

Punching Above their Weight:
Small States in Key Mediation Roles.
Ghana's Capacity and Prospects for Mediation Learning from Nordic
Examples

Master's Thesis in
Peace, Mediation and Conflict Research
Developmental Psychology
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Wiafe Manu and Mother, Nana Akua Afriyie.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia.
AU	African Union
CDD - Ghana	Centre for Democratic Development
CE	Council of Europe
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute
CMII	Crisis Management Initiative
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
DOVVSU	Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIP	European Institute of Peace
EPLO	European Peace-building Liaison Office
EU	European Union
FBA	Folke Bernadotte Academy
FIIA	Finnish Institute of International Affairs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GES	Ghana Education Service
GHANAP	Ghana National Action Plan
I4P	Infrastructure for Peace
IDEG	Institute for Democratic Governance
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre
LECIAD	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MSC	Mediation and Security Council
MSU	Mediation Support Unit
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPC	National Peace Council
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NOK	Norwegian Krone

NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NOREF	Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre
NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PSD	Peace and Security Department
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SMC	Standing Mediation Committee
TAPRI	Tampere Peace Research Institute
UCC	University of Cape Coast
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy
UEW	University of Education, Winneba
UG	University of Ghana
UN	United Nations
UNAMIL	UN Mission in Liberia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UniPID	Finnish University Partnership for International Development
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNOWA	United Nations Office for West Africa
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
WANEP	West African network for Peacebuilding
WPSI	Women Peace and Security Institute

Abstract

Objective: This thesis examines the role of small states in conflict mediation along two axes. First, it seeks to explain and explore the role and the capacity of small states in international peace mediation by using the case of Ghana. Second, the study turns the centre of attention to how Ghana can contribute meaningfully to conflict mediation by comparing it with the examples from the Nordic countries of Finland, Norway and Sweden and more specifically the insights they bring and challenges they pose.

Method: The study relies on a qualitative research approach to obtain and scrutinize the data. The study uses existing literature on the subject matter as well as interviews.

Results: This study suggests that, in spite of the increasing popularity of the role of small states in peace mediation globally in recent years, at the very least, has not received the needed attention from the extant literature. The study further suggests that Ghana's role with regards to conflict mediation can move from being overlooked to being an internationally acclaimed success story if a systematic investment is made in strengthening the country's mediation competences.

Conclusion: It concludes by arguing that the insights obtained from the mediation infrastructure of the Nordic countries can be retained, and some of the potential challenges overcome by providing a conceptual apparatus to engage these issues frontally for future policy research.

Keywords: conflict, small states, capacity building, mediation, peacebuilding, peace processes

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1 Introduction

1.1 Aim & Background of Study

This thesis is driven by empirical puzzles of how a small state such as Ghana can build its mediation competences to contribute more efficiently to internal as well as international peace. The research aims to reconnoitre and better understand the complex task of small states in mediation. The study seeks to examine the prospects available to Ghana in an effort to build its capacity for mediation. In carrying out this study, the researcher aims to conduct a rigorous comparative analysis of the peace and mediation architecture of some selected countries which fall within the category of small states namely Finland, Norway and Sweden with Ghana. The study essentially aims at critically and holistically analysing the dynamics of mediation as well as the strength of small states in promoting global peace.

The world is now witnessing a very critical aeon of its existence. Incontestably, clouds of war have been hanging over the world-horizon for many years, posing danger to the existence of humanity. Conflicts in diverse forms have woven themselves into the social fabrics of many societies. On several occasions, violent wars and conflicts have occurred, and severe fighting has been reported, putting the life of humankind in serious jeopardy. The Uppsala Conflict Data demonstrate that since 1989 there have been 150 armed conflicts, and around 35 of them are happening at the moment. The data aptly demonstrate the reality and make it imperative to find propitious and appropriate instruments and avenues to deal with these conflicts. The human love affair with war has become a kind of insanity. Conflicts in Congo, Central

Africa Republic, Syria, Iraq, Burundi, Eritrea, South Sudan, the Gaza Strip crisis and similar others continue to present a great worry to people all over the world. Between 1990 and 2005, half of the world's bloody conflicts were in Africa (ADB, 2008).

The gift of armed conflicts to humanity has been nothing short of endless suffering, destruction and death. According to the UNDP, more than 1.5 billion people live in areas plagued by high crimes, violence and wars while over 526,000 people die annually as a result of violence and armed conflicts. Approximately, one person dies every minute as a result of violent armed conflicts. Wars destroy the social fabrics of communities, impose economic difficulties on poor countries and stifle any hope of eradicating poverty for millions of people (UNDP, 2013). Quite obviously, the quest to live in a nonviolent world has been an arduous challenge to the human race. This phenomenon according to Bartoli (2011), has contributed to making peace a human responsibility. Armed conflicts have become anathema, and their prevention should be the problem of all modern states, small and large. The important matter is for society to devise apposite approaches to prevent or manage the conflicts. There is enough evidence to prove that, warfare in human society is not inevitable, and Fry (2007) is optimistic that, human nature is endowed with many tools for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Humans are not inherently warlike and have the ability to live in peace.

Kerkkänen (2012) describes violent conflicts and disputes as unsolicited necessities that call for mediation. How do we finally put an end to all forms of violence, wars, disputes and conflicts? Several strategies to ensure peace have been

discussed and devised in motleys of studies. Peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-making have been the most resorted to strategies for dealing with conflicts. Sanctions just like military intervention in peacekeeping, have also been instruments for forcing peace. The use of sanctions as an instrument for forcing peace serves typically as a mechanism to stop wars or to promote peaceful agreement and also to force the implementation of settlement agreements after a war (Wallensteen & Grusell, 2012).

Peace-making is done through many closely linked channels including, peacekeeping, arbitration, negotiation, adjudication, conciliation and mediation. Greig and Diehl (2005) have a rather pessimistic view on the ability of peacekeeping forces to assist in resolving conflicts. According to them, not only do peacekeeping forces reduce attempts to effectively resolve conflicts through other means such as mediation, but they also weaken the prospects for successful resolution. Mediation has proven to be a more resilient approach to ensuring peace contrary to peacekeeping and peace enforcement which do not offer effective strategies for resolving any conflict. At best, peacekeeping as opined by Quainoo in *Historical Insight*, only helps to 'freeze' and 'contain' the spread of conflicts. The over-reliance on peacekeeping explains why many conflicts, especially in Africa, Asia and the Middle East continue to be unresolved (Quainoo, 2007). Mason (2011) has therefore maintained that peace-making is challenging, but mediation provides the strategies to deal with these challenges in a way that helps societies to quickly move a step closer to resolving the conflict in a violent free manner.

In order to achieve a permanent solution to conflicts, it is more appropriate to address the underlying problems which may be political, social or economic. Mediation offers one of the most reliable diplomatic tools for prevention of wars and promotion of sustainable peace. For a long time, mediation as an approach to resolving conflicts in many parts of the world was the preserve of large and powerful states. The United States of America, Britain, Russia and France especially have been noted for their immense contributions towards world peace in this regard. Major powers have been historically distinctive not only by their large economies and military capabilities but by their actions to strengthen international order.

In recent times, small states such as Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark have made a significant and substantial impact in maintaining international peace through mediation. Regrettably, the role of small states in the international system is often ignored due to over-reliance on hard security.

Small states were given little attention in the study of international relations in the past (Neumann & Gstöhl, 2006). Nevertheless, there is now a renewed interest in how small states cope with international challenges and what they have to offer to global security (Hey, 2003; Knudsen, 1996). This renewed interest in small states is quite timely. This new phenomenon makes it imperative for small states in Africa especially Ghana to comprehensively examine how they can contribute to global security and how this opportunity can be harnessed through peace diplomacy and mediation. Tarp and Hansen (2013) have argued that in the present world order, small states can exert influence that far exceed their sizes. This has become the case because

under the current interdependent global environment, no single state has the power to deal with the global challenges alone.

Ghana, though a Lilliput state in the global political arena, is well documented for its contributions to mediation and peacekeeping in many conflicts in Africa and beyond. The 2001 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Kofi Annan, a Ghanaian, smoothed the way and served as a clarion call for Ghana to make more systematic progress in the field of mediation. This kind of award, according to Kerkkänen (2012), demonstrates that even a small state can make a special contribution to mediation and international peacebuilding.

Although Ghana is a well trusted and respected actor in international peacekeeping, it lacks institutional memory as well as a well-defined and comprehensive policy for mediation and peacekeeping. It is, therefore, necessary for Ghana to build its mediation competences and improve the profile already achieved in the field of mediation in different conflict situations. Ghana, like many countries, has the responsibility for international peace, and this makes it more critical to harnessing all avenues and prospects to be able to make more noticeable impacts in international peace promotion. It is in this regard that the author is convinced that some lessons can be drawn from the Nordic region which has enviable records in this field in designing and building Ghana's infrastructure for international peace.

1.2 *Motivation*

The author became interested in the issues of mediation after participating in the courses 'Mediation and Global Security' in the masters programme and 'United Nations Peace and Security' through a Finnish University Partnership for International Development (UniPID). When the research question was decided, the author's first idea was to study how Ghana can build and develop the capacity to initiate its international mediation. The idea to undertake a comparative study of Ghana with some Nordic countries was suggested to the author by Douglas P. Fry, the former Programme Coordinator of the Masters Programme in Peace, Mediation and Conflict Research at Åbo Akademi University. The author is a Ghanaian resident in Finland so the suggestion to study how Ghana as a small state can learn from Finland, Norway and Sweden fitted very well. These countries share some important similarities such as smallness, no colonial ambitions, emphasis on higher education, and an attitude of being open to international service. Additionally, these countries have in common a history of peacekeeping operations and training, although a cursory look into the literature as well as the interviews showed that there are parallels as well, in terms of progress made in their socio-economic developments.

1.3 Mapping Ghana's History and Peace Diplomacy

The thesis focuses on Ghana making it sufficiently proper to provide a contextual background of Ghana and its contribution to peacekeeping and peace-making. This historical perspective aims at providing a better understanding of the nature of peace-making that will be examined in this paper.

