, Trustees of Boston University.
- [61]. Rodima-Taylor, D., Terry, D. F., & Harris, J. R. (2013). Post-conflict remittances and human security: Perspectives on peace-building, Institutions, and Development. In: Rodima-Taylor, D. and Estey, N., (eds.), *Remittance flows to post-conflict States: Perspectives on human security and development*, A Pardee Center Task Force Report, pp. 3-38, Trustees of Boston University.
- [62]. Rodima-Taylor, D. (2013). Mobile remittances: A Novel Tool for Post-Conflict Development? In: Rodima-Taylor, D., & Estey, N., (eds.), *Remittance flows to post-conflict States: Perspectives on human security and development*, A Pardee Center Task Force Report, pp. 89-94, Trustees of Boston University.
- [63]. Salifu, B. (2018). *Relative peace in a volatile Region: Assessing the infrastructures for maintaining peace in post-conflict Bawku-East Municipality*. SVF-3901 Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation, University of Tromsø.
- [64]. Shain, Y. & Barth, A. (2003). Diasporas and international relations theory. *International Organization*, 57(3), 449-479.
- [65]. Shain, Y. (2002). The role of diasporas in conflict perpetuation or resolution. *SAIS Review*, 22(2), 115-144.
- [66]. Sheffer, G. (2007). The Jewish diaspora and the Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In Smith, H., & Stares, P. (eds), *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [67]. Smith, H. & Stares, P. (2007 eds.). *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [68]. Smith H. (2007). Diasporas in International Conflict. In Smith, H., & Stares, P., (eds). *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.



- [69]. Skrbish, Z. (2007). The Mobilized Croatian Diaspora: Its role in homeland politics and war. In Smith, H., & Stares, P. (eds), *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [70]. Tas, L. (2017). The influence of diaspora politics on conflict and peace: Transnational activism of stateless Kurds. In Carment, D., & Sadjed, A. (eds.), *Diaspora as Cultures of Cooperation, Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship*, pp. 171-198.
- [71]. Tsikata, D. & Seini, W. (2004). *Identities, inequalities and conflicts in Ghana*. CRISE working paper. CRISE.
- [72]. Toivanen, M. & Baser, B. (2020). Diasporas' multiple roles in peace and conflict: A review of current debates. *Migration Letters*, 17(1), 47-57.
- [73]. Tonah, S. (2005). Chieftaincy succession disputes and the challenge to traditional authority in Mamprugu, Ghana. *Research Review*, 21(1), 45-57.
- [74]. Tölölyan, K. (2007). The Armenian Diaspora and the Karabagh Conflict since 1988. In Smith, H., & Stares, P. (eds). *Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers?* United Nations University Press.
- [75]. Yakubu, M. (2019, January 25). Dagbon: *Peace finally returns, New Yaa Naa installed after 17 years of Conflict*. Prime News Ghana, <https://www.primenewsghana.com/?view=article&id=26934:dagbon-peace-finally-returns-new-yaa-naa-installed-after-17-years-of-conflict&catid=2>
- [76]. Zewde, B., Yntiso, G. & Berhanu, K. (2014). The Ethiopian Diaspora and the Tigray Development Association. In Laakso, L., & Hautaniemi, P. (eds.), *Diasporas, development and peacemaking in the horn of Africa*, Zed Books Ltd.