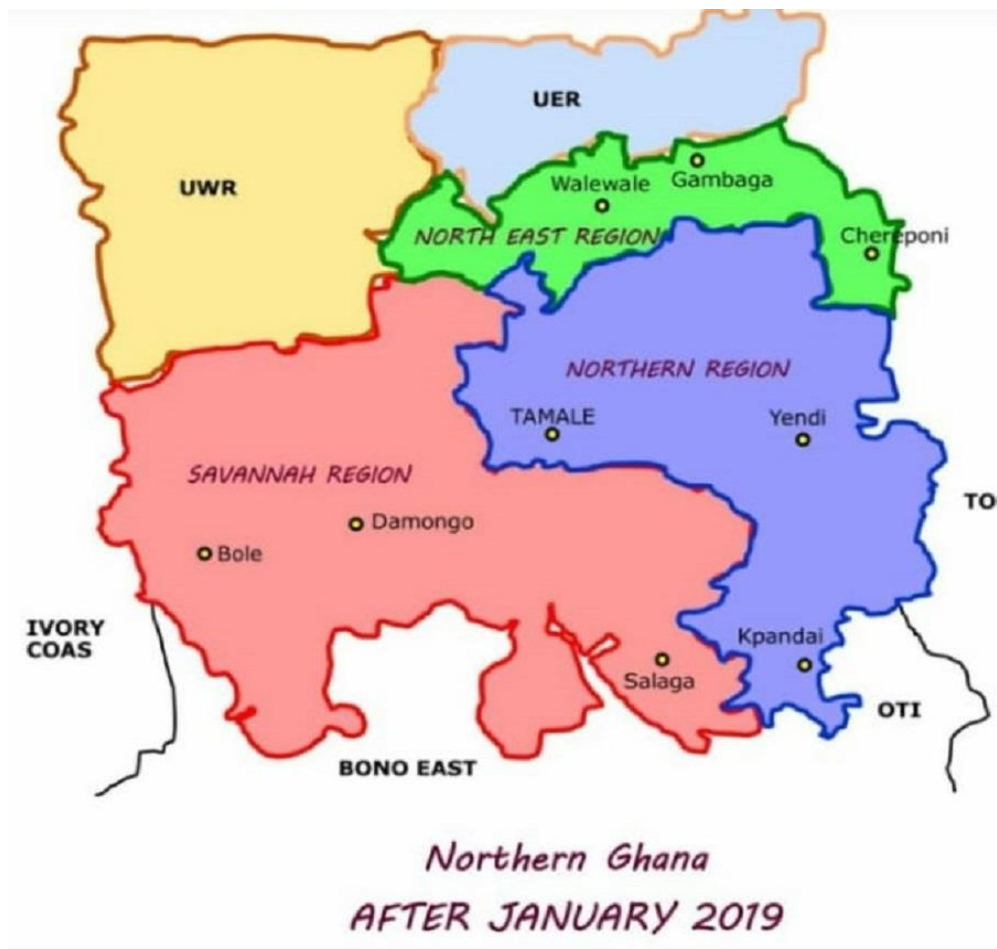


+

CONFLICT SECURITY AND STABILITY FUND NORTHERN GHANA PROJECT

ROADMAP FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN GHANA

Within the context of Sustainable Development Goal 16



APRIL 29, 2021



ACCRA

Contents

List of Acronyms.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Executive Summary.....	v
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Why we need a coordinated roadmap for peace and security for Northern Ghana.....	2
1.2 How was the roadmap developed?.....	2
2.0 The Context – where are we now? The state of peace and security in Northern Ghana.....	3
2.1 Demographics.....	3
2.3 Drivers of conflicts and risks of violent extremism in Northern Ghana.....	7
2.4 Existing mechanisms for peace and security response in Northern Ghana.....	13
2.5 Mapping of recent and on-going peace and security programmes.....	17
2.6 Gaps in sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana.....	19
2.7 Opportunities for sustainable peace and security in northern Ghana.....	20
3.0 Achieving sustained peace and security - Strategic Goal and Objectives.....	24
3.1 <i>Strategic Goal</i>	24
3.2 Strategic objectives.....	24
4.0 How do we want to get there?.....	24
5.0 The Roadmap Results and Stakeholders Roles.....	31
6.0 Stakeholders, partners and who does what?.....	36
7.0. Monitoring & Evaluation Framework.....	36
7.1. Monitoring strategies.....	36
7.2. Evaluation strategies.....	36
8.0 Coordination and Support Mechanisms.....	37
8.1 Secretariat.....	37
8.2 Steering Committee.....	37
8.3 Technical Support Group.....	37
9.0 Conclusion.....	37
Reference.....	38
Annexes.....	39

List of Acronyms

CECOTAPS	Centre for Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies
CSSF	Conflict, Security and Stability Fund
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DISEC	District Security Council
DPC	District Peace Council
DPs	Development Partners
ECOWAS	Economic Commission of West African States
EU	European Union
FCDO	Foreign Commonwealth Development Office
GIABA	Inter –Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GYF	Ghana Youth Federation
HoCs	House of Chiefs
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
MDAs	Ministries, Departments, Agencies
MLDRD	Ministry of Local Government, Decentralization and Rural Development
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal, District Assemblies
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
MPs	Members of Parliament
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NACSA	National Commission On Small Arms and Light Weapons
NDA	Northern Development Authority
NDF	Northern Development Forum
NEIP	National Entrepreneurship and Innovation Program
NIB	National Intelligence Bureau

NORPREVSEC	Preventing Electoral Violence and Providing Security to the Northern Border Regions of Ghana
NPC	National Peace Council
NYA	National Youth Authority
NYEP	National Youth Employment Programme
P/CVET	Prevention and Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism
RCC	Regional Coordinating Council
REGSEC	Regional Security Council
RPC	Regional Peace Council
SADA	Savannah Accelerated Development Authority
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SBCC	Social and Behavioural Change Communication
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

Acknowledgements

This Roadmap (4-5 years) is the product of the efforts of many organizations and individuals. Deep appreciation goes to the Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office of the United Kingdom for providing financial and technical support under the Conflict, Security and Stability Fund Northern Ghana (CSSFNG) project. Through this project, the expertise and time of various stakeholders in the peace and security landscape were galvanized to produce the roadmap for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana. Our profound gratitude goes to the Regional Ministers of Northern Ghana and the eminent chiefs who participated actively at the regional and national dialogues to discuss the content and structure of the roadmap. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Technical Support Group (TSG) headed by Charles Abugre who superintended over the preparation of the roadmap; the Programme Steering Group (PSG) made up of the immediate past CEO of the Northern Development Authority, Dr. Anamzoya S. Alhassan, the Chairman of the Northern Development Forum, Major Albert Don-Chebe (Rtd), and the Executive Secretary of the National Peace Council, Mr. George Amoh who provided the strategic guidance for the process.

Our profound gratitude also goes to the CSSFNG Project Manager, Mumin Mutaru, the Programmes Manager for STAR Ghana Foundation, Eunice Agbenyadzi and all the other staff who contributed to the successful completion of the roadmap. To the many technocrats from the RCCs, MMDAs, MDAs, the security and criminal justice apparatus and Regional Houses of Chiefs and community members who made their voices heard during the regional and national forums we are extremely grateful to you all.

Finally, we appreciate Dr. Chrysogonus Anab, of the Faculty of Sustainable Development Studies, University for Development Studies, who put all the bits and pieces put together into creating what we now present as a living comprehensive roadmap for sustaining the peace and security of Northern Ghana.

We look forward to your joined-up efforts in the implementation of the roadmap.

Amidu Ibrahim-Tanko
Executive Director
STAR Ghana Foundation
Accra, Ghana.

Executive Summary

The Roadmap for Sustainable Peace and Security in Northern Ghana is a coordinated approach to addressing the fragile peace in the northern regions of Ghana, with broader co-benefits for the entire country and the West African Sub-region. The drivers of conflicts in the northern regions of Ghana are varied. They include chieftaincy succession and land rights disputes, high levels of youth unemployment, identity stereotyping, limited trust in the criminal justice system, growing development inequalities and political polarisation. Additionally, violent extremism driven by various forms of radicalisms that are regularly unleashed in neighboring countries further create security vulnerabilities for the people living in Northern Ghana and the risk of spill-over into the rest of the country. These real or perceived instabilities harm development by discouraging long-term investments necessary to accelerate growth and development in the region.

These developments call for coordinated actions by state and non-state stakeholders in partnership. The benefits associated with such coordinated efforts crystalized in this roadmap are many. The Roadmap proposes strategies and mechanisms to reduce conflict, promote peaceful co-existence and tackle historical and other underlining factors that damage the peace once in a while in this part of Ghana. It provides a structured mechanism for mobilizing local action and community support for preventing the infiltration of the activities of violent extremist groups into Ghana through the borders to the north. It also proposes actions that can contribute to creating the needed positive image and narratives about northern Ghana that are conducive to attracting investments and for the productive exploitation of its vast discovered and yet to be discovered natural resources, agricultural and tourism potentials.

The motivation for crafting this roadmap is based on the many opportunities in existing legislations, peace and security structures and good will from the state, community members, NGOs and development partners to ensure that sustainable peace is consolidated in Northern Ghana. The roadmap which envisages a 5-year time frame, identifies five objectives and related strategies. The objectives are:

SO 1: To build a peaceful, vibrant and resilient economy in Northern Ghana;

SO 2: To strengthen the capacities of conflict prevention and peace-building structures in

- Northern Ghana;
- SO 3: To enhance mechanisms for conflict resolution and peace-building from the bottom-up in Northern Ghana;
- SO 4: To harness Northern Ghana's vibrant cultures for peace building and development;
- SO 5: To mobilize community support to prevent cross border crimes and countering violent extremism.

To achieve these objectives, the Roadmap maps out specific roles for key players and institutions including, Political Leaders, Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs), Regional Coordinating Councils (RCCs), the National Security Architecture, the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs), Development Partners (DPs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Private sector, Religious Bodies, Academic Institutions, Traditional Authorities and Community Members.