Ghana shares borders with Burkina Faso, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, and the Gulf of Guinea to the north, east, west and the south respectively, and has a population of about 25 million people. The interaction between Ghana (formerly, Gold Coast) and Europeans began in the 1470s. The Portuguese were the first people to have contact with Ghana. Other Europeans which had contact with the Gold Coast included the Danish, the Dutch and the British. The British later acquired all the trading forts on the Gold Coast from the other Europeans and went ahead to establish their control in the area. Ghana was acquired as a British Crown Colony. The acquisition of the land was done through conquests and signing of agreements. The establishment of British colonial rule and the creation of modern Ghana began with the British establishing what was known as the crown colony in the southern part of the country. These areas came under the control of the British through conquest and the signing of the Bond of 1844 between the British and the chiefs along the coast.

By the dawn of the 20th century, Britain had established its hegemony throughout the Gold Coast after the Yaa Asantewaa war in 1901. From the onset, colonial rule was resisted by the people of Ghana. Opposition to colonial rule during the early phase was in the form of protests that demanded an increasing share in the

political process and fairer deals from the colonial masters. It was essentially intended to oppose certain policies that were considered unreasonable and oppressive. Members of the middle class including the educated elite, cocoa farmers, businessmen and some chiefs who were adversely affected by colonial policies and ordinances began to oppose the system.

After the Second World War, the people of Ghana intensified pressure on the British for independence. Ghanaians used various strategies in their fight for independence including what was termed "Positive Action". The "Positive Action" meant the combination of civil disobedience, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principles of absolute nonviolence. Put differently, "Positive Action" was the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which the force of colonialism could be crippled in the country. In 1956, a proposal was made to the British to grant independence to Ghana. The British parliament subsequently passed the Ghana Independence Act in 1957 which granted independence to the Gold Coast on 6th March 1957.

During the few years preceding Ghana's Independence, the territory of Ghana was extended to cover British Togoland. The Togoland was a German colony which was lost after the First World War. The League of Nations, which was formed immediately after the First World War to promote world peace, divided Togoland and mandated France and Britain to administer it. The Togoland subsequently became a Trust Territory of the United Nations after the Second World War following the

demise of the League of Nations. The British Togoland through a plebiscite supervised by the UN agreed to be part of Ghana upon independence.

Ghana became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to attain independence in 1957. Unfortunately, shortly after gaining independence, the country witnessed its first major setback when Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana was accused of dictatorship and subsequently overthrown in a coup d'état in 1966. After Kwame Nkrumah, the dream of Ghanaians to live freely in their country was still far-fetched since a series of military dictators continued to steer the affairs of the country. It is important to state that during these difficult periods, Ghana spasmodically experimented democratic governance under the leadership of Kofi Abrefa Busia and Hilla Limann.

The current and most thriving democratic experiment began in 1992, and it is what has gained recognition for Ghana as an island of peace and leading democracy in a chaotic continent. The birth of Ghana on the 6th March 1957 as an independent and united country brought several challenges and responsibilities. Since independence, Ghana has shown unwavering commitment to the Pan-African dream of continental unity and liberation. Ghana has been at the forefront of activities of international organizations such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN) as well as the Commonwealth. Ghana has also produced successful international leaders particularly Kofi Annan to head the UN. Ghana's contribution to the United Nations System in the field of peacekeeping, peace enforcement and

conflict resolution around the world and particularly Africa is remarkable and well noted.

Ghana has a long history of involvement in conflict prevention and management. Ghana's first opportunity to participate in active international peacekeeping can be traced to its intervention in the Congo Crisis under the United Nations in the 1960s. Ghana's peacekeepers have contributed significantly in minimizing immediate human suffering through its participation in various peacekeeping and peace-making missions in countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, Kosovo and Liberia. These efforts, as suggested by Birikorang (2007), have in many ways enhanced the international image of Ghana.

Since independence, Ghana has shown great commitment to the cause of freedom and peace within and outside its borders. Currently, Ghana offers a compelling example of the importance of democratic governance in Africa. The foundation of Ghana's foreign policy especially regarding its leadership role in peace in the international arena was strongly laid by its first President, Kwame Nkrumah. This commitment was emphasised by what Kwame Nkrumah said that "... we again rededicate ourselves in the struggle to emancipate other countries in Africa; for our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent." (Asante, 1997 p. 29). Yakohene (2009) has contended that this maxim formed the basis of the foreign policy of Ghana.

The future of Ghana as a symbol of hope for the African continent could not have been overstated since Ghana was the first black African country to have gained independence from colonial rule. Ghana's involvement in conflict resolution was evident in providing resources to the nationalist liberation struggles all over the continent and against apartheid in South Africa. Ghana has also been active in securing and maintaining world peace by playing very instrumental roles in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) during the Cold War era. Ghana was also active in the formation of other international organisations such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Ghana's involvements in the United Nations (UN) as well as regional peacekeeping duties in countries particularly Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire are well documented.

Ghana's foreign policy since independence has been characterised by a commitment to the principles of non-alignment. After independence Ghana decided neither to belong to the East nor West alliances or blocs during the Cold War period. Ghana stood for peaceful resolution of conflicts, and this explains why during the period, Ghana was not committed militarily or politically to any ideological bloc. This neutral stance made the country behave in ways it deemed fit. The unaggressive posturing of Ghana explains why the country has not placed much premium on strengthening its military for the purpose of war. Ghana has always stood for peaceful resolution of conflicts. Ghana's loud voice and its active role in the United Nations Conferences in terms of advocacy for world peace, disarmament and particularly Nkrumah's doctrine of *World Without Bomb* led to its election in the United Nations

Security Council (UNSC) for two years from 1962 (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005. p. 114). Subsequently, according to Krafona (1986), Alex Quaison-Sackey, from Ghana was elected the President of the nineteenth session of the UN General Assembly from 1964 to 1965, becoming the first black African to hold that position. Besides, Quaison-Sackey was also a member of the United Nations Congo Conciliation Commission in 1961.

Ghana's active role in mediation outside Africa began in 1966 when Kwame Nkrumah accepted an invitation from Ho Chi Minh to mediate the conflict in Vietnam. Since then, Ghana has participated in peace mediations through various actions and diplomats.

Kofi Annan's involvement in the work of the UN and his contribution to peace-making efforts of the world body are well known. The leverage of Kofi Annan in mediating conflicts comes from his experience and reputation. In 1995, Kofi Annan was appointed the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to the war-torn former Yugoslavia. Annan initiated wide-ranging diplomatic activities upon his appointment as the UN Secretary-General in 1997. Additionally, Annan built an enormously successful career by mediating conflicts around the world. In 1998, he helped to facilitate the transition to civilian rule in Nigeria. In the same year, he visited Iraq to resolve a stalemate between Iraq and the Security Council over compliance with resolutions on weapons inspections and other matters. This effort helped to prevent an outbreak of hostilities which was imminent at the time. In 1999, Annan was occupied with the diplomatic processes that led to Timor-Leste's independence

from Indonesia. He was responsible for ensuring the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon in 2000.

Annan pushed for the establishment of The Peacebuilding Commission by the Member States of the UN in 2005. In 2006, he mediated the dispute over the Bakassi peninsula between Cameroon and Nigeria and in the same year, contributed to efforts to secure an end to the hostilities between Israel and Hezbollah. Ban Ki-Moon appointed Kofi Annan as the joint UN-Arab League envoy to Syria in line with the non-binding UN General Assembly resolution A/Res/66/253 after Annan had ended his four decades of service in the international body (UNGA Resolution G/Res/66/253, 2012.) Annan, unfortunately, resigned as peace envoy to Syria in August 2012. According to him, the Syrian peace process became "mission impossible" due to lack of international unity and militarisation on the ground. Although little was achieved in Syria, Annan formulated a six-point plan for peace in Syria (Gowan, 2013; UNSCR, 2042, 2012).

Ghana was a member of the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) that was given the responsibility to find a solution to the conflict in Liberia in 1990. The other members of the SMC were neighbouring Nigeria, Gambia, Mali and Togo. Ghana made significant contributions and was instrumental in the formation of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Ghana Contributed logistics, funding and peacekeeping personnel including Lt. Gen. Arnold Quainoo the first Commander of ECOMOG. The role of Ghana in the first phase of the Liberian crisis in terms of promoting the Liberian Peace Accords and hosting of the Akosombo and Accra

Conferences has been emphasised in Frempong (2009). The restoration of peace in Liberia in 1997 was greatly facilitated by the former president of Ghana Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, who served as ECOWAS Chairman for two terms from 1994-1996. President Rawlings was able to bring representatives of the three largest warring factions in Liberia, namely Lt. General Hezekiah Bowen (AFL), Charles Taylor (NPFL), and Alhaji Kromah (ULIMO) to the negotiation table which led to the signing of the Akosombo Agreement in Ghana on 12th September 1994. President Rawlings, acting as ECOWAS Chairman also negotiated the ceasefire agreement signed by representatives of seven factions in the Liberia war in Ghana on 21st December 1994.

In October 2010, The Conference of Heads of States of the African Union (AU) appointed President Jerry Rawlings as the African Union High Representative for Somalia to “mobilise the continent and the rest of the international community to fully assume its responsibilities and contribute more actively to the quest for peace, security and reconciliation in Somalia" and to mobilise resources and raise awareness of the crisis, Rawlings (2011). President Rawlings was able to establish consensus among the various interest groups in Somalia to bring an end to the transition period. The people of Somalia constituted a new parliament and cleared the way for the election of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud. Ghana continued to play a similar leading role in a similar intra-state conflict in Sierra Leone especially following the May 1997 coup which forced ECOWAS to send another peacekeeping force into Sierra Leone until peace was restored in 2002 (Frempong, 2009).