The roadmap emphasizes that the primary focus on peace-building efforts is local, therefore conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives and structure must ultimately enhance local responsiveness and capacity. In this regard, it proposes ways by which existing formal peace-building and security structures could work more flexibly and cooperatively.

It also recognizes that although many of the national peace-building structures have their roots in initiatives and experiences in Northern Ghana, the region lacks permanent and resilient formal institutions that can provide the necessary support for coordinated actions – research, training, mediation and dialogue. To this effect, the Roadmap proposes strategic partnership with the University of Development Studies to put in place a Peace-Building Institute somewhere in Northern to provide the necessary facilitative support to peace-building, including local-level initiatives.

1.0. Introduction

Ghana is a relatively stable democracy within the West African sub-region. The country has successfully conducted eight general elections with continuous efforts to deepen its human rights, rule of law and good governance credentials. Security structures are time-tested and pervade almost every corner of the country. Peace-building structures - formal and informal – have often sprang to action when needed. Therefore, with the exception of localized violence and threats of violence, Ghana is by and large peaceful and stable with secure borders. However, these gains cannot be taken for granted. The northern regions of Ghana have in particular been embroiled in a number of violent civil conflicts related to chieftaincy, land and natural resource rights and identity issues for decades. Poverty remains high in Northern Ghana compared to the rest of the country, with youth unemployment rates far higher and on the ascendency. The combined effects of a more youthful population than the national average, falling education performance compared to the national average and rapid urbanization, and a laggard economy is a tinder box waiting for a lightning rod. These structural factors are potent long-term drivers of insecurity and instability internally.

Added to the above concerns, is the estimations that there are about 8 million small arms and light weapons (SALW) in the hands of state and non-state actors in the West African sub-region and 2 million weapons in circulation in Ghana, with over half of those weapons being held illegally (GIABA, 2014). In fact, illicit trafficking in SALW is considered a lucrative business because of the high demand and the relative ease with which illicit weapons are brought into the region and moved across the ECOWAS Member States. Northern Ghana's porous borders and vast "emptiness" in some places create particular vulnerabilities for the circulation of illegal arms. This worrying situation is further exacerbated by the rising violent extremism and radicalization threats spreading from the neighboring countries bordering Northern Ghana. The drivers of violent extremism include a mix of ideological, political, moral, religious, and social narratives, based on a range of real or imagined grievances. The social, cultural, and economic and ecological conditions provide some favourable conditions that can be exploited. Young at-risk, women and men can easily be recruited via on-line and offline channels by radical groups like ISIS. The marketplace for extremism and violence is easily fuelled where precious minerals and other natural resources can be readily extracted

and exchanged for people and weapons. Northern Ghana is fast becoming the new frontier for mining, including precious minerals.

A contrasting characteristic, recognised by the Roadmap, is the wealth of knowledge and experience in hands-on peace building initiatives that reside in Northern Ghana. Peace activists have many successes to show cutting across a range of conflict drivers. The region is after all the birthplace of the National Peace Council and various Peace Centres. The Roadmap seeks to draw from and build on these experiences and skills.

1.1 Why we need a coordinated roadmap for peace and security for Northern Ghana

Internally, the northern regions of Ghana have suffered from a number of protracted chieftaincy succession, land and identity conflicts. These coupled with pre-colonial and post-colonial unbalanced development policies. Some protracted conflicts such as the Dagbon, the Bole, Bawku and the Bimbilla conflicts have been resolved or mitigated. Nevertheless, the peace and security situation remain fragile across the region. New conflict centres have emerged (Doba-Kandiga land and Bolgatanga chieftaincy) and those that are seemingly solved may be festering underneath. The underlying structural and historical drivers for many these conflicts remain to be addressed, and new drivers such as political intolerance, drugs-fueled misplaced masculinities of male youth, climate-related stresses and violent extremism across the borders lie in wait.

These threats need to be confronted proactively, not reactively, and requires among other things putting the right structures, mechanisms, and right ways of working in place to be effective. It involves putting capacities, dialogues and coordination mechanisms in place whilst ensuring that the underlying structural factors such as unequal development and high levels of youth unemployment and poverty are addressed at the level of national policy.

1.2 How was the roadmap developed?

An inclusive, consultative and coordinated approach was used in developing the roadmap. It started with reflections from seven eminent experts in peace and security constituted into a technical support group under the Conflict, Security and Stability Fund Northern Ghana

project. This group of technocrats developed a discussion paper on the drivers of conflicts in Northern Ghana and how to ameliorate them. The discussion paper was then validated by a cross section of stakeholders convened at three regional forums in Tamale, Wa and Bolgatanga. The participants at these forums included security officers, chiefs, queen mothers, NGO staff, women and youth group leaders, National and Regional Peace Council members, religious leaders, public servants, academics, and technocrats from MMDAs and RCCs.

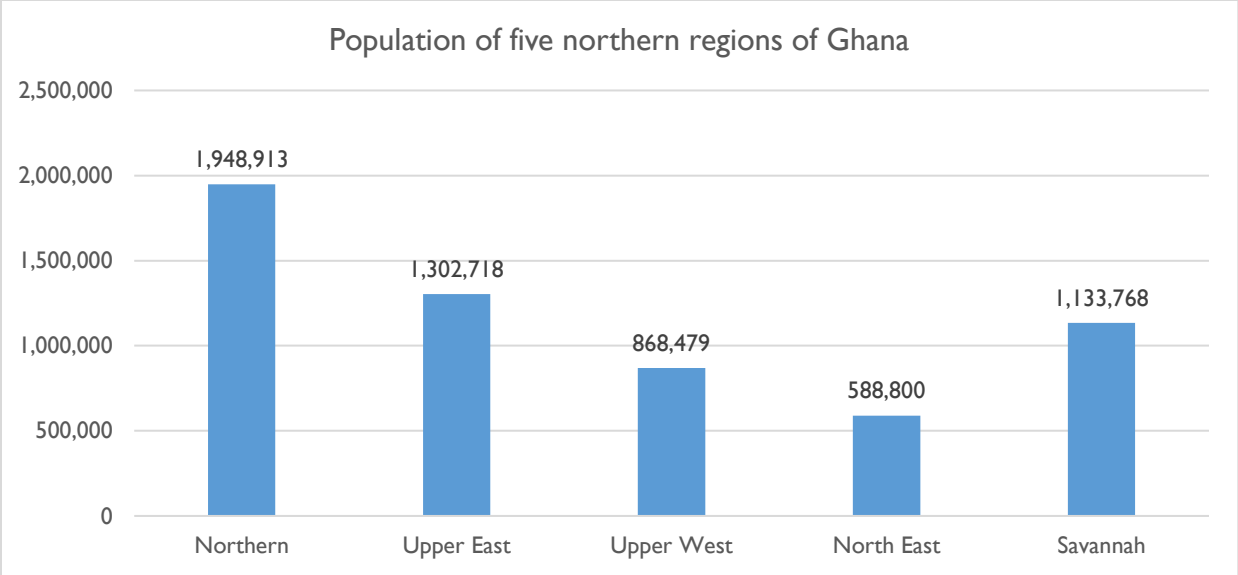
Following the regional consultations, a high level national forum was held in Accra where the findings were further validated before being synthesized into the roadmap. The national forum was attended by the leadership of the National Peace Council, three of the five Regional Ministers from Northern Ghana, traditional rulers, the Ag. High Commissioner for the Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office (FCDO) and other staff, peace and security specialists and researchers, national security operatives, and the media among others. These deliberations enriched the regional consultations and have been reflected in the roadmap.

2.0 The Context – where are we now? The state of peace and security in Northern Ghana.

2.1 Demographics

Northern Ghana is made up of five administrative regions namely, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Savannah and North East regions. Northern Ghana shares borders with Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east and Côte d'Ivoire to the west. Niger is also in touching distance to the Upper-East Region and Mali to the Upper-West region. They share cultures, heritage and ecology.

Northern Ghana if considered as part of the larger northern savannah, constitutes the larger half of Ghana (54%) occupying an expansive land area of 130,262 km². The existing population is estimated as 5.8 million which is 18.5% of the population of Ghana as shown in Figure 1.



Source: GSS,2020

Figure I. Population of regions in Northern Ghana

At a 2.8% annual growth rate, the population will exceed 10 million in 2040. More than 70% of the population is currently below 30 years. In 2040, this percentage is projected to be even bigger (80%) of the population, far younger than the national average. The urban population, currently below 45% will exceed 60% in 2040 (NDA, 2018). Tamale’s population currently estimated as less than 400,000 will exceed 1 million in 2040. In 2040, Northern Ghana will cease to be a dispersed largely rural population, although density will remain lower compared to Southern Ghana. Urbanisation will be driven significantly by inward migration, reversing the net loss of populations to the south.

2.2 Economic and Social Development.

Northern Ghana’s economy is predominantly agrarian (mainly rain fed family farms). Nearly 80% of the economy is agriculture with manufacturing and agro-processing together contributing less than 10%. The rest are services, most of it informal if not government services. Indeed, the economy is largely informal, which provides for about 70% of employment. This rudimentary economy explains why the economic indicators for Northern Ghana are dire.

Whereas Ghana is a Lower Middle-Income Country (LMIC) the estimated per capita income of people who live in Northern Ghana is a 3rd of the national average making the area a Low Income Developing Country (LDC) status (GSS, 2019). Productivity levels are lower, there is hardly any industry and less than 0.5% of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) goes there (UNDP,2018). Similarly, the Human Development Index for the northern Savannah is a fraction of the national average. These disparities are generational in nature driven by the wide gap in educational attainment and nutrition status between children residing in northern Ghana compared to their counterparts in the rest of the country.

These national development disparities have persisted for decades in spite of the savannah zone possessing the necessary ingredients for rapid development. Northern Ghana is advantageously positioned to be a growth centre. Although landlocked, it is a bridge to most of the ECOWAS market as well as to developed markets of southern Ghana. It is potentially the bread basket of Ghana. When fully developed can easily feed up to 50 million people and beyond, contribute significantly to substituting for the US\$2billion or so annual food imports, especially grains and pulses (rice, soy-bean, cowpea, groundnuts, sorghum, millet) as well as sugar and such value chain products as chicken, fish, meat (beef and mutton), and edible/essential oils (shea, groundnut, sesame, baobab) which are in high demand by cosmetics and pharmaceutical industries (USAID, 2014¹).

Northern Ghana is also a new frontier for mining and the potential extraction of hydrocarbons. Investment in the exploration for minerals and hydrocarbons has been limited. These limited exploration efforts have however, revealed significant deposits of an array of minerals including gold, iron ore, lime and clay in industrial quantities. Northern Ghana is also home to Ghana's largest potentially oil and gas rich sedimentary basin, the Voltaian Basin. Active exploration is currently taking place in the southern part of the basin. If commercially viable quantities are proven, the Voltaian Basin will be Ghana's first onshore production of oil and gas.

¹ Scoping report of potential growth poles for the implementation of projects under the 11th EDF

This will come with complex dynamics including the resettlement of community members, security concerns and potential human rights violations, potential loss of livelihoods associated with agriculture, competition with international oil companies for natural resources including water and environmental pollution. With a fragile economy, heavily dependent on small holder agriculture, the opportunity cost for Northern Ghana could be extremely high if measures are not taken to protect the rights and interests of communities and to ensure that local benefits from the extraction of oil and gas are equitably distributed.

Sharp development divides and dire economic conditions constitute critical drivers for violent and protracted conflicts and insecurities. It takes little to trigger them. It is not uncommon to see contestations over land, political and traditional leadership, and natural resources to degenerate into violent conflicts. Northern Ghana has witnessed some of the most protracted chieftaincy and land conflicts in Ghana, examples being the Dagbon, Bawku and Chereponi conflicts. Urbanisation and increasing land values are new triggers for contestation and the risk of violence. In recent times youth radicalization activities have been recorded often tied to the activities of political parties and their quest for power at all cost.

Rapid and transformational development of Northern Ghana is not only a national prerogative it is also an increasingly urgent one. It requires not piecemeal or accidental interventions but a deliberate approach to harness the many advantages in order to catalyse economic and social transformation. The roadmap for such a transformational approach has been developed in painstaking detail in the form of Development Masterplans (NDA, 2018). What is required to implement them is political will.

Economic transformation is not sufficient to end violent conflicts, but it is a necessary condition. Productive economies re-direct the energies of young people to positive endeavors and thereby reduce the opportunities to be recruited for violence or radicalism, including political violence. A developed Northern Ghana reverses the outward migration and increases cultural pluralism. Moreover, a developed Northern Ghana serves as a buffer against the infiltration of terrorism and violent extremism, especially as is currently driving from the neighbouring Sahel region. Growing Northern Ghana ensures that all of Ghana grows together.

This Roadmap recognises the centrality of human and economic development for containing both domestic and cross-border violent extremism on the one hand, and the other hand that there can be no development without peace and security.

2.3 Drivers of conflicts and risks of violent extremism in Northern Ghana

No two conflicts are exactly alike. They are often context specific. Whether conflicts over power or resources and become violent or not depends on the specific drivers, including the responses and the local/national and international contexts. Broadly, the following were identified as constituting significant risks of violent conflicts in Northern Ghana with the appropriate triggers.

2.3.1 Civil conflicts

The issue of land tenure governance - ownership, user rights, appropriation, benefit sharing and boundaries- has accounted for many conflicts and insecurity in Northern Ghana. History has bequeathed to many ethnic groups in Northern Ghana a land tenure system which borders on power dynamics with attendant use of exclusive identity and status as criteria for ownership and access to usage of land. Land ownership is arranged on the basis of native/settler, chiefly/non-chiefly tribes, minority/majority ethnic groups with attendant rights to. These historical constructs have created various dichotomies perpetuating exclusion, repression, threat, and grievance. “Chiefly tribes” are at once land-owning “superior” tribes, whereas non-chiefly or settler tribes are at once landless and having to pay allegiance to the “chiefly” tribes. Chieftdom and status thus become an instrument of power, identity and control of the most important resources – land and landed resources. These conflagrations of factors serve as drivers of conflict that can be ignited by any number of triggers including the sale of land and chieftaincy succession or the creation of some chieftdoms. Land and chieftaincy related conflicts have tended to be the most protracted and have been well documented. Even those that are seemingly resolved may be so only on the surface and peace tends to be fragile. Sustained peace requires deeper reforms, documentation, and inclusive governance at the local level, among others.

2.3.2 Youth Unemployment

We noted how youthful the Northern Ghanaian population is and will become. About 70% of those in some kind of work are in the informal sector, barely earning enough for upkeep let alone to meet the expectations of a modern youth. 37.5% of the youth in Northern Ghana are unemployed far higher than the national average, and 25% are underemployed (GSS, 2016). Existing youth employment programmes including National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP), the National Entrepreneurship Investment Programme (NEIP), Youth in Agriculture and the National Brigade Corp (NABCO) barely scratch the surface in addressing the youth unemployment question let alone do so sustainably. This speaks to the structural limitations of the economy to generate jobs. Decades of sustained growth has not succeeded in generating employment nation-wide let alone Northern Ghana. These conditions have made the youth candidates for easy mobilization to join political vigilante groups with the false hope of an upwards social mobility or mobilised at the forefront of land conflicts (e.g. land guards) or chieftaincy conflicts. The growing unemployment situation if not checked could result in the youth being radicalized and recruited into terrorists' groups. Northern Ghana is particularly vulnerable to violent extremism across the borders from the Sahel.

2.3.3 *The lack of inclusivity in national development*

Prominent and at the heart of conflicts in Northern Ghana is the lack of inclusion that is rooted in history of deliberate policies to under-develop the region. In the colonial and immediate post-colonial era, Northern Ghana's vast resources in the form of arable land, human and other natural resources were not and are still not harnessed to create a good life for the people. Pre-colonial extracted slaves mostly from the north marched through the forests to the coasts or through the Sahara to North Africa or the wars for Europe. Colonial policy deliberately stifled the local economy to extract the strongest labour to the mines or on cocoa farms and as cheap menial labour in the urban centres of the South. Just as local markets were crushed at the time, private investment in current times has been stifled by a combination of factors including physical isolation, poor infrastructure and negative narratives that accentuate, even exaggerate the degree of insecurity in northern Ghana.

Although the framers of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana had a vision of a fair society this is yet to be deliberately realised. Article 36, Clause 2, Section (d) of the Directive Principles of State Policy which specifies that the State shall as a matter of principle undertake "even and

balanced development of all regions and every part of each region of Ghana, and, in particular, improving the conditions of life in the rural areas, and generally, redressing any imbalance in development between the rural and urban areas” (P.37).

This notwithstanding, Ghana’s vertical and spatial inequalities have deepened over time. Income inequalities in Ghana are among the worst in the West African sub-region and getting even worse. North-South inequalities have also deepened with inequalities in health and education threatening a generational gap. The potential of spatial inequalities assuming ethnic and religious dimensions can provide the needed fodder for radicalization if not reversed. Inclusive development that is employment creating goes a long way in preventing violence and extremism.

2.3.4 *Weak social and state institutions*

Functioning, accountable, and efficient institutions underpin stable societies. They transmit norms of civil society and create the environment for competitive markets and give expression to democratic rule. When institutions fail or perform poorly, whether they are in the public, private or traditional sectors, the rule of law falters and public trust is diminished. Perception of public and private sector corruption has been worsening over time (TI, 2019). Public confidence in the criminal justice system including national security, the judiciary and police is low with these institutions perceived to be indifferent, biased, or inefficient. This has resulted in people taking the law into their own hands to administer instant justice and to gain economic and political advantage. Youth structures such as the National Youth Authority which should be a rallying point for youth entrepreneurship and innovation in the regions and districts tend to be politicised and ill-resourced to address the needs of the youth. The ineffectiveness of these legally mandated institutions to regulate and enforce laws has created a state of insecurity including the rising armed robbery, abuse of the rights of women and children and break down in discipline in schools, among others. These fractures lay the foundation for civil strife and lawlessness if not addressed.

2.3.5 *Party Political Violence*

The practice of the “Winner Takes It All” in Ghana has raised the stakes in Ghana’s elections. Political party contestations are viewed as “we” against “them”. Ghana’s risk assessment indicates that there is high level of mistrust among political parties and in the electoral process. In spite of

the passage of the Vigilantism and Related Offences, 2019, Act 999 some political party actors still rely on the youth to foment electoral violence in the interest of their political parties. Some youth from Northern Ghana have been recruited or engaged by politicians as election “entrepreneurs” to foment violence on political rivals including in the South. This has become a ritual before, during and after elections. Traditional leaders (Chiefs and Queen Mothers) expected to foster safety and stability are also perceived to have taken sides with one or other of the duopoly – the NDC and the NPP - that have dominated Ghana’s elections in recent times and largely failed to be the voice of reason. Political party elections periods are often heightened with tensions, sporadic violence, and fears of widespread violence. These periods often exploit and exacerbate existing conflict situations and, in some cases, threaten to tip them over. But there are voices of reason in Northern Ghana who can be mobilized, including youth groups, to be agents of peace and promote non-violence.