John Agyekum Kufuor, the second President of Ghana's fourth republic among other things, was the ECOWAS Chairman between 2003 and 2005 and subsequently, the Chairman of the African Union from 2007 to 2008. John Kufuor has also built a strong reputation for peace-making since he became a two-term president of Ghana from 2001 to 2009. He has been involved in several peace-building processes especially in Africa. President Kufuor made a significant impact through his work as the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States. He successfully mediated civil unrest in Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, and Liberia and turned them around into stable and functioning states. In Sierra Leone, he led negotiations that successfully halted the civil war and brought peace and massive post-conflict reconstruction to the people of Sierra Leone. Further, he led the peace mission that negotiated to assist Cote d'Ivoire to escape violent and political strife

Kufuor was elected the Chairman of ECOWAS few years after the peace in Liberia had relapsed into war. Initially, Ghana had contributed peacekeeping troops to the ECOWAS Force sent to stabilise the peace in Liberia before the arrival of the UN Mission in Liberia (UNAMIL). The Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) on Liberia was indeed signed in Accra under the auspices of President Kufuor's ECOWAS Chairmanship in June 2003. The transition of Liberia from war to democratic rule coincided with Kufuor's two-term chairmanship Frempong (2009). Kufuor contributed in preventing Liberia from relapsing into a deeper war again by helping to convince Charles Taylor to agree to his exile from Liberia to Nigeria.

As Chairman of the African Union, President Kufuor led a structural reformation of the AU and established a preventive war mechanism through assistance from the European Union, the United States and others. Besides, John Kufuor played an instrumental role in the peace process when election dispute sparked bloody unrest across Kenya in 2008. President Kufuor, as one of Africa's most respected statesmen received in 2008, the Chatham House Prize in recognition for his untiring mediation in several crises across the continent during his chairmanship of the African Union. The Award also recognised his role in mediating conflicts with Ghana's neighbouring countries including Liberia and Ivory Coast.

In 2008, John A. Kufuor took over from Martti Ahtisaari, former President of Finland and the 2008 Nobel Prize winner for Peace, as Chairman of the Interpeace Governing Council. Interpeace is a Geneva-based independent, international peacebuilding organization which maintains a unique strategic partnership with the UN (Interpeace, 2014). Interpeace is a leading non-profit peacebuilding organization with over 300 peace builders supporting locally led peacebuilding initiatives and programmes running in Europe, Africa, The Middle-East, Asia as well as Central America.

Ghana continues to supply many international organisations with significant resources and diplomats with extensive experiences. Dr Mohammed Ibn Chambas is one of those diplomats who has served and continues to serve Africa as an astute diplomat and peacemaker in many ways. He has contributed greatly towards efforts to resolve internal conflicts in many African countries. Ibn Chambas served as the

Secretary-General of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group, a position he occupied from 1st March 2010 until 26th March 2013. The United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon has recently appointed Mohammed Ibn Chambas as his Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA).

Another Ghanaian diplomat Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni replaced Mohammed Chambas to serve out the remainder of Dr Chambas' term of office, which ran until 28th February 2015. This was because Chambas was appointed as The United Nations/African Union Joint Special Representative and also the Joint Chief Mediator of the Darfur peace process. Until his appointment, Chambas had served as President of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) from 2006 to 2009, and Executive Secretary from 2002 to 2005. Chambas has been involved in the peacemaking efforts in Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan. This is apart from the major commitments to the resolution of the conflicts in the West African sub-region as President of the ECOWAS Commission.

The President of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama occupied the position of ECOWAS Chairman from 28th March 2014 - 19 May 2015 while James Victor Gbeho was the President of the ECOWAS Commission between 18th February 2010 and 1st March 2012. In the recent coup d'état in Burkina Faso, ECOWAS dispatched President John Dramani Mahama was among six west African heads of states ensure immediate return of the soldiers to the barracks. These are clear demonstrations of Ghana's efforts towards regional and continental integration and peace-building. Yakohene (2009) has argued that the influential roles being played by Ghana in chaotic moments

experienced in other countries in the continent are primarily a result of Ghana itself experiencing an appreciable degree of stability.

1.4 Literature Review of main concepts

1.4.1 Mediation

Mediation as a peacemaking process is neither restricted to inter-state conflicts nor armed conflicts alone. Mediation has a historical root, and this technique has been used in a variety of contentious cases from legal, commercial, diplomatic, labour, community to family matters. However, this thesis is particularly interested in mediation as a part of a peace process to prevent or end either an inter-state or intra-state violent armed conflict.

Mediation as an instrument for conflict management predates the modern nation-state. According to Greig and Diehl (2012), mediation dates back to around 209 BC when emissaries from some Greek city states attempted to negotiate the First Macedonian War between the Aetolian League and Macedonia.

Research on international conflict mediation has witnessed significant progress in theory development in recent times. The growth of mediation over the last 20 years has increased quantities of literature both practical and theoretical as practitioners and academics have wrestled with the critical issues facing the development of mediation practice.

Mediation as a diplomatic tool has been used extensively in dealing with many armed conflicts. Mediation is used at least at some point whether in civil or international conflicts. Greig and Diehl (2012) have posited in *International Mediation* that about 72% of all conflicts experience mediation during their lifespan. The author argues that this is a problematic empirical proposition, but clearly it shows how mediation as a conflict resolution instrument is widely used.

In recent times, mediation has proven to be efficient and applicable to a wide variety of violent conflicts and wars. Mediation as pointed out by Bercovitch, Diehl and Goertz (1997), is the most common form of intra-state conflict management and by much evidence the most successful (Dixon 1996; Rauchhaus 2006; Walter 1997). Article 33 of the UN Charter identifies mediation among other methods such as negotiation, conciliation, inquiry, arbitration, and adjudication as an avenue for peaceful settlement of international conflicts.

Since the end of the cold war, peace mediation has gained enormous currency and visibility in global politics. Mediation has been accepted as a global norm. This use of peace diplomacy and peace mediation as a conflict management strategy has increased since the mid-1990s (Lehti & Saarinen, 2014). Mediation as a widely acceptable norm places responsibility on the international community to support peace-making as a crisis response. The European Union, the United Nations, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States have adopted their crisis response and mediation agenda. For a long time, mediation remained the preserve of the traditional great powers of mediation, particularly, the United States,

France, Britain and Russia, and in some cases small states which have traditionally played a significant role in mediation such as Norway and Switzerland. However, new states like Turkey, Qatar and Brazil are emerging in the arena of mediation. South Africa, for instance, is increasing its profile as a mediator, both regionally and internationally. Notwithstanding, mediation as a peacemaking tool offers a new land of opportunity for Ghana and many other small states to assume important roles in the international political system. Small Nordic countries, especially Finland, Norway, and Sweden have taken full advantage of the opportunities offered by peace mediation to make themselves more relevant and influential in global politics.

Mediation just like many other concepts in social sciences does not readily lend itself to an absolute definition. Researchers and practitioners scarcely agree on what should constitute the definition of mediation. As part of this study, the Author attempts to explore and analyse some of the interpretations that have been given to the concept of mediation by various actors and researchers and the implication of such definitions to the peace process.

Beardsley, Quinn and Wilkenfeld (2006), Walter (1997), and Wilkenfeld, Quinn, and Asal (2005) view mediation as a way to assist disputing parties to overcome disagreements peacefully and strengthen the possibility to make credible commitments. The United Nations' official definition of mediation is based on Article 33 (Chapter VI) of the UN Charter: mediation is one form of 'peaceful settlement of disputes', along with other methods, including negotiation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. The main implication of this official definition is

that mediation is non-coercive and requires the acquiescence of the parties to the conflict. Similarly, Bercovitch, Anagnoson and Wille (1991) describe mediation as conflict management process where the warring factions seek the help of or accept an offer of help to settle their conflict from a third party without the use of violence or authority of law. To Nathan (2010. p. 1), "Mediation is a process of dialogue and negotiation in which a third party assists two or more disputant parties with their consent to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict without resort to force." Others have put it as "any intermediary activity ... undertaken by a third party with the primary intention of achieving some compromise settlement of issues at stake between parties, or at least ending disruptive conflict behaviour" (Mitchell, 1981, p. 287) and "an extension and elaboration of the negotiation process that involves the intervention of an acceptable, impartial and neutral third party who has no authoritative decision-making power to assist contending parties in voluntarily reaching their own mutually acceptable settlement" (Moore, 1986, p. 6). In the book 'Peacemaking and Peacebuilding: Two ends of a tail', *Mediation and Liberal Peacebuilding. Peace from the Ashes of War?* edited by Eriksson and Kostić, mediation is a form of *third party intervention* which does *not involve the use of violence* and by this, it differs from other tools of peace-making such as military intervention (Eriksson and Kostić 2013a). Wallensteen and Möller cited by Lehti and Saarinen (2014) have defined a third party as "a party that is involved in either helping the warring parties to regulate the incompatibility or the level of the violence and work as an intermediary between the two" with reference to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) (Wallensteen and Möller, 2008).

Greig and Diehl (2012) have argued that no matter the form of conflict, the voluntary introduction of a third party in conflict management is the most distinguishing feature of mediation. Wall, Stark and Standifer's (2001) definition of mediation as assistance to disputing parties without the third-party's authority to impose an outcome offers a more appropriate conceptualisation of mediation than Greig and Diehl (2012)'s description of mediation as a third party intervention with emphasis on the third party as the distinguishing feature of mediation. This definition fails to conceptualise mediation as a voluntary activity on the part of both the disputants and the mediator. More so, not all third party involvements in conflict resolution are necessarily acts of mediation. It could be arbitration, conciliation, adjudication or even military intervention. The difference between mediation and these concepts will be discussed later in this chapter. Greig and Diehl (2012), and Kochan and Jick (2011) further extend the definition of mediation to incorporate the political neutrality of the mediator in relation to the disputants. Nonetheless, Greig and Diehl (2012) still argue that neutrality of the mediator is not necessarily a *sine qua non* for favourable results. In mediating between Israel and Egypt, the United States was clearly biased against Egypt, but was able to utilize the combination of its leverage of superpower and interest in Middle East stability to encourage agreement.

The voluntary nature of mediation creates an avenue for a disputing party to accept an overture for mediation. It is a common phenomenon that a more dominant side of a dispute tends to avoid the assistance of a third party to help solve the conflict unless that party is sure of gaining much from the mediation process. This scenario brings to fore the question of when a conflict is ripe for mediation. Zartman (2008),

puts forward a strong argument in this case. According to Zartman's "ripeness theory", conflicts are considered 'ripe for resolution' only when parties have reached a 'mutually-hurting stalemate'. Quite naturally, India, for example, may continue to resist outsiders' offer to mediate between it and Pakistan over Kashmir until such a point when the continuation of the conflict will be very harmful.