2.3.6 *Cross border threats and risks of violent extremism and terrorism*

The geography of Northern Ghana makes it prone to cross border crimes and threats of terrorism from the Sahel region in particular. Ghana’s borders are generally porous with several unapproved crossing points along the boundaries with our neighbouring countries. Cases of cross border crimes have been recorded in Northern Ghana at places including Bole, Kalba, Paga, Hamile and Tatale, Yelwongo and Bawku. Local populations are inter-related across borders (economic and social relations) and this informs most of the unofficial cross-border movements which could be misused for extremists’ agenda. The porous borders pose a growing insecurity concern to residents in the northern regions of Ghana but also to the country at large. The perception of Northern Ghana as ‘Islamic’ may serve as an attraction to Islamic fundamentalists operating across the borders. Large sways of uncultivated and empty lands in the parts of Northern Ghana may well serve as attraction for violent extremists’ operatives from infiltrating into Northern Ghana is not checked.

The gradual spread of terrorist activities from the Sahel region and Burkina Faso is an indication of the ability of terrorist groups to penetrate further towards the coastal countries of West Africa- the Littorals. The upsurge in terrorist attacks particularly in locations in Burkina Faso, which are close to the border with Ghana exposes the vulnerability of northern Ghana both to

potential attacks and to being rendered a source of recruitment of extremist groups and terrorist fighters. Recent research and intelligence reports suggest that these terrorist groups and their affiliates have an ultimate intent to expand their geographical areas of operation further south into the Littorals West Africa. Thus, expanding their territory to cover the whole of the sub-region. This should be of concern to Ghana as a country whose Northern sector has adjoining districts to Burkina Faso and Togo and could be targeted of attacks.

2.3.7 Natural disasters and climate change induced vulnerabilities and insecurities

The yearly rituals of the interchange between floods and drought have created food insecurity in Northern Ghana and triggered decades of migration out of the region undermining labour availability for production and reinforcing food and livelihood insecurities. The annual spillage of the Bagre dam from the neighbouring Burkina Faso in addition to the flood waters of the flat-lying White Volta Basin create periodic humanitarian disasters in affected communities in Northern Ghana with limited or no local humanitarian response capacity. These are issues that create human insecurity in Northern Ghana in addition to the existing physical insecurities.

2.3.8 Identity and perceptions-based conflicts

Some of the conflicts in Northern Ghana can be explained from the position of negative masculinities and inter and intra ethnic stereotypes about people and their ethnicities. These factors include:

2.3.8.1 Masculinities, Youth and Violence:

Male (particularly youth) can deploy their masculinities positively or negatively. In times of instability and insecurity, positive youth masculinities can be deployed to promote healthy behaviours in communities including the protection of children, women and the aged. Negative masculinities can also be employed aggressively to dominate through violence including gender-based violence. Youth have also been on the receiving side of negative masculinities when security agencies harass them as a group on the presumption that being in a group makes all them subject to criminal behaviour. This has tended to happen with youth gangs in urban areas. Excluded, marginalised, and disenfranchised, young people may use violent and threatening behaviour to be recognised in a bid to e-engage with society or to be heard. The marginalisation and

disillusionment of young people make them vulnerable as both victims and perpetrators of violence. Added to this volatile mix, the increasing misuse of recreational drugs including Tramadol, Marijuana, Cough Mixtures with Codeine labelled as “Energy drinks” has also become a masculinity trait. These driving factors that increase the risk of youth being mobilised or involved in or falling victim to violence need to be better understood and addressed, through for example transformation and leadership programmes as well as socio-economic initiatives that enable the youth regain their dignity and self-worth.

2.3.8.2. *Dismantling the Negative Perceptions of Northern Ghana and Being a Northerner.*

For many young people from the Northern part of Ghana, years of socialization encompassing images, historical and media narratives, and experiences have ascribed negativity, inferiority, and relative powerlessness to their identities. This can have far-reaching effect on the psychic, on self-worth and the ability to innovate and lead. Negative stereotypes and socio-political constructs around northerners being only good for menial jobs and of violent character can be self-fulfilling or at worst a means of control. The perception of northern Ghana by other Ghanaians with little knowledge as being hot, dry, inhospitable, violent, and semi-primitive discourage tourism, migration to the north and political interest in the development of the north. These negative narratives undermine investment and development interventions, making the area merely good for aid. These negative stereotypes are not only national in nature, but they also apply to how tribes see others within northern Ghana. It is important that these negative narratives be confronted to create the conditions for co-existence and equitable development. Public education and cultural events can contribute significantly to the solution.

2.3.10. *Natural disasters and climate change induced vulnerabilities and insecurities*

The yearly rituals of the interchange between floods and drought contribute food insecurity and livelihoods vulnerabilities in Northern Ghana and has triggered decades of migration out of the region. This one-direction migration has for decades transferred labour from north to south, undermining production and reinforcing food and livelihood insecurities. The annual spillage of the Bagre dam from the neighbouring Burkina Faso in addition to the flood waters of the flat-lying White Volta Basin create periodic humanitarian disasters in affected communities in

Northern Ghana with limited or no local humanitarian response capacity. These are issues that create human insecurity in Northern Ghana in addition to the existing physical insecurities.

2.3.10. *Farmers-Herders clashes and growing Fula-phobia*

The Fula are one of the largest ethnic groups in West Africa. Due to their pastoral and nomadic lifestyle, and mostly driven by harsh Sahelian climatic conditions with attendant economic hardships in their countries of origin, many of them have found themselves and fleets of livestock in Northern Ghana and further to southern parts of Ghana. These trans-border herders often do not adhere to local norms and rules governing grazing rights and are accused of being quick to wage “war” with local people. The competition with indigenous people (mostly crop farmers) over grazing land and water resources for their cattle have resulted in many farmers-herders conflicts in Ghana. Over the years some of the Fula pastoralists have become sedentary and loosely integrated into their communities in Northern Ghana. The conflicts are particularly intense in areas where the Fulani pastoralists are hired to take care of cattle belonging to “powerful” local people. These contracted cattle herders tend to act with impunity, giving a bad name to all Fula pastoralists. This has resulted in stereotyping, prejudice, denigration, isolation and stigma against the Fulani pastoralists and their families.

The growing Fula-phobia has resulted in many of them being lynched or murdered for alleged crimes including rape, armed robbery, and cattle rattling. However, many of them over the years sensing the growing insecurity against their population have piled up arms presumably to protect themselves but could be used for unwanted acts. The point to highlight is that the traditional fire-fighting techniques including operations “Cow Leg” in 1988 and “Operation Cow Leg II” in 1999 have not dealt adequately with the Fulani pastoralists question. How can this growing insecurity situation be addressed?

2.4 Existing mechanisms for peace and security response in Northern Ghana

The peace and security efforts in Northern Ghana have been championed by a number of existing institutions. These include:

2.4.1 National Security System

The National Security Architecture of Ghana seeks to promote a secure, peaceful and investor friendly nation. It comprises of all the security agencies such as the Ghana Armed Forces (comprising of the army, navy and air force); Ghana Police Service (GPS); Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and Customs, Excise & Preventive Service (CEPS); and the intelligence organisations such as the National Intelligence Bureau. The Security and Intelligence Agencies Act, 2020, Act 1030 is a framework that regulates the National Security Council, Regional (REGSEC) and District Security Councils (DISEC). All the key security agencies are represented on these councils. The REGSECs and DISECs give early warning on conflicts and are expected to collaborate with various peace councils to preserve peace.

However, there are concerns about the representation of women and resource allocation to these important national security structures. In the context of Northern Ghana, a number of militarized operations have been undertaken to keep the peace in some of the chieftaincy and land disputes. These operations have been found to be a drain on the meagre resources of the MMDAs and costly to the people. These fire-fighting approaches, though necessary for keeping the peace are insufficient to result in sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana.

2.4.2 The National Peace Council

The National Peace Council Act, 2011, (ACT 818) provides a national framework for conflict prevention and resolution in Ghana. The object of the NPC is to facilitate and develop mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution and to build sustainable peace in the country. The Council is required to have structures at the national, regional and district levels. The NPC and regional councils in Northern Ghana have supported some peace initiatives including mediating in many chieftaincy conflicts and sensitizing the youth to eschew acts of vandalism and vigilantism. The Council collaborates with other state and non-state actors to promote peace and development. Key initiatives carried out include mediating in conflicts in Yendi, Bawku, Bimbilla, Bole, Doba-Kandiga, Wa, Nandom, Nakpanduri to mention but a few.

The NPC is an important but top-down architecture for conflict resolution. It is poorly resourced especially the structures at the Regional and the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies levels. The composition and ways of working could be more flexible, more responsive and more capacitating to local level peace initiatives.

2.4.3 House of Chiefs

The Chieftaincy Act, 2008, Act 759 provides structures for safeguarding the sanctity of the chieftaincy institution and resolution of chieftaincy disputes. The structures outlined in the Chieftaincy Act include the National House of Chiefs, Regional Houses of Chiefs, Traditional and Divisional Councils. The Chieftaincy Act also makes provision for judicial committees at the national and regional levels for the adjudication of chieftaincy disputes. The chieftaincy structures have paid their dividends by resolving some chieftaincy and land boundary conflicts in Northern Ghana. The chiefs and queen mothers remain the custodians of the traditions, beliefs and practices of the people and are a very important institution for sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana.

However, varying knowledge of the role of chiefs in development; the lack of documentation to facilitate smooth succession and the growing appetite for the disposal of land for personal gain or with transparent accountability are themselves sources of conflict for which the chiefs are unable to address unaided.

2.3.4 National Commission for Civil Education

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has a mandate to educate citizens of Ghana to adhere to human rights, governance, and democratic principles. Its functions revolve around the education, sensitization, and the creation of spaces for the participation of citizens in the political, economic and social life of the people. Dating back to 1993, the NCCE has been instrumental in strengthening and deepening democracy in Ghana. The Commission continues to play key roles in social and political developments by providing the requisite awareness and sensitization, including on prevention of electoral, chieftaincy and land disputes. Over the years, NCCE has encouraged many citizens to exercise their civic rights and to engage in productive activities. These areas include citizens' participation in the electoral process, community and local development, environmental governance, women's empowerment to participate in political and governance processes and the promotion and protection of the rights of marginalized and excluded groups, including children, women, and persons with disability. Given their nationwide coverage the NCCE remains an appropriate state vehicle for promoting community awareness on the need for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana.

However, the NCCE is poorly resourced especially at the district level where their intervention matters most, and they occasionally get caught in accusations of partisan manipulation. They could be enabled to work more flexibly and collaboratively with both state and non-state actors for peace-building and anti-violence education, among others.

2.3.5 The National Youth Authority

The National Youth Authority (NYA) is a public institution charged with the mandate of mobilizing the energies and creativities of the youth for national development. The National Youth Authority Act, 2016 (Act 939) outlines the objectives of the Authority as follows:

- a. develop the creative potential of the youth;
- b. develop a dynamic and disciplined youth imbued with a spirit of nationalism, patriotism and a sense of propriety and civic responsibility; and
- c. ensure the effective participation of the youth in the development of the country.

The NYA has currently facilitated the development of a new Policy to replace the ten (10) old youth policy. This has been accompanied with an implementation plan to ensure the full realization of the new policy. The NYA has also facilitated the formation of the Ghana Youth Federation (GYF) which is an umbrella body for all registered organisations in Ghana. The NYA and GYF remain channels for reaching out to the youth with skills training and anti-radicalization messaging. But these channels are only as effectively used as the capacity and perceived neutrality of the Authority enables.

2.3.6 The National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons

The National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons is an agency established by an Act of Parliament; Act 736 of 2007. The Commission exists among other things, to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons; educate and sensitize the public and provide information on the dangers of small arms and light weapons in order to discourage their production. Given the rising incidences of gun violence including armed robbery in the north as well as the threats of violent extremism and terrorism in the Sahel region, the activities of the commission need to be stepped up in Northern Ghana.

2.3.7 The West Africa Network for Peace (WANEP)

WANEP is a key stakeholder in the peace architecture and a reputable membership Civil Society Organization (CSO) in Ghana. Under the leadership of its professional Board and National Secretariat headed by the National Network Coordinator, WANEP-Ghana, works to promote sustainable peace in communities. It does this by monitoring and analyzing conflicts in Ghana and empowering communities and institutions to prevent, manage, mitigate, and transform conflicts. WANEP has early warning mechanisms for prevention of conflicts and builds capacity of peace actors in mediation and conflict resolution skills. The institution has contributed immensely to securing peace in Northern Ghana.

2.3.1 The Catholic Church

The Catholic Church in Northern Ghana has pioneered the establishment of two peace centers in Damongo and Yendi. The Center for Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies (CECOTAPS) was set up to respond in a very systematic way to the recurrent conflicts in the Province through training, mediation, research, and documentation. CECOTAPS has intervened in every single major chieftaincy conflict in Northern Ghana and has a very good Peace Resource Center. The Peace Center in Yendi has contributed enormously to the Dagbon peace process. These institutions have trained a cadre of peace activists and mediated in some chieftaincy conflicts including the Yendi, Bawku and Bole conflicts. The capacity of these institutions to take on board other aspects of peace and security work is enormous, but they are constrained financially on their ability to retain qualified peacebuilding program staff.

2.5 Mapping of recent and on-going peace and security programmes.

Some of the recent and on-going peace and security programmes of interest to Northern Ghana are presented below.

2.4.1 *FCDO CVE support to National Security Agencies*

FCDO has supported and continue to support the training and simulation activities of the national security agencies in Ghana. These include the training of the Ghana Armed Forces (comprising of the army, navy, and air force); Ghana Police Service (GPS); Ghana Immigration Service (GIS)

and Customs, Excise & Preventive Service (CEPS); and the National Intelligence Bureau in P/CVET.

2.4.2 *EU NORPREVSEC Programme*

Preventing Electoral Violence and Providing Security to the Northern Border Regions of Ghana (NORPREVSEC Programme) is an EU programme which commenced in 2020. The programme seeks to strengthen partnerships in areas of intelligence gathering and analysis, supporting the whole of the criminal justice chain specific to counterterrorism (CT) and transnational organised crime (TOC) offences, supporting local peaceful initiatives, as well as preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) and radicalisation. The overall objective of NORPREVSEC is to promote good and inclusive governance by contributing directly to resilience and security in Ghana.

2.4.3 *IOM Border Communities project*

In response to cross border crimes and violent extremism threats, IOM, in consultation with national and regional stakeholders, has proposed a five-pronged strategy, including reinforcing the equipment and infrastructure of the existing network of border posts; supporting the digitization of information management at the land borders through the installation of border management information systems; engaging border communities and other stakeholders in developing and executing border management plans; strengthening the capacity of border posts and border communities to respond to emergencies; and supporting the capacity building of border management stakeholders to respond to emerging challenges. Given the location of Northern Ghana this is an important project that could contribute to sustainable peace and security in this part of the country.

2.4.4 *USAID Partnerships for Peace project*

Partnerships for Peace (P4P) is a five-year (August 30, 2016 – August 29, 2021) program funded by USAID. P4P is a capacity-building and networking effort that supports West African regional institutions, national governments, and civil society organizations (CSOs) to more effectively counter violent extremism in the Sahel region. The project approach is rooted in empowering West African institutions and organizations to lead sustainable, long-term peacebuilding efforts. The project currently works in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mauritania, and Niger, with a main field office in Accra, Ghana.

2.4.5 STAR Ghana Foundation's Peace and Inclusive development Initiatives

STAR Ghana Foundation continues to contribute to the peace and security of Ghana. In the just ended 2020 general elections, the organisation supported CSOs to collaborate with the various election management bodies to prevent electoral violence in identified hotspots in Ghana. STAR Ghana Foundation with the support of FCDO through the Conflict Security and Stability Fund Northern Ghana project has led the consultations for the development of this long-term roadmap for sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana.

2.6 Gaps in sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana

In spite of the strives made in resolving some of the protracted chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana, there are still concerns about the resilience, inclusivity and capacity of the existing peace architecture. A major challenge revolves around sustaining peace processes in Northern Ghana to consolidate peace and enhance reconciliation in communities where loss of lives and destruction of property do not provide closure and healing.

First, the NPC Act 2011, Act 818 has a decentralized structure for conflict prevention, management, and resolution from the national, regional and district levels. However, the District Peace Councils are still not in place in the MMDAs in Northern Ghana. Yet this is the structure closest to most conflicts and with the capacity to use local knowledge and resources to resolve the existing and emerging conflicts. The absence of these structures has resulted in the escalation of many conflicts. Second, the role of women and the youth in conflict prevention and resolution cannot be overemphasized. The current institutional representation of the NPC at the national, regional and district levels has excluded women and the youth. For instance, the NPC with a board of thirteen members has only two women and no young person, that is a person between the age bracket of 35 years and below. Third, the NPC makes provision for a "Peace Fund" as a mechanism for mobilizing financial resources for conflict prevention and mediation. This fund is hardly adequate for the peacebuilding and the conflict prevention activities of the NPC. Fourth, the required conflict mediation skills and financial resources at the MMDAs are inadequate. Their ability to skillfully engage with protagonists and undertake peacebuilding interventions are very weak.

Similarly, the Chieftaincy Act, 2008, Act 759 includes judicial committees at the national and regional levels responsible for the adjudication of chieftaincy disputes. However, these committees are constrained financially and technically. The functions of these judiciary committees require the expertise of lawyers who are not readily available due to the inability of the Houses of Chiefs to recruit or pay for their services.

Another existing gap in the peace and security framework in Ghana is weak inter-agency cooperation. Securing sustainable peace and security is the business of multiple state and non-state actors. These actors hardly coordinate their resources resulting in the escalation and recurrence of conflicts. The nexus between the REGSEC, DISEC and CSOs in peacebuilding is wide and deep. This gap needs to be closed to ensure coordinated action and the judicious use of resources in preventing and resolving conflicts.

The youth bulge in Northern Ghana equally requires elaborate programmes to create income and decent jobs for them. The existing NYEA programmes are short-term and do not address the entrepreneurial and employable skills needs of the youth. The absence of targeted youth interventions aimed at creating jobs for them continues to be a driver of vigilantism and violent extremism in Northern Ghana and other parts of the country. In the absence of skills training programmes and decent jobs, the youth in Northern Ghana have erected “pavilions” where they sit and use as rallying points for easy mobilization for political party vigilantism actions and guarding of disputed lands.

Last but not the least, the porous nature of Ghana’s borders also makes the northern regions vulnerable to the movement of SALW in and out of the area in spite of the activities championed by the National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons in Ghana.

2.7 Opportunities for sustainable peace and security in northern Ghana

The development of the roadmap for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana is motivated by the modest gains made in resolving some of the protracted conflicts in the region and the heightened interest of state and non-state agencies in Ghana as well as development

partners including the FCDO, USAID, EU, Australian High Commission among others to sustain the peace. These are elaborated on below.

2.6.1 *Resolution of some major conflicts in Northern Ghana*

There is a breeder of peace and security in Northern Ghana currently as a result of the resolution of some of the devastating chieftaincy and ethnic groups in the area. These include the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict in 2019, through the instrumentality of the Dagbon king makers and the Committee of Eminent Chiefs made up of the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II; Yagbonwura, Tuntumba Boresa Sulemana Jakpa I and Nayiri, Naa Bohogu Abdulai Mahami Sheriga; the resolution of the three-decade long Konkomba and Bimoba conflict in 2014, and the Kusasis and Mamprusis conflicts. However, some of these conflicts may be calm only on the surface as fundamental drivers such as succession and identity issues remain to be properly addressed.