The term 'ripeness' is initially understood to be when conflicting parties reach a 'mutually hurting stalemate' after the parties have measured the cost and benefits of either continuing the conflict or entering mediation. The author of this study argues on the contrary that the ripeness theory is too constrictive in terms of the applicability of mediation. The UN Secretary-General's report to the Security Council in 2009 found the ripeness theory regrettable since

"this led some to conclude that the international community should wait for a "hurting stalemate" to develop before offering mediation; but this turned out to be costly for all concerned, since opportunities for early resolution were lost and a stalemate sometimes led, instead, to intractability. While a "hurting stalemate" may be one factor that leads to peace talks, other factors, such as a change in leadership or a change in the regional or geopolitical environment, can also do so. This concept has now been reformulated to take into account the role that third parties can play in cultivating and fostering ripeness at an early stage through the introduction of new ideas, skills, resources, and creativity"(UNITAR, 2010. p.9)

The question of who can and who should get involved in mediation has gained attention in recent scholarly works. Eriksson and Kostić have explained in their recent study in a book called *'Peacemaking and Peacebuilding: Two ends of a tail'*, in Eriksson & Kostić (eds.) *Mediation and Liberal Peacebuilding. Peace from the Ashes of War?* Private diplomacy actors, non-governmental organizations, states, regional as well as international bodies can pursue mediation (Eriksson & Kostić 2013a). The contributions of certain notable individuals like, Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Lakhdar Brahimi, Jan Eliasson and Martti Ahtisaari; and non-governmental

organizations such as the Carter Centre, the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue and Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) are worth mentioning. On many occasions, mediation is pursued by an international body such as the United Nations, continental bodies such as the African Union and the European Union, sub-continental body like the ECOWAS as well as states like the United States.

The chart below demonstrates the level of involvement of Individuals, NGO, states, Governmental organisations as well as the United Nations in mediation over a period of time.

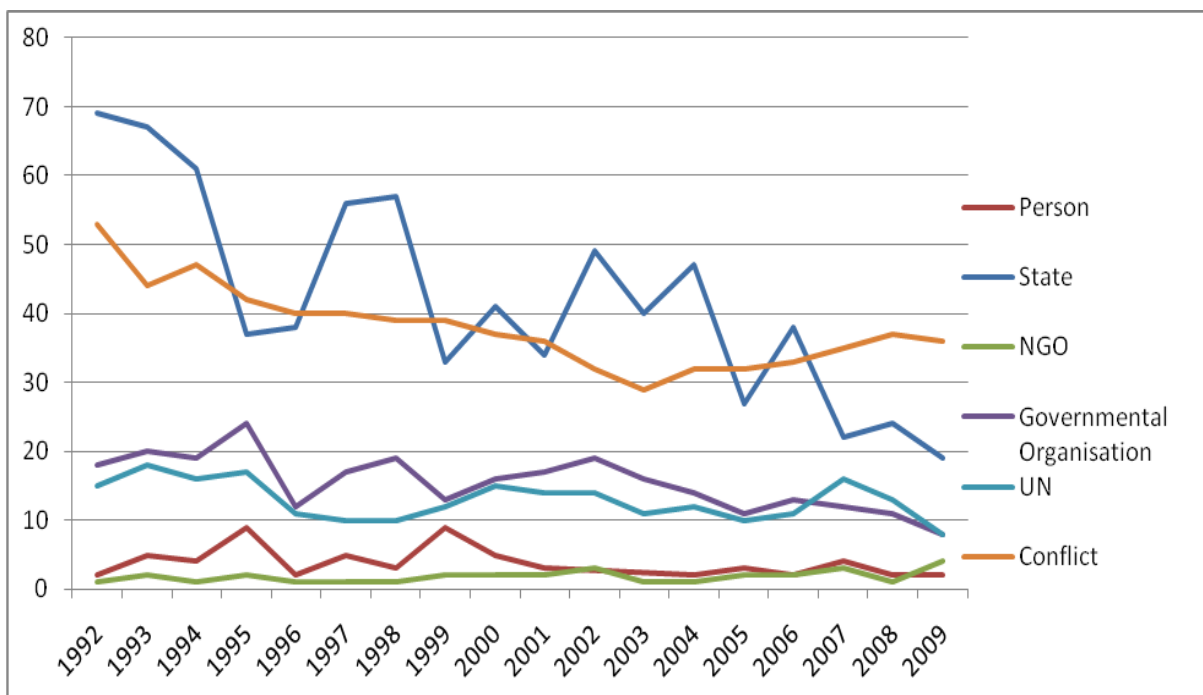


Figure 1. States still remain the single most important type of mediator. They are followed by the UN and governmental Organizations. NGOs and individuals rarely assume the lead mediation.

Sources: Harbom & Wallensteen 2010: *Armed Conflicts, 1946 – 2009*; Simon J. A. Mason & Damiano Angelo Sguaitamatti, (2011) compilation of data based on Uppsala University UCDP Database. Peaks in 1997/8 and 2002/4 are mainly due to conflicts like Somalia, the Ivory Coast, or Guinea Bissau.

In a book edited by Fixdal (2012), the work of Nordic mediators such as Ahtisaari, Egeland, and Stoltenberg have been highlighted. The mode and styles of mediation of the Swedish renowned diplomat Jan Eliasson have been examined by Svensson and Wallensteen in their masterpiece *The Go-Between. Jan Eliasson and the Styles of Mediation* (2010). It is, however, regrettable to mention that despite Kofi Annan's reputation as a world class mediator, there is a lack of academic study on his work as a mediator written by a Ghanaian scholar. Kivimäki and Gorman (2008) underscore the great variety and effectiveness of activities that non-governmental actors may provide for the peace processes. The non-governmental institutions sometimes act as donor groups who participate in the transformation of the social structures that are critical for a successful peace process.

Mediation can be conducted at different stages of a conflict. In Diehl (2006), four different phases of conflict in which mediation may be conducted have been distinguished. *Pre-violence, during armed conflict, after a cease-fire* and then *following a peace agreement*. Similarly, Walter (2002) identifies three stages in the process of conflict management: 'Getting to the table', 'getting an agreement' and 'implementing the agreement'. However, Diehl (2006) has argued that not all conflicts go through all the phases highlighted and may not necessarily follow one defined path.

Mediation is a broad term that involves a variety of activities to deal with a conflict. These activities may take different forms depending on the condition of the disputing parties. Fisher (2007) has identified four different levels of mediator involvement: *Conciliation, Consultation, Pure Mediation and Power Mediation*. *Conciliation*

is the level where the mediator facilitates informal information exchange between the disputants as a strategy to limit the level of hostilities to lay the foundation for negotiation. The Conciliation process usually gives free hand to the disputing sides in the discussion but provides a forum or 'good offices' for communication. Pruitt (2000) describes this level of third party engagement as 'light mediation'.

Consultation is where the mediator uses personal expertise to help the factions move towards finding a solution to the problem. The level of third-party participation involves a more direct engagement of the mediator in the discussion. Nonetheless, the mediator does not determine the rules of engagement rather the mediator avoids exerting control. This was the level of President Jimmy Carter's involvement during the negotiation of the Camp David Accords involving Israel and Egypt.

The *pure mediation* is where the third party is more engaged in talks with the sides to encourage agreement. Besides attempts to persuade the disputants to reason with the mediator, the mediator also controls the information flow between the parties, offers potential settlement terms, develops terms of settlement and even limits the topics for negotiation to focus on areas of mutual interest in order to provide a platform for broader settlement of the conflict (Greig & Diehl, 2012).

Power mediation has been referred to as 'heavy mediation' in Pruitt (2000) as 'manipulation' in Zartman (2008) and also as 'coercive diplomacy' in Nathan (2005). This is where the mediator uses its resources or leverage either as carrot or stick to coerce the disputants into an agreement. This form of mediation has been variously criticised by (Steffek, 2012; Nathan, 2010; and Moore, 1986) for lack of voluntary

agreement on the part of the disputing sides. It is important to draw a line between those mediation cases that represent 'force and persuasion in peace-making' like Bosnia or Kosovo and where the peace agreement is owned by the local people (Eriksson & Kostić 2013b).

The goals of mediation efforts just like the forms of mediation vary in many senses. The goal of a mediation process offers the tool for measuring the success or otherwise of the efforts. The success of a peace process may be understood either as the absence of war or the absence of the root causes of the war according to Johan Galtung's negative and positive peace concepts. If peace is seen as just an absence of war, then peace is achieved when the mediator is able to attain ceasefire and negotiated peace accord in the peace process (Lehti & Saarinen, 2014). Nevertheless, not all mediation efforts have the ambitious goal of obtaining final settlement and implementation of the settlement agreement. One way in which mediation can help in managing a conflict is ceased-fire. This is able to help put a temporary stop to deaths, injuries and other forms of destruction in conflicts. In Greig and Diehl (2012), Princen (1992), and Richmond (1998) have argued that cease-fire can reduce the level of hostility and create the forum for a peaceful settlement. Nonetheless, Princen and Richmond have again pointed out that a disputing party may exploit a cease-fire as an opportunity to take a short breath from the intensity of the war to re-strategize for the battle (Princen, 1992; Richmond, 1998).

Another goal of a mediation effort could be to select from the issues the ones that could easily be solved to create room for dealing with the most complex issues

(Bercovitch & Langley, 1993; Greig & Diehl, 2005; Hopmann, 1996). In some occasions according to (Greig 2001, 2005; Regan & Stam, 2000; and Zubek, Pruitt, Peirce, McGillicuddy & Syna (1992), partial settlement offers the warring factions the opportunity to gather momentum for the final settlement. Nonetheless, the reduction in the number of issues of mutual interest poses the risk of reducing the trade-offs needed for complete settlement (Brams and Taylor, 1996).