2.6.2 *Revival of the Mole series, Renamed, the Northern Ghana Development Summit*

In 2001 the Mole Series was launched by regional economic planning officers across the northern regions of Ghana. The import of the forum was to promote a Northern Ghana-wide-approach rather than separate regions planning approaches to promoting development in Northern Ghana. This development forum was re-launched in 2019 and christened the Northern Ghana Development Summit. NGDS provides a platform for a non-partisan, development focused and high level discourse on peace and development in Northern Ghana. The forum championed by the Northern Development Authority, Northern Development Forum and CSOs provides channels for development partners, traditional authorities, youth groups, women groups, religious groups, technocrats, Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, Ministries, Departments and Agencies, private sector, members of parliament and a cross section of other identifiable stakeholders to proffer solutions to the developmental problems of Northern Ghana. It provides a fertile platform for holding duty bearers accountable and a channel for building consensus on high level strategic initiatives required to transform Northern Ghana. This forum provides an opportunity for building consensus sustaining on the nexus of peace, security and development Ghana and for building cross-party consensus on what needs to be done and by who.

2.6.3 *Creation of two new northern regions*

In 2019, the Savannah and North East regions were carved out from the northern region in order to deepen governance and accelerate development. The vastness of the northern region hitherto affected the response of NR-REGSEC to conflict situations. With the creation of these two new regions with accompanying peace structures such as REGSEC, Houses of Chiefs and Regional Peace Councils, conflict can now be dealt with expeditiously. This development provides a great opportunity for peace, security, and development of Northern Ghana by further decentralizing government, if the new regions are properly resourced.

2.6.4 *Existence of well-researched development plans for Northern Ghana*

There are three comprehensive development plans in the ready: A Master Plan for the Development of Agriculture and Agribusiness; a Long-term Plan for the Economic Transformation of Northern Ghana focusing on infrastructure and game-changing projects and Urban Masterplans for Tamale and Buipe. These were initiated by SADA and completed in the era of the Northern Development Authority (NDA). Put together these plans provide a comprehensive and forward looking transformative agenda for the development of Northern Ghana. They identify catalytic infrastructure projects; policy priorities and a mobilization agenda among others. These development plans remain the only well-researched, spatially organized attempts at transforming the economy of Northern Ghana. Developed under the erstwhile Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA), these plans highlight the physical – land, water, minerals, grasses and woodland - and human resources and other comparative advantages that can be harnessed for prosperity and job creation. The regional long-term plan prioritizes twelve game changing projects and programmes for transforming the northern economy into a middle-income one. The implementation of this development framework therefore presents an opportunity for tackling the youth unemployment problems and a vibrant economy over all that are crucial preconditions for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana.

2.6.5 *Existing favourable legal and policy environment for conflict prevention*

In order to outlaw the activities of vigilante groups in Ghana, the Vigilantism and Related Offences Act 2019, Act 999 was enacted. This Act criminalizes all forms of vigilantism activities. This is a powerful vehicle for addressing youth vigilantism activities and sustaining the peace and security

in Northern Ghana. Ghana also has a National Framework for the Prevention and Countering of Violent Extremism and Terrorism. The framework provides guidelines for an inclusive (whole-of-society) approach for preventing and countering terrorism. The Northern Ghana axis from Burkina Faso is quiet worrying and there will be the need to understand and apply the framework to prevent potential extremists and terrorists' groups from using Northern Ghana as rallying point to launch terrorism in Ghana. The framework further provides an opportunity for all security actors to collaborate with traditional leaders, opinion leaders, CSOs, religious groups, youth groups and women groups to sensitize the population and to ensure that terrorism is prevented or countered in Northern Ghana.

2.6.6 *Expansion of public universities in Northern Ghana*

The University for Development Studies (UDS) for many years remained the only premier public university in Northern Ghana. This picture has since changed with the establishment of the SD Dombo University of Business and Integrated Development Studies in Wa and the CK Tadam University of Technology and Applied Sciences in Navrongo. These developments have created an opportunity for many young persons to earn higher education. The University for Development Studies, in Tamale has also created a Faculty for Sustainable Development Studies and a Centre for Peace Studies to be located at Yendi. This presents a unique opportunity for building the capacity of conflict prevention and resolution actors through short certificate courses as well as higher degrees and for deepening peace and conflict research generally. This Centre could be developed to address peace and conflict research across the Sahel and a facility for peace negotiations.

2.6.7 *Development Partners interested in sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana*

Some of the major development partners in Ghana including FCDO, USAID, the EU, UNDP, OIM, and the Australian High Commission have shown interest in promoting inclusive development and preventing and countering violent extremism in Ghana. They have demonstrated this by supporting economic growth programmes, supporting peaceful elections and training national security agencies in P/CVET. Given the increasing poverty in Northern Ghana and threats of terrorism from neighbouring countries, there is ample justification for

prioritizing Northern Ghana as a zone of influence in their country development strategies. Individual agency interventions can optimize impacts when they are coordinated with others and with regional and local peace initiatives.

3.0 Achieving sustained peace and security - Strategic Goal and Objectives

3.1 Strategic Goal

The overarching goal for which the roadmap seeks to bring about is “sustainable peace and security that enables prosperity and a good life for all who reside in northern Ghana.

3.2 Strategic objectives

The goal for the roadmap will be achieved through the realization of five strategic objectives.

SO 1: To build a peaceful, vibrant, inclusive and resilient economy in Northern Ghana;

SO 2: To build enduring institutions for peace-building and conflict prevention;

SO 3: To strengthen local mechanisms for peace building and conflict resolution in Northern Ghana;

SO 4: To harness culture and heritage to promote peace and position Northern Ghana for investments and tourism;

SO 5: To prevent cross border crimes, violent extremism and terrorism.

4. How do we want to get there?

The strategies for achieving the various objectives of the roadmap are outlined below.

SO 1: To build a peaceful, vibrant, inclusive and resilient economy in Northern Ghana.

ST 1.1. Implement the Northern Savannah Ecological Zone Development Plan

Significant resources have been invested in studies and consultations leading to the creation of plans and strategies for rapid but inclusive development of northern Savannah. There is the need for political consensus to roll them out. The implementation of these regional development plans

holds the key to transforming the economy of Northern Ghana, creating the needed jobs for the youth, and reducing the ever growing north-south inequalities. Efforts will be made, through the Northern Development Authority and the RCCs to bring key stakeholders, especially political party leaders, together to validate the plans and commit to implementation. Civil society can lobby politicians; media will be a potent instrument to educate and mobilize the population and the private sector will be essential for assessing the viability of some of the projects and their attractiveness to participate in. All these require capacity to convene.

ST 1.2. Facilitate the establishment of regional business innovation and technology incubation centres

Addressing youth employment requires not only that the macro economy grows but also specific micro and meso level interventions such as platforms for business innovation, incubation, and mentorship. These opportunities are particularly lacking in the northern regions of Ghana especially for young graduates to grow their entrepreneurial skills to explore their business ideas under mentors and business coaches.

ST 1.3. Design and roll out youth and women employable skills training programmes in Northern Ghana

Employable skills in the building, welding and information technology fields are limited. They are often imported. The software industry is constrained by limited broadband and the lack of support. New and emerging skill areas associated with the fourth industrial revolution -robotics and artificial intelligence, big data and the internet of things are solely lacking in the institutions of learning in northern Ghana. This threatens to extend the inequality in opportunities into the next generation. A strategy needs to be put in place to address these gaps.

ST 1.4. Institutionalize the Northern Ghana Development Summit

Since 2019, the NGDS has been revived and functioning as a platform for consensus building and to collectively advocate for equitable development, critical infrastructure and peace and security for Northern Ghana. It has proven to be beneficial so far but needs independent sources of funds and mechanisms to sustain the momentum and post summit follow-up. The platform needs a secretariat to conduct research, coordinate its activities and also follow-up between summits.

SO 2: To strengthen local mechanisms for peace building and conflict resolution in Northern Ghana.

The strategies for achieving objective two are described below:

ST 2.1. To build enduring institutions for peace-building and conflict prevention; - Creation of a Northern Ghana Peace Building Institute -

There is the need to shift from the piecemeal, “project mentality” approach to peace and security issues in the regions to an institutional/program approach that seeks to put in place a well-established, well-funded Peace and Security Institute that can serve multiple purposes—research and policy analysis, short and long-term training, convene and provide spaces for negotiation. Such an institute can be sub-regional in nature and be the product of multiple partners—the university, Peace Centres of the Catholic Church, Peace and Security-oriented CSOs etc.

The institution should be an independent one, affiliated to the Faculty of Sustainable Development Studies, University for Development Studies (UDS) and other Institutions. It takes advantage of a university context without being stifled by the bureaucracy of the university. This institute could be similar to the U.S. Institute of Peace or modelled somewhat as a hybrid of the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) in Ghana and the Kofi Annan Centre for Conflict Transformation at the University of Monrovia. It should be an institute of excellence on all matters Peace, Security and Stability not only for Northern Ghana, but also serve as a regional hub.

ST: 2.2. Facilitate the establishment of functional District Peace Councils

The National Peace Council Act, 2011, Act 818 provides for the establishment of District Peace Councils. The strategy will be to facilitate the establishment of these peace structures. This includes a fair and equitable representation on the DPC, building the capacity of key members and providing basic working space and equipment for the functioning of DPC offices. The ways of working of such entities should be responsive, proactive, inclusive and innovative. It must not be bogged down by top-down bureaucracy and be willing and able to be up and doing supporting local peace initiatives, building coalitions of local actors, among others.

ST 2.3. Train and *capacitate peace actors at all levels in Northern Ghana*

Peace actors operate at multiple levels – from local to international. They are most effective when they are better informed and worked in an interlinked and coordinated manner. This will require developing a comprehensive training programmes targeting CSOs, House of Chiefs, MMDAs, women and youth peace ambassadors, religious bodies and community leaders. The focus of the training will be on mediation skills, early warning mechanisms, countering violent extremism, preventing digital radicalization, inter-agency coordination and building local peace activists among other topics. Such training can be dispersed through several different organisations including the Catholic Peace Centres, CSOs and proposed Peace-Building Institute among others.