In a recent book edited by Aggestam and Björkdahl and another one edited by Eriksson and Kostić, peace mediation is observed as part of a broader peacebuilding process (Aggestam and Björkdahl (eds.), 2013; Eriksson and Kostić (eds.), 2013a). The peace process achieves a positive peace as defined by Galtung through peacebuilding which he has described as a process of promoting sustainable peace by addressing the 'root causes' of violent conflict and supporting indigenous competences for maintenance of peace (Galtung, 1976). The same view is held in the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (The Brahimi Report) which define peacebuilding as including, support for the fight against corruption, democratic advancement, strengthening the rule of law and bettering the human rights situation, tackling HIV/AIDS as well as the promotion of reconciliation (UNGA, 2000). Peacebuilding simply offers the support and the opportunity to reconstruct collapsed societies after a war.

Conflict resolution and the peacebuilding processes involve the application of a variety of procedures and techniques. Steffek (2012) has posited that voluntary and ownership of the peace-making procedure by the disputing parties offer good

guidelines to set mediation apart from the other conflict resolution techniques. He further distinguishes mediation from other alternative forms of conflict and dispute solutions such as arbitration, ombudsman procedure, conciliation and structured negotiation. Article 33 of the UN Charter identifies mediation among other methods such as adjudication, inquiry, negotiation, conciliation as well as arbitration as avenues for peaceful settlement of international conflicts. From this context, mediation is portrayed as a distinctive technique from other methods used in peace interventions. Nevertheless, mediation is sometimes confused with other related conflict management strategies. *Mediation and negotiation* for example, are often used interchangeably. Notwithstanding, scholars differ on the relation between mediation and negotiation. This makes it more worthwhile to draw a distinction between these strategies. In Zartman's book *Negotiation and Conflict Management: Essays on Theory and Practice*, mediation is seen as a kind of negotiation in which a third party helps the disputing parties to arrive at a solution they themselves are unable to reach (Zartman, 2008). Eriksson and Kostić (2013a), and Höglund (2008) just like Zartman consider mediation as representing a one-kind of negotiation which involves third-party interventions.

From the viewpoint of Svensson, in Lehti and Saarinen (2014), the distinction between mediation and negotiation can be drawn at the level of communication between or among the conflicting parties. To him, the primary parties in a conflict interact with the assistance of or through a third party in mediation, whereas, the primary actors engage in direct communication to reach a deal in negotiation (Svensson, 2012a). The addition of a third to the bargaining process between the

primary actors in a conflict clearly shows a structural difference between mediation and negotiation (Greig and Diehl, 2012). From the preceding, Dixon is right to maintain that mediation should not be seen as a special form of negotiation as claimed by Zartman, Höglund, and Eriksson & Kostić but as a separate form of conflict management strategy (Dixon, 1996).

Similarly, *arbitration* resembles mediation partly because of the presence of a third party but the difference is that in the case of arbitration third party is not actively engaged in the discussion but acts much like a judge in a less formal situation outside the court. (Lehti & Saarinen, 2014). The Åland case provides a classic instance of arbitration at work. Finland and Sweden gave the case to the League of Nations to settle who in turn forwarded to the Permanent Court of Arbitration to decide the fate of the Åland people. A mediator only assists and facilitates the primary actors in a conflict to reach settlement. The mediator does not have the authority to determine the outcome of the discussion. The process is locally owned by the primary parties. However, the reverse is the case in arbitration where the arbitrator determines the outcome of the discussion which is binding.

Conciliation also involves the engagement of a third party. However, here, the third party maintains some distance from the discussion between the primary parties, unlike mediation where the mediator is actively engaged in the discussion. The arbitrator also attempts to make recommendations for fair settlement.

The current Writer agrees with Greig and Diehl (2012) that when binding decisions are rendered in formal proceedings with well-defined rules which are confined to

disputes that can be resolved by reference to legal standards, adjudication is considered to have taken place hence, it is several steps removed from mediation.

Nathan (2010) admits mediation is the primary strategy for effective peace-making, and its relevance in international conflict resolution is self-evident. Notwithstanding, Nathan (2010) makes a strong argument that the prospects of successful conflict resolution have been limited. According to him, this is unfortunately so because, mediation has not been developed and conducted in a systematic and professional way. Although the success of mediation remains abundantly evident, it is plagued with the lack of expertise and professionalism compared to professional armed forces. Nathan compares mediation to warfare considering the unpredictability of the conduct of mediation. He further argues that international mediation does not give serious consideration to training, strategies, doctrines and procedures. There are no internationally standardised procedures for conducting mediation and appointing mediators making international mediation akin to diplomacy (Nathan 2010). Notwithstanding the proven success of mediation in conflict resolution, the concept of mediation needs to be refined, and a new conceptual lucidity of conflicts and its management developed. Svensson and Wallensteen (2010, p. 128-9) have also advised that “there is a need to create systematic approaches to learning, sharing, training, and knowledge production in the field of international mediation”.

1.4.2 *Small State*

Since the end of the Cold War, small states have become increasingly prevalent. Over the past decades, there have been a constant increase in the number of small states than ever, yet this trend has not received the needed attention in the international relations discourse in comparison with its great power counterparts (Cooper & Shaw, 2009; Doeser, 2011; and Steinmetz & Wivel, 2010). The literature on small states in Europe especially has seen rapid growth after the Cold War, but the same thing cannot be said about Scholarly work on small states in Africa.

Small states normally get the attention just because of their economic and political instability. They are often perceived as irritant in modern-day international relations. Notwithstanding, there are good examples of small states that have been successful in many spheres and the Nordic countries offer a shining example. In the past two decades, Ghana, for example, has also become the beacon of democratic and stable government in the West African sub-region.

Research on small states has been conducted from varied fields and angles. Some researchers like Margaret Mead (*Coming of Age in Samoa*, 1928) and Charles Darwin (*Evolution on the island of Galapagos*, 1835) decided to study small states because of their “Microcosmic environment and inhabitants” there are also ongoing researches on several aspects of small states like eace and foreign affairs (Prasad, 2009).

The concept of Small State is open to several interpretations, and researchers do not agree on a strict definition (Thorhallsson & Wivel, 2006). Besides, Antola and Lehtimäki (2001), Archer and Nugent (2002) and Knudsen (2002) have all expressed their opinion on the lack of agreement on the influence of small states in global politics and the common features that are expected in their foreign policies.

In his discussion in the book *Neutrality and Small States*, Karsh argues that the disagreement in reaching an agreement on definition is not unique to the issue of small state but also a common phenomenon in the field of social sciences (Karsh, 1988).

The categorisation of states into small and big on the basis of size is a social construction (Hanf & Soetendorp, 1998) and the line between large and small countries is debatable (Magnette & Nicolaidis, 2005; Thorhallson, 2006; Thorhallsson & Wivel, 2006). The ideas of small and large states are relative concepts. A state may be defined as small or large based on a variety of elements such as population, land area, Gross Domestic Product, the level of trade or a combination of all the indicators (Prasad, 2009). For instance, Finland could be small according to its population and political power but a big one based on its geographical, territorial boundary. The World Bank and Commonwealth Secretariat have suggested a population 1.5 million to classify a country as small. On the basis of this classification, 45 countries fall under the category of small states. Out of the 192 member states of the United Nations, 46 of them have a population of not more than 1.5 million. Archipelagos and small

developing island states constitute 30 out of the 46. This definition is deficient since population appears to be the most commonly used measurement for small states.

The question of whether small states should be distinguished along geographical, population, economic resources, capabilities and power lines has been asked by Smith, Pace and Lee in their analysis of small states (Smith, Pace & Lee, 2005). The debate on small state is inundated with several ambiguities. This is evidenced by the lack of consensus on what should constitute the definition of a small state. Notwithstanding the haziness of this concept, there is general agreement that small states do exist, and some challenges are ubiquitous among small states (Christmas-Møller, 1983; Knudsen 2002).

Small states are most commonly categorised in terms of lack of possession of power resources either in relative or absolute terms (Mouritzen & Wivel, 2005). It is important to emphasise the point that the power possession definition of a small state suffers some limitations. There is no accepted yardstick for measuring the amount of power possessed by a state (Steinmetz & Wivel, 2010). Hey (2003) adds to the fogginess on the concept of small states both in theory and practice of international relations by categorising small states into micro-state, small states in the third world and small states in the developed world. Anckar (2004), Naseer (2002), Neumann and Gstöhl (2006), and Plischke (1977) disagree on the size of the population that is good enough to constitute a microstate. Neumann and Gstöhl (2004) describe such categorisation as arbitrary and blurred but still Brown (2000) insists the commonest criterion for measuring magnitude is population. Vital in his research *The Inequality of*

States several decades ago described small states in the developed world as having lesser population than their third world counterparts (Vital, 1967). Small states in Africa and Asia face different challenges and opportunities compared to those in Europe.

Small states are characterised with lower Gross Domestic Product (GDP), small population size and amount of financial and administrative resources. These characteristics present some structural obstacles in pursuing their foreign policy agenda according to Danke (2008). The attribution of power to states in international relations on the basis of quantitative measurements such as population, territorial size, military capacity and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) bring to fore real problems. This argument may not be tenable considering the enormous evidence of some small states like Norway with Higher GDP. A state's ability to influence decisions in the international system is affected by the lack of agreement in categorisation of states on the basis of quantitative matrices. (Thorhallsson, 2012).

Small states are perceived to be vulnerable when the analysis is guided by power politics, military capabilities, warfare and ability to withstand anarchy in relations to larger and more powerful states. These assumptions explain why small states must have immense interest in transnational peace and stability than larger states as argued by Mahbubani (2002), the former Permanent Representative of Singapore to the UN.

The ever increasing number of international players does not necessary alter the fact that when it comes to military power, the world continues to be unipolar to a large extent (Tarp & Hansen, 2013). They have argued however that, considering the current complexities in international power relations, military power is sometimes ineffective. There are increasing global challenges that cannot be dealt with military power and this contributed to diffusing the meaning of power to a large extent.

Edis (1991) and Tarp and Hansen (2013) claim there is evidence that some small states are capable of punching above their weight in the diplomatic world. Annan touted the relevance of small states in the global milieu when he said in a press statement that, it is common for small states to feel overwhelmed by the global forces due to the vast amount of resources, weaponry, a fleet of expert technicians and negotiators possessed by the large states. However, he was quick to sound the strongest possible note to the contrary that from his experience at the United Nations “small States of the world are more than capable of holding their own” and that “their contributions are the very glue of progressive international cooperation for the common good” (Annan, 1998).