ST 2.4. *Facilitate the establishment of a Northern Ghana Peace Fund*

A Peace Fund will be an instrument for mobilizing resources from varied sources including the state, development partners and Foundations and Trusts, the private sector, CSOs and local philanthropy among others. The fund will be professionally managed and be totally transparent and accountable. It could support the convening of the Northern Ghana Development Summits; training and research activities, peace campaigns and conflict mediation efforts among others.

SO 3: To strengthen local mechanisms for peace building and conflict resolution in Northern Ghana.

This Objective will be achieved by implementing the following strategies:

3.1 *Facilitate the work of the judiciary committees of the regional houses of chiefs*

The judicial committees of the houses of chiefs play important roles in adjudicating in chieftaincy disputes. Supporting them to be able to access legal services and improving their research ability will enable them settle chieftaincy disputes timeously.

3.2 *Facilitate the codification of lines of succession for chiefs across regions*

Many of the chieftaincy conflicts are driven by unclear succession lines. Therefore, supporting the regional houses of chiefs to codify all the chieftaincy succession lines will minimize the rate of chieftaincy disputes.

3.3 Promote the development and maintenance of an interactive conflict map

Supporting the national and regional peace councils to identify and document conflicts is a good starting point for addressing such conflicts. The road map supports the development and regular update of a conflict map for conflicts in Northern Ghana.

3.4 Support the negotiation and demarcation of land boundaries

Some of the conflicts in Northern Ghana are caused by land boundary disputes. Supporting the Ghana Boundary Commission and various paramountcy to survey and document their lands will prevent the land boundary disputes.

SO 4: To harness culture and heritage to promote peace and position Northern Ghana for investments and tourism.

Culture, creative arts and heritage can be powerful tools for mobilizing peoples and show-casing the best of them and their history. In view of the negative stereotypes against and among people from Northern Ghana, objective 4 seeks to use culture and heritage-based convening to educate, to show-case and to advocate for a positive image of northern Ghana. These events will also be commercially rewarding as they can facilitate tourism. The strategies to achieve this objective include:

4.1 Institutionalize an annual Northern Savannah festival of arts and culture

The proposed Savannah Festival (SAVAFEST) will be a sub-national festival – an annual carnival - that shows the creativity and talents of young musicians. It will also show the rich and diverse culture of the people of Northern Ghana and their proud heritage as manifest in their written and unwritten histories, traditional cuisines, dance and music, clothing, poetry and fine arts. This carnival will balance the story of slavery and slave trade and the positive and negative roles of northern Ghana; it will stimulate in northern Ghana's history, promote friendships and peaceful co-existence among the various ethnic groups in Northern Ghana and provide avenues for discussions and debate.

4.2 Institutionalize an award for northern Ghana-focused publications

Both print and broadcast media play important roles in attracting investments to specific locations and changing the attitudes towards people. An award scheme will be introduced and provided

annually to journalists, authors and actors in the written and unwritten word and imagery of northern Ghana. The aim is to encourage better knowledge of northern Ghana, better portrayal of the people and place and honest reflections on the progress and failings of northern Ghana. It is above all, a contribution to literature on and about Northern Ghana.

4.3 Promote Positive Social and Behavioural Change Communication of northern values and practices

Northern Ghana has certain unique values and practices including hard work, bravery, honesty, respect for the elderly, preservation of indigenous knowledge and practices to mention but a few. These are fast disappearing and giving way to the adoption of foreign cultural values and practices by the youth. An elaborate social and behavioural change communication strategy will be deployed to ensure these desirable values are inculcated into the younger generation in Northern Ghana.

SO 5: To mobilize community support to prevent cross border crimes, violent extremism and terrorism

We noted that the threats of cross border crimes and terrorism are real. To prevent or minimize these risks require local action. We therefore propose the following:

5.1. Facilitate the development of Counter-Terrorism and Violent Extremism (CTVE) Action Plans for border communities

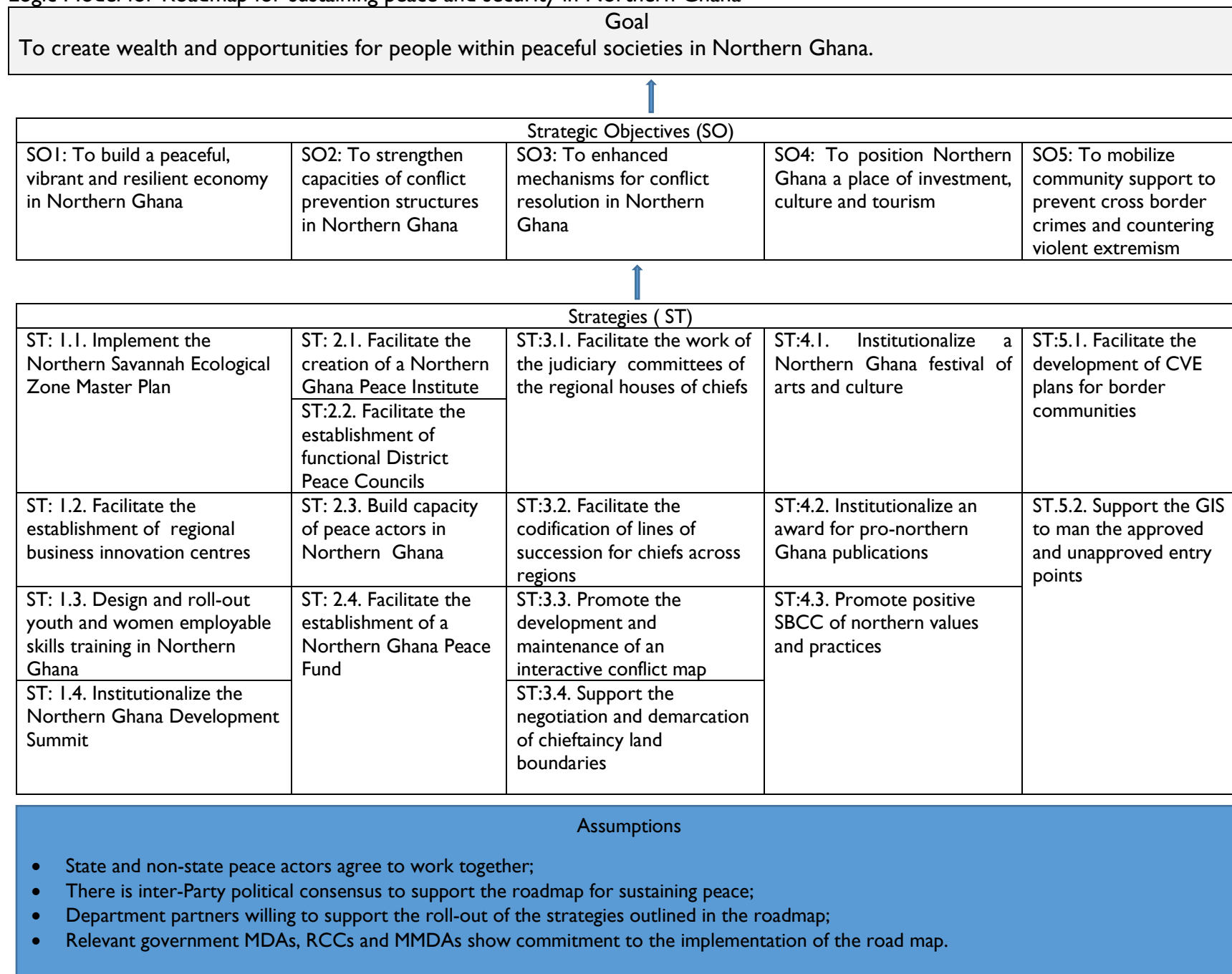
This involves mobilizing border communities to develop countering terrorism and violent extremism plans and training community members to identify and report cross border crimes and terrorists' threats to the security agencies.

5.2. Support the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) to man the approved and unapproved entry points

The GIS needs to be supported with vehicles, drones and other biometric devices to be efficient in preventing organized crime and CTVE along the borders. This includes support to engage in stimulation and community engagements to improve border community and security relations to P/CVET.

The logic model for the Roadmap for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana is shown in Figure 2.

Logic Model for Roadmap for sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana



5. The Roadmap Results and Stakeholders Roles

Expected Results	Lead Agencies	Collaborating Agencies
<p>Goal: To create wealth and opportunities for people within peaceful societies in Northern Ghana</p> <p>Impact: Enhanced well-being, peace and dignity of people living in the northern regions of Ghana</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MLDRD • Min. Trade & Industry • Min. of Finance • DPs
<p>Objective 1: To build a peaceful, vibrant and resilient economy in Northern Ghana</p> <p>Outcome 1: Increased jobs and incomes for people in Northern Ghana</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MLDRD • Min. Trade & Industry • Min. of Finance • MoFA • Min. Land & NR • Min. of Energy • Private Sector • DPs
<p>Output 1.1: Game changing projects Northern Savannah Ecological Zone Master Plan implemented</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. Trade & Industry • Min. Education • Min. of Communication & Digitization • DPs • NGOs
<p>Output 1.2: Regional business innovation centres established across the regions in Northern Ghana</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. Trade & Industry • Min. Education • Min. of Communication & Digitization • Min. of Youth and Sports

Output 1.3: Improved access to employable skills training for young women and men in Northern Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Youth and Sports • Min. of Employment and Labour • Min. of Gender, Children and Social Protection • DPs
Output 1.4: Institutionalize the Northern Ghana Development Summit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • RCCs • MMDAs • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DPs • Houses of Chiefs • MPs • Private Sector
Objective 2: To strengthen capacities of conflict prevention structures in Northern Ghana Outcome 2: Enhanced conflict prevention mechanisms in Northern Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NPC • HoC • RCCs • MMDAs • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. National Security • Min. Interior • Min. Defence • NCSALW
Output 2.1. Northern Ghana Peace Institute established	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UDS • NDA • NDF • Min. of Interior • Min. of Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Defence • KAIPTC • DPs • NGOs • Min. of Finance
Output 2.2: District Peace Councils established across MMDAs in Northern Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NPC • NGOs • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MLDRD • Min. of Interior • DPs
Output 2.3: Capacity of peace actors in Northern Ghana built	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NPC • UDS • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MLDRD • MMDAs • RCCs • Min. of Chieftaincy & Religious Affairs