Thorhallsan (2012) has categorised the ability of small states into internal competences such as leadership, coalition, knowledge, initiative as well as diplomatic skills, and secondly the image and reputation of small states as norm entrepreneurs or impartial in the international system.

International administration skills of small states such as neutrality and diplomatic competences explain their success in conflict mediation in recent times.

However, according to Karsh (1988) disputing parties see neutrality as an immoral act and hypocritical and as “zero sum game” by Niccolo Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker. Many small countries including Finland, Sweden, Austria and Switzerland have adopted neutrality in international politics as a guiding principle in the pursuit of their foreign policies because of their historical experiences and, as a result, do not accept the image of neutrality as anachronistic and morally wrong.

The appreciation of the limitations and difficulties of measuring the amount of power possessed by a state to constitute either small or large led Mouritzen and Wivel (2005) to define a small state as “the weak part in an asymmetric relationship”. In their view, the smallness or weakness of a state is measured in relative terms. For example, Finland is great power in its relations with Estonia but a small state in its dealings with neighbouring Russia. Likewise, Ghana may be seen as a big player in the ECOWAS but a small state in the UN system. The author concludes that a country could be small in both relative and absolute terms.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

Mediation is often the first gear in driving towards reconciliation. It is regrettable to say that, notwithstanding the pledge of Ghana in the international arena and particularly peacekeeping and peace-making, efforts are not being made to establish special offices and develop experts tasked for the purpose of mediation. As if that is not enough, there is neither a desk nor a single official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ghana responsible for mediation.

Ghana is a well-known and respected actor in international peacekeeping and peace-making activities. Despite the fact that Ghana is quite advanced in peace and security matters, there is the need to reflect on what has been achieved and what challenges need to be conquered to build on its local as well as trans-border mediation capacity. It is expected that Ghana will build its capacity and make use of the profile already achieved as an active player in mediation.

1.6 Research Questions

This thesis is policy oriented and seeks to find answers to the following questions:

Main Question:

What Prospects are available for Ghana to systematically build its capacity for international mediation?

Sub-Questions:

- Is it expedient for Ghana to develop a capacity for international mediation?
- What is Ghana's capacity for mediation?
- What lessons can Ghana being a small state learn from its Nordic counterparts in developing and strengthening its national competence for international mediation?
- How can Ghana strengthen its national infrastructure for peace?

2 Methodology

2.1 *Research Design*

This chapter will offer the reader insight into how this research was conducted and the method for data collection and analysis. This chapter also aims at exposing the reader to the research process with the view to increasing the reliability and credibility of the study.

The study relied heavily on qualitative research method to obtain and scrutinise the data. The aim is to understand and throw light on a certain context-specific phenomenon. The researcher attempts to study a contextual phenomenon, make sense of it and tries to interpret its meaning (Denzin & Lincoln 2003).

A qualitative research method appropriate for an exploratory study of this type. The issues of small state and peace mediation are complex, and a qualitative approach offers the opportunity to engage and explore the topic in more detail. The study employs an interpretive research approach in gathering and presentation of the data (Babbie, 1986). The findings of the research complement the theory.

This research is on small states and mediation with Ghana as the case. Case studies are a popular way of doing qualitative studies. The aim of a case study is not to represent the world but a particular case, (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

The study used triangulation (Denzin, 1989) that is, more than one method of data collection was used to be able to cross-check and confirm findings. The study made use of evidence obtained from documentary sources such as, primary material

by way of official documents and reports, as well as secondary documents (reviews of journals, articles and books). The thesis also made use of expert informant interviews.

2.2 *Literature Review*

2.2.1 *General Remarks*

The main technique for data collection in this project was an analysis of secondary data such as books, reports, policy documents, journals and newspaper articles on the thesis topic.

The study reviewed some scholarly literature, policy documents and reports across a large spectrum of issues relevant to the thesis topic. The secondary data strongly complements the facts obtained from the semi-structured interviews.

2.2.2 *Sample*

The documentary sources of data that were analysed for the studies included official government publications, speeches by mediation experts and practitioners, journals, books, newspaper articles, documents published on the internet as well as websites of institutions working on the subjects were covered by the study. The electronically disseminated materials mostly provided updated data on the subject matter, and this was particularly useful for this research. These documentary sources of information have been appropriately referenced. Before the author began the thesis writing, literature on the topics based on the search terms such as, 'peace', 'mediation', 'conflict', 'peacebuilding', 'conflict resolution', 'small states' 'small states and diplomacy', 'capacity building', 'Ghana Mediation', 'Finland mediation', 'Sweden

Mediation', 'Norway Mediation', 'Nordic mediation' were acquired through a search on the internet from *Google Scholar*, *Nelli Portaali* as well as *ebrary*. In all, a total of 11 databases were explored to retrieve publications on the thesis topic from 1980 to 2015. Publications of particular interest were also retrieved from *SAGE*, *HelMet*, *Academia*, *JSTOR* and the *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research* (Emerald Group Publishing). The broad search was to ensure that relevant literature on the subject matter were not ignored. Several publications on small states in peacebuilding in Europe were retrieved but nothing was retrieved on small states in Africa. More so, no scholarly work that specifically dealt with the role of small states in mediation was also retrieved except those on especially "small states and diplomacy", and "small states in international relations". This thesis also benefited from hard copy literature available at the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Library in Helsinki. A number of books were also obtained from friends. The documents enhanced the writer's understanding of the thesis topic and helped in designing the interview questions and in directing the Authors further literature and secondary data search.

In analysing how Ghana can learn from the Nordic examples, the researcher relied quite heavily on, National mediation action plans, guidelines and documents from Finland (MFA Finland, 2011), Sweden (MFA Sweden, 1999), and Norway (MFA Norway, 2005) as well as a book "Nordic Approaches to Peace Mediation. Research, Practices and Policies", edited by Marko Lehti (2014) who is as well a Lecturer in the same PEACE programme at University of Tampere.

2.3 *Semi-structured Interview*

2.3.1 *Interview Structure*

The author also utilised semi-structured qualitative interviews in order to complement the primary data and to get a broader insight (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). The aim of the interview was to crosscheck information obtained from the documentary sources. This was the case especially in this situation because the research topic has not been studied previously. The interviews were also conducted to gather data on 'insiders' understanding and perspective on the research questions.

2.3.2 *Sample*

Attempts were also made to select experts on the subject matter from the various countries. It was difficult to find people who have been officially involved in peace mediation. As a result, the Researcher chose the option of interviewing those who are knowledgeable with the issue of peace mediation and those who work closely with peace mediation. The respondents constituted experts with varied backgrounds but shared interest in peace mediation and negotiation. Many of these interviewees were researchers with a couple of them being practitioners and scholars at the same time. The Author chose the individuals for the interview through convenient sampling based on the competence and availability of the interviewee. (Bryman, 2004). The Author chose few respondents from each country since the purpose was to complement the findings from the scrutiny of secondary data. It was important to

choose persons who were aficionados of peace mediation research and conflict resolution as a whole.

Overall, at least one Interviewee from each country (Ghana, Finland, Norway and Sweden) was targeted. The sample size of interviewees may not be large enough for extensive generalisation but this did not affect the reliability of the findings. In this study, emphasis is placed on quality instead of quantity. By so doing, a careful scrutiny and analysis of even a small amount of data is capable of providing deep knowledge of a particular phenomenon (Eskola & Suoranta 2008).

The study encountered non-responses to some emails especially those sent to Ghana and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden for the interview opportunity. Some of the respondents to emails sent requesting for interview time were negative citing non-availability due to a tight schedule.

2.3.3 Procedure

The interviews were held with expert informants on various issues on small states and mediation in the selected countries of Ghana. The Interviews were organised on thematic areas, but the questions were not organised in a pre-determined format, and this gave the Researcher more flexibility. More so, different interview techniques were adapted to different respondents since the author was dealing with both researchers and practitioners with experiences from different countries.

Some of the respondents did not want some aspects of the interview to be quoted and, therefore, the interviews were conducted in the form of informal conversation. This technique helped the study in a great deal because it allowed the respondents to freely express themselves and give certain vital information which would have been difficult to obtain in an official interview.

During the interviews, special emphasis was placed on the mediation experiences of the countries involved and the recommendations of the interviewees for building mediation competences of Ghana and how Ghana can learn from the Nordic examples.

The interviews were conducted between November 2014 and August 2015. The interviews were conducted on skype and phone. The interviewees are presented in Appendix 1. The interviews were tape recorded. This gave the Author the opportunity to concentrate on the interviews. The transcribed recording enabled the Researcher to check for accuracy of what were said by the respondents in the course of writing the thesis.

3 Results

3.1 *Must Ghana Strengthen its Mediation Competences?*

Ghana and indeed most of Africa have been beleaguered by internal conflicts for several years. Perhaps the saddest lesson of the past decades has been that it is more costly to cure than to prevent violent conflict (Annan, 2002). It is quite exciting and heart-warming to know that mediation offers the most effective antidote to the cure as well as the prevention of violent wars.

Although Ghana is considered an island of peace, it is contoured by many unstable countries. Ghana has the moral responsibility to help stabilise its neighbouring countries. Agyei, the Director of Policy Planning and Evaluation Bureau of the Ghana Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration shares a similar view on the need for Ghana to strengthen its mediation competences (Agyei, 2015, August 31) A conflict in especially any of Ghana's neighbouring countries can have a ripple effect on Ghana. It is in the light of this that Ghana must strengthen its international conflict mediation competences to be able to contribute more meaningfully to peace in other countries. In the face of challenges faced by ECOWAS and the AU in dealing with conflicts in the continent, it has become more necessary for Ghana to prioritise developing its own mediation competences. This will provide an opportunity for Ghana to build a profile in this field.

3.2 Assessing Ghana's Capacity and Prospects for International Peace Mediation

Ghana has a long history of involvement in peace related activities. The National Peace Council for instance provides a formidable infrastructure on which Ghana's mediation competences can be built and utilised.

The contribution of NGOs to the maintenance of peace and security through non-violent means is highly recognised in Article 71 of the United Nations Charter. According to Annan (2002), NGOs offer the most effective means of conducting Track II diplomacy in areas where international organisations and governments find it difficult to venture. Ghana is endowed with a resilient civil society that is dedicated to peacebuilding. The West African Network for Peacebuilding which has its headquarters in Ghana has been active in many peacebuilding processes across Africa.

There are research institutions and universities that are already offering some courses in conflict studies and conducting conflict and peace related researches. A special mention can be made of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), and the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) at University of Ghana. The existence of these institutions makes it less difficult to introduce new models aimed at training experts in mediation.

There are more avenues and prospects for developing more expertise for international peace mediation. Particular attention should be paid to the existing infrastructure for peace which is the National Peace Council.

3.3 *Infrastructure for Peace (I4P)*

The strive towards achieving peace during conflicts in most African countries has often been challenging as a result of the many hindrances and obstacles peaceful negotiations face amongst parties in conflict. These obstacles which exist in the forms of inadequate resources and lack of structures have been impediments to peaceful resolution of conflicts. In the area of conflict studies, some scholars like Paul Van Tongeren have proposed the need to develop an infrastructure for peace which he has defined as a “dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values and skills which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in a society” (Tongeren, 2011). Similarly, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), an infrastructure for peace (I4P) is “a network of interdependent systems, resources, values and skills held by government, civil society and community institutions that promote dialogue and consultation, prevent conflict and enable peaceful mediation when violence occurs in a society” (UNDP, 2013)

The I4P has received some recognition in the peacebuilding literature only in recent times. According to Kumar (2011), this new concept was popularised by John Paul Lederach in the 1980s based on his personal exposure to the use of local and national institutions in peace negotiations. The United Nations underscores the importance of building a national peace infrastructure to offer the government and the local societies the opportunity to use their own competences to deal with internal conflicts. In the *2006 Progress Report on the Prevention of armed conflict Report*, the

Secretary-General of the United Nations emphasise the need to establish a culture of prevention both at the national and international levels (UN, 2006).

Defining an infrastructure for peace has been faced with disparities among scholars because of the varied ways they have approached it based on their backgrounds and experiences. Consequently, there has not been an accepted definition for the concept. One of the many scholars who has attempted to describe an infrastructure for peace is Lederach (1997) in his book *Building Peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. According to him building an infrastructure for peace must be devoid of external influences in the least possible ways and must rather be an inclusive process with the necessary parties and stakeholders. In Lederach's view, the peacebuilding process must focus on relationship building between the parties in conflict and the constructive changes in attitude between these. Many other authorities in conflict research have shared similar views on infrastructure for peace by stressing the need to allow societies to engage in conflict resolution devoid of external influences.

Usually, a country's infrastructure for peace is determined by its experiences and socio-political context. However, the most dominant components of an infrastructure according to Kut (2007), Odendaal (2012) and Tongeren (2011) include regional and local peace councils; national peace forums, government unit on peacebuilding; bill on infrastructure for peace; peace education; building national capacities for peace; and the promotion of a shared vision of society and a culture of peace. Case studies conducted by Tongeren (2011), Kumar (2011), Hopp-Nishanka

(2012) and Odendaal (2013) in countries such as Ghana, Kenya, South Africa, Nepal, Philippines, and Nicaragua revealed some distinguishing features characterising the infrastructure for peace in the countries mentioned above. The first observation made by these scholars is that these countries assigned different names for the concept of infrastructure for peace. For instance, South Africa has Local Peace Committees, Local Peace Council as adopted by Nepal, National Peace Council (NPC) for Ghana, National Peace Commission by Kenya and Nicaragua while Afghanistan operates under the name High Peace Council.

The second finding is that, whereas some countries had formal recognition from the state others had no formal state recognition. Nonetheless, whether a particular state has the support of the state or otherwise has its implications. Thus, a formal infrastructure for peace provides room for engagement with government and the leaders in control of the highest political realms, whereas a non-formal recognition means less political interference and more participation by civil society.

The third finding revealed the varying focal points of interest emphasised by the different countries studied in their infrastructure for peace because there are variations with regards to their principles and mandates.

3.4 Ghana National Infrastructure for Peace

Ghana has a reputation in Africa as a stable and democratic country. Notwithstanding, Ghana has suffered an amount of enervating community-level conflicts. The period between 1990 and early 2000s was when Ghana experienced the

most violent ethnic conflicts. The Kokomba-Nanumba war for instance claimed not less than 5000 lives between 1994 and 1995.

In 2002, a chieftaincy conflict between two royal gates Abudu and Andani in the Dagbon area in Northern Ghana almost destabilised the northern region of the country. This chieftaincy conflict nicknamed the 'Dagbon Chieftaincy Crisis' also led to the murder of the Overlord of the Dagbon Kingdom Ya-Na Yakubu Andani II and some of his elders.

As part of the efforts to deal with the crisis in Dagbon to ensure stability, the government of Ghana requested the assistance of the UN Mediation Support Unit (MSU). Following the request, the UNDP appointed a Peace and Governance Advisor to consult with government and civil society to ensure human security in the region. Out of the collaboration between government and civil society under the coordination of UNDP, the Ghana Ministry of Interior issued the *National Architecture for Peace* in 2006.

3.5 *National Peace Council*

Ghana shares border with other countries which have been hit with conflicts at one point and others which are under critical crisis situations. Neighbouring Nigeria, which is currently facing challenges with Boko Haram rebels and terrorists, is a less distant example. Ghana has been able to develop for itself an infrastructure for peace in the form of an organisation known as the National Peace Council (NPC). Borne out of the necessity to ensuring peace and stability in Ghana, the NPC has since its establishment in 2006 been a pacesetter for peacebuilding in sub-Saharan Africa. The

Ghana national architecture for peace is the first official national level programme for peacebuilding probably in Africa (Tongerren, 2011). The National Peace Council was established in accordance with the Resolution of the African Union African at the First Standing Conference on Stability, Security and Development in Africa, in Durban in 2002.

3.6 Composition and Mandate of the National Peace Council

In Ghana, the National Peace Council's aim is to seek peaceful, non-violent conflict resolution methods to foster national cohesion through peacebuilding. The NPC consists of a specific number of representatives from Christian bodies, Muslim bodies, traditional bodies, identifiable groups and two nominees by the president. Thus, as compared to South Africa and Kenya which have representatives from trade unions, business and industry, youth, people with disability and gender, security agencies and government industries, Ghana has no representation in the NPCs from these background.

Just like the government, the NPC is divided into a three-tier structure namely National, Regional and District Peace Councils. Each level of the Peace Council has a board made of thirteen members and a secretariat (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). As part of its principles, the NPC stipulates specific term limits within which members of the council operate, are nominated, and how the chairperson is appointed.

The National Peace Council became legitimate and institutionalised with the passing of an Act of Parliament, National Peace Council Act, 2011 (Act 818). The vision of the NPC is moored on specific objectives

“to harmonise peacebuilding activities in Ghana through networking and coordination, to strengthen the capacity of peacebuilding institutions and practitioners, to develop a conflict prevention framework in Ghana that will monitor, report and offer indigenous perspectives, understanding and solutions to conflicts in Ghana and to build the capacity of chiefs, women and youth groups, civil society and community organisations to participate meaningfully in promoting and maintaining peace in their communities.” National Peace Council Act, 2011 (Act 818) p. 4.

3.7 National Peace Council in Action

Ghana is a stable country in a volatile region. Ghana has been hailed as a model example of peaceful democratic governance in sub-Saharan Africa where many countries are caught in a violent snare. However, Ghana is confronted with a myriad of conflicts which threaten the country's stability. The country is also often beset with conflicts of chieftaincy, land, religion and ethnic identity. Abotchie (2006) has identified 600 land disputes in Ghana. The Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture had recorded 232 cases of chieftaincy disputes as of May 2010. This report has been echoed in Aikins (2011). The cherished chieftaincy institution has almost become a symbol of conflict in many traditional areas of the country. In the face of these potential threats of community-level conflicts, the country has indeed successfully avoided major violent conflicts affecting its surrounding neighbours. With the help of UNDP, the NPC has formulated a Five Year Strategic Plan (2013-2017) which is under implementation (NPC, 2012).

3.7.1 Mediating Land and Chieftaincy Related Conflicts

The NPC has since its establishment chalked some successes in its bid to resolve conflicts in Ghana. For instance, the NPC in partnership with UNDP, and the University of Cape-Coast conducted a Conflict Assessment Studies of the Savannah Region of Ghana. Findings of this studies have helped the NPC to identify various conflict areas, causes of the conflicts, levels of civil society/government interventions, stakeholders and opportunities for mediation. After the completion of this studies, the NPC was able to, with the support from the UNDP and the National House of Chiefs begin the mediation process of the Dagbon crisis, a conflict which began after the murder of the Dagbon king and some of his elders in 2002.

As a mediator for peace, the National Peace Council of Ghana continues to engage stakeholders in peaceful negotiations especially in the Dagbon, Alavanyo/Nkonya, the Bawku, and the Hohoe conflicts. In all these areas, the National Peace Council has collaborated with local and international organisations like UNDP, the Swiss Embassy, the Regional Coordinating Councils, the Municipal Assemblies and the traditional authorities. Support from these areas has been relevant in contributing significantly to ensure peaceful coexistence between conflicting parties.

3.7.2 2008 General Elections

One area where the peace council has been successful is in the prevention of election-related conflicts. An election is a driver for peaceful change of government yet it also brings to fore, deep-seated social conflicts. The NPC has helped to neutralise tension

in closely contested general elections. In 2008 when there was heightened tensions between supporters of the major political parties in a keenly contested elections, many feared the country would be plunged into a state of chaos and violence. Events preceding the 2008 elections threatened the peace of the country. Thus, the intervention of the NPC was timely and beneficial in forestalling peace in Ghana. There were poorly organised limited voter registration exercises across the country, clashes between youth groups and political opponents, as well as the partisanship of the media towards the two major political parties. These factors were a trigger of violence and conflict but for the intervention of the NPC which saw both parties agree to work together in accordance with the code of conduct which stipulated that both parties were to collaborate with the police.