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NYA • DPs
Output 2.4: Northern Ghana Peace Fund established	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDA • NDF • NGOs • NPC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Finance • Min. of Interior • MPs • DPs
Objective 3: To enhanced mechanisms for conflict resolution in Northern Ghana Outcome 3: Incidences of violent conflicts in Northern Ghana reduced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Interior • Min. of National Security • NPC • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HoCs • NGOs • DPs
Output 3.1: Functional judiciary committees of the regional houses of chiefs in place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HoC • Min. of Chieftaincy & Religious Affairs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Attorney General and Justice • NGOs • DPs
Output 3.2: Succession lines for chiefdoms across Northern Ghana codified	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HoCs • Min. of Chieftaincy & Religious Affairs • RCCs • MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Attorney General and Justice • NGOs • DPs • NPC
Output 3.3: Interactive conflict map up and functioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NPC • RPC • RCC • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Communication & Digitization • Min. of Interior
Output 3.4: Chieftaincy land boundaries demarcated across MMDAs in Northern Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HoCs • Min. of Chieftaincy & 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of National Security • Min. of Interior

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious Affairs Min. Lands & NRs RCCs MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Min. of Attorney General and Justice NGOs DPs NPC
Objective 4: To position Northern Ghana a place of investment, culture and tourism Outcome 4: Increased investments and social cohesion in Northern Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HoCs NDA NDF RCCs MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Min. Tourism, Arts and Culture Min. of Interior Min. Trade & Industry Private Sector DPs NGOs
Output 4.1: Northern Ghana festival of arts and culture institutionalized	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HoCs NDA NDF RCCs MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Min. Tourism, Arts and Culture Min. of Interior Min. Trade & Industry Private Sector DPs NGOs
Output 4.2: Award scheme for pro-northern Ghana advocacy established	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NDA GJA RCCs MMDAs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Media Houses Min. of Information DPs NGOs
Output 4.3: Younger generations adopt unique northern Ghana values and practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> HoCs NDA Min. Tourism, Arts and Culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MMDAs NYA Min. of Youth and Sports
Objective 5: To prevent cross border crimes and countering violent extremism		

Outcome 5: Decreased cross border crimes and violent extremism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. National Security • Min. of Interior • RCCs • MMDAs • NACSA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DPs • NGOs • HoCs • RPCs
Output 5.1: CVE plans developed for all border communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MMDAs • Border Communities • RPCs • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Interior • DPs • HoCs
Output 5.2: Increase capacity of the GIS to prevent cross border crimes and to CVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Min. of Interior • RCCs • MMDAs • Border Communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DPCs • HoCs • NGOs • DPs

6.0 Stakeholders, partners and who does what?

An all-inclusive and coordinated approach will be used to deliver the roadmap for sustaining peace and security in Northern Ghana. The specific institutions and roles are indicated in the roadmap framework. The key stakeholders span various MDAs, RCCs, MMDAs, HoCs, NGOs, Academia, private sector, DPs, community leaders and members and faith-based organisations. Given the fluidity of conflicts, the list of partners will be updated annually to accommodate new entrance onto the peace architecture of Ghana and changing institutional mandates.

7.0. Monitoring & Evaluation Framework

7.1. Monitoring strategies

The stakeholders of the roadmap for sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana shall develop annual operational plans for implementation. These annual plans will be monitored against the defined indicators. Monitoring will be across the various northern regions and shall include field visits, quarterly and annual reports from stakeholders to the secretariat. This will form the basis for tracking the progress made in achieving the various outcome and output indicated in the performance measurement framework.

7.2. Evaluation strategies

The roadmap shall be evaluated at mid-line in the short to medium term and end-line in the long-term. The mid-line evaluation will provide an opportunity to review the proposed strategies, partnerships, and targets. In the long-term, an impact evaluation will be commissioned involving independent third-party consultants. This will provide an opportunity for the independent assessment of the successes or weaknesses of the roadmap in securing the peace and security of Northern Ghana. The impact evaluation will also offer the peace stakeholders an opportunity to re-examine the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability and impact of the roadmap and the roles played by each partner. The impact evaluation will also document the lessons learnt as inputs for the development of the next roadmap.

8.0 Coordination and Support Mechanisms

Given the multiple stakeholders involved in the implementation of the roadmap, an effective coordination mechanism is an imperative. The key structures for the implementation of the roadmap are discussed below.

8.1 Secretariat

There shall be a secretariat for the coordination of the various aspects of the roadmap. The core mandate of the secretariat shall be to provide secretarial support to the various actors in the peace and security chain, liaising and coordinating the joined-up activities of all the actors, coordinating monitoring and evaluation activities and ensuring adequate documentation of the lessons learnt in the implementation of the roadmap.

8.2 Steering Committee

There shall be a roadmap steering committee comprised of representation from relevant MDAs, RCCs, MMDAs, HoC, RPCs, NPC, NGOs, Academia, private sector and faith-based organisations. This committee will be constituted with a gender and youth lens to ensure inclusivity. The steering committee will be responsible for the achievement of the milestones included in the roadmap and support resource mobilization. It will ensure all stakeholders play their roles and also approve annual implementation plans and reports.

8.3 Technical Support Group

The technical support group will be made up of experts in the area of peace and security. They will be responsible for the production of technical papers, facilitation of training programmes and review of the roadmap implementation strategy.

9.0 Conclusion

The enterprise of peace and security is a collective effort, and it is the hope of the initiators and collaborators of the roadmap that, it will bring about the needed sustainable peace and security in Northern Ghana to anchor the transformation of this part of the country in the interest of all Ghanaians.

Reference

- GIABA. (2013). The Nexus between Small Arms and Light Weapons and Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing in West Africa. Dakar, Senegal.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2019). Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 7: Main Report. GSS, Accra.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2016). 2015 Labour Force report. Accra, Ghana.
- Ministry of Youth and Sport. (2010). National Youth Police. Accra, Ghana.
- National Peace Council. (2019). Roadmap for code of conduct for the eradication of Political Vigilantism in Ghana. Accra, Ghana.
- UNDP. (2018). Northern Ghana Human Development Report. UNDP, Ghana.
- Republic of Ghana. (2020). The Security and Intelligence Agencies Act, 2020, Act 1030
- Republic of Ghana. (2019). Vigilantism and Related Offences Act. Accra, Ghana.
- Republic of Ghana. (2016). The National Youth Authority Act, 2016 (Act 939)
- Republic of Ghana. (2011). National Peace Council Act, 2011, Act 818
- Republic of Ghana. (2008). Chieftaincy Act, 2008, Act 759
- Republic of Ghana. (2007). National Commission on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Act of Parliament; Act 736 of 2007.
- Republic of Ghana. (1992). The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. Accra, Ghana
- SADA. (2016). Northern Savannah Ecological Zone Concept Master Plan. Accra, Ghana.
- STAR Ghana Foundation. (2019). Northern Ghana Development Summit Report. Accra, Ghana.
- USAID. (2014). Scoping report of potential growth poles for the implementation of projects under the 11th EDF

Annexes

A. List of Technical Support Group Members for CSSFNG

NAME	INSTITUTION	EMAIL	TELEPHONE	REMARKS
Charles Abugre	Vice-Chair of SGF Governing Council	caabugre@gmail.com	0262359208 0501334144	Chairperson
Janet Adama Mahama	Conciliation Resources	jadama@c-r.org	0244207287	Member
Afi Yakubu	Foundation for Security and Development in Africa (FOSDA)	nabizara@gmail.com	0244289320	Member
Vera Jawol Magan	Youth Empowerment for Life	veranayasama@gmail.com	0243252844	Member
Rev. Fr. Dr. Clement Aapengnuo	Center for Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies (CECOTAPS)	cecotapsgh@gmail.com	0244513805	Member
Emmanuel Bombande	United Nations	bombande@un.org	0244210785	Member
Maj. Gen. Dr. Emmanuel Kotia	Kofi Anan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC)	ekotia@yahoo.com	0208154037	Member
Dr. Kojo Asante	Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-GHANA)	k.asante@cddgh.org	0244073430	Member

B. List of Project Steering Committee Members

NAME	INSTITUTION	EMAIL	TELEPHONE	REMARKS
Major Albert Don-Chebe	Northern Development Forum	donchebel3@yahoo.com	0540667224	Chairperson
Anamzooya S. Alhassan	Northern Development Authority	asanamzoya@yahoo.com		CEO
George Amoh	National Peace Council	george.amoh@peacecouncil.gov.gh		Executive Secretary
Clifford Tampuri	RPC – Savannah Region	cliffac@yahoo.com	0248378404	Regional Secretary
Emmanuel Danyoma	RPC – Upper West Region	jdanyomah@yahoo.com	0205078810	Regional Secretary
Ali Anakpieng	RPC – Upper East Region		0200463800	Regional Secretary

C. List of Key STAR Ghana Foundation Staff

NAME	INSTITUTION	EMAIL	TELEPHONE	TITLE
Amidu Ibrahim-Tanko	STAR Ghana Foundation	aibrahim-tanko@star-ghana.org	0244547242	Executive Director
Eunice Agbenyadzi	STAR Ghana Foundation	eagbenyadzi@christian-aid.org	050-1564170	Programmes Manager
Muminu Mutaru	Consultant hired by STAR Ghana Foundation	m.mutaru@gmail.com	024 475 3331	Project Manager, CSSFNG

D. Consultant for development of Roadmap

NAME	INSTITUTION	EMAIL	TELEPHONE	REMARKS
Dr. Chrysogonus Anab	Lecturer Faculty of Sustainable Development Studies University for Development Studies	Chrysogonus124@yahoo.com achrysogonus@uds.edu.gh	0244821024	Consultant