The NPC was able to persuade the leadership of the two leading political parties to accept the results of the elections and were made to pledge commitment to non-violence. The NPC also collaborated with the national security agencies to ensure that there was maximum protection of ballot boxes by security personnel to prevent any form of ballot box snatching and adequate deployment of security personnel in remote areas of the country. Indeed, the NPC was available to save a volatile situation in Ghana when it mattered most. Subsequently, there was a peaceful transfer of power which has strengthened Ghana's reputation as a democratic and stable country.

3.7.3 2012 General Elections

The NPC made significant contributions during the 2012 elections. Through its activities, the NPC eased tensions between the major political parties and their supporters. Firstly the NPC engaged in dialogues with the political parties on matters centred on national interest and issues which had possibilities of affecting the elections. One of the important issues discussed was the challenges of the biometric registration introduced in 2012, an exercise which was novelty to the Ghanaian electoral system.

Beside the political parties, the NPC engaged other stakeholders like the judiciary, the security and the media in ensuring that the 2012 general elections was violent free. The Judiciary introduced a revised manual on election adjudication in Ghana and distributed to all the political parties. Through dialogue with the NPC, the military and the police assured citizens that they were going to work as professionals and discharge their duties without taking any political stance. The NPC also engaged with various media organisations both electronic and print and ensured that their reports would not evoke any conflicts and violence.

A significant contribution of the NPC towards the 2012 general elections was with the organisation of the Peace Summit and the signing of the Peace Accord on electoral processes. These were made possible through collaboration with organisations like the UNDP, Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), the Manhyia Palace and the media which saw a commitment made by leaders of political parties to resort to constitutional means to challenge the outcome of the elections.

3.7.4 Religious Intolerance in Christian/Muslim Schools

Religious intolerance in Ghana's educational institutions has become a matter of serious concern to many Ghanaians. This is especially so because of its destabilising potential. The general opinion of Ghanaians in recent times was that the NPC should intervene before the situation worsens. The NPC in collaboration with UNDP quickly organised a national stakeholders' symposium to deliberate on the issue of religious intolerance especially in faith-based educational institutions and in the country at large. The conference brought together representatives of various stakeholders including the Ghana Education Service (GES), the Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Pentecostal Council, the Catholic Secretariat, Civil Society Organisations, the National Chief Imam, Sheikh Dr Osmanu Nuhu Sharubutu, and the Chairman of the Council of State, Mrs Cecilia Johnson. (Modern Ghana, 2015)

3.8 Challenges of the National Peace Council

In spite of the NPC's efforts to ensure that Ghana remains a country devoid of conflicts and violence, it faces challenges with finances. Even though government funds its activities, it is largely inadequate, and there have been calls for support from private organisations.

The NPC is faced with the daunting task of creating and running 10 Regional Advisory Boards and 212 District Advisory Boards including secretariats. Considering the magnitude of this task, the NPC needs a clearer implementation strategy of its Strategic Plan.

4 Learning from Nordic Examples

This section discusses the results of the interviews conducted together with the review of scholarly works on lessons that can be learnt from the Nordic examples.

The ability of small states in the Nordic region to influence international relations challenges the traditional understanding that only great powers determine the directions and pace of security and defence policy. It is, however, important to note that this influence by small states is to a large extent overlooked in scholarly accounts.

Ghana, just like many countries has the responsibility for international peace and this makes it more imperative to harness all avenues and prospects to be able to make more meaningful impacts in international peace promotion. It is in the light of this that the author is confident some lessons can be drawn from the Nordic region which has enviable records in this field to help in designing, building and strengthening Ghana's infrastructure for international mediation.

4.1 *Finland*

The initiative to develop a special profile and competences in the field of mediation is relatively recent. It is, however, important to point out that the policy to promote mediation as central part of the Finnish foreign policy was hinged on past experiences in peace processes in Western Balkans, Northern Ireland, Aceh, the Horn of Africa, and South Caucasus.

In response to strong public opinion requesting the Finnish state to complement the non-state activities in crisis management and peace campaign with a systematic policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a brochure on mediation guidelines for peace in 2010. Finland seeks to build a profile in the “vanguard of peace mediation” (MFA Finland, 2010) through partnership with experienced countries such as Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Finland has an action plan on peace mediation with the core vision to “strengthen Finnish capabilities and participation, taking account of opportunities for the flexible use of resources through the establishment of a stabilisation fund” (MFA Finland, 2011).

4.1.1 Finnish Activities to Develop International Mediation Competences

4.1.1.1 Friends of Mediation Group

Finland has made issues of gender, rule of law and crisis management its priority in the pursuit of its mediation initiatives. These prioritised areas were embraced in the first ever UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/65/283 (2011) on mediation initiated by Finland and Turkey. This joint initiative led to the establishment of the Friends of Mediation Group (Piiparinen, 2012). The goal of the Friends of Mediation Group is to develop and facilitate international peace mediation. The group consists of 40 states, the United Nations and Seven regional organisations. The Friends of Mediation are committed to the promotion of a mediation culture in their foreign policies and emphasise the importance of gender expertise in mediation.

4.1.1.2 The Ahtisaari Days

The Ahtisaari Days is an annual peace mediation event which is held every November to make peace work and mediation part and parcel of every individual by increasing the knowledge of mediation at all spectrums of society. The event is organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The event which is named after the Nobel Peace Laureate and former President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari is an avenue for enhancing international cooperation in the area of peace mediation and offers the opportunity to highlight the expertise of Finland in that arena.

4.1.1.3 Strengthening National Competences

In recent times, Finland has focused on developing its mediation structure and competence of the MFA to make mediation an important part of the foreign policy of Finland. Finland is very much focused on building on its already existing mediation experiences with the view to coordinating mediation activities among various sectors of state administration such as the Prime Minister's Office, Ministries of Finance, Interior, Justice and Defence. A master's programme in peace, mediation and conflict research has been introduced at Åbo Akademi University and Tampere University to train more experts in the field of peacebuilding.

4.1.1.4 Multi-stakeholder Networking

Finnish government also seeks to create cooperation with civil society organisations in Finland such as the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), Finnish Church Aid, research institutions and universities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also cooperates with Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI) at University of Tampere, the Finnish

Institute of International Affairs (FIIA) and the Åland Islands Peace Institute in the field of mediation.

The Finnish Foreign Affairs Ministry further seeks to create bridges between various Nordic civil society organisations, researches as well as research institutes.

4.1.1.5 Funding

Funding has been considered as critical for advancing the capacity for mediation. Several millions of euros have been reserved for activities that directly relate to mediation. The budgetary allocation of resources for the purposes of sponsoring mediation activities at the international level offer Finland global visibility and influences.

4.2 *Norway*

The Norwegian foreign policy of peace is anchored in the historical understanding of Norwegians as being particularly peaceful. The peace agenda has been a critical part of Norwegian foreign policy and this policy has been driven by the commitment to promote the peace identity of the people of Norway. Norwegians see peace promotion as an obligation. Peace is considered as an identity and status seeking enterprise. This purpose is achieved through their pursuit of a foreign policy of peace. The foreign policies of Norway have the implicit acknowledgement that Norway has an agenda of contributing to a more peaceful world. The Norwegian Peace identity was first expressed in the 1890s. The Norwegian peace identity drive was greatly inspired by the joint Nobel Peace Laureates in 1908, Fredrik Bajer and K.P. Arnoldson (Leira, 2007b).

The success story of Norway in peace facilitation demonstrates how small and nimble states could succeed where large states fail. The ability of Norway to achieve tough objectives in mediating difficult and protracted conflicts around the world has contributed to the reputation of the country as an international architect of peace. In 1993, Norway was able to secure the Oslo Accord through facilitation of peace talks between Israel and Palestine. Oslo also became the rendezvous for peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC-guerilla. According to Foster (2011), the success of Norway has indeed challenged the traditional assumption that small states are not capable of mediating or facilitating international peace due to their lack of hard-power resources. Norway's peace engagement and the achievement of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 in Sudan is a typically virtuoso

testament of its achievements in conflict resolution. Other shining examples of Norwegian engagements in Guatemala, Ethiopia and Sri Lanka have contributed to the status of Norway as a prominent force in global peace campaign.

4.2.1 Norwegian Activities to Develop International Mediation Competences

4.2.1.1 Active Co-operation with Supra-National Organisations

The United Nations has been central in international peace and security and has exhibited the competence to mediate over the years. It is in the light of this that Norway frequently cooperates with the United Nations in the field of peacebuilding. Norway actively supported the establishment of the UN Peacebuilding Commission. Norway channels a considerable amount of funds through the United Nations for peace efforts. Norway has been a major contributor to the Peacebuilding Fund and further supports the Mediation Support Unit (MSU). Acting through the UN, Norway has contributed to peace efforts in Haiti and Burundi. Beside the United Nations, Norway supports the activities of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in peace related engagements. Furthermore, Norway has been engaged in various forms of peace related activities in Mali, Sudan, Eritrea, Uganda as well as Somalia. The government of Norway has also prioritised the participation of women in peace related efforts in Africa in line with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. These peace related engagements in relations to the United Nations, the European Union as well as the African Union in no small way give Norway a certain amount of credibility and trust as a genuine peace entrepreneur.

4.2.1.2 Peace Research and Analysis

For many years Norway has been playing an important role as facilitator in a number of peace processes. Norwegian researchers have supported this by providing current information and cutting edge analyses on several issues. They also help develop competence in Norway and abroad, and create useful contacts that strengthen formal negotiations. In Norway, there is specialisation on peace mediation and peace studies centred at University of Oslo. Besides, there are institutions such as the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), and the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) where mediation related researches are being carried out. To bolster peace research and analysis, the government of Norway established the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) in 2010 with the view to improving networks between the MFA and the various research institutions. An amount of about 30 million NOK is annually made available by the government for research and analysis (NORAD, 2008).

4.2.1.3 Resource Availability

Norway is a small country in a peaceful part of the world yet it allocates a substantial amount of the country's Gross National Product (GNP) to peace efforts. Though the amount may be far behind what is allocated by the United States, it is enough to make significant difference. It is worth noting as posited by Jon Hanssen-Bauer that "Resources are not only flexible cash and generous development aid. A major factor is human resources and competence." The financing of peace efforts primarily come from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Norwegian Agency for

Development Cooperation (NORAD). To ensure flexibility and ready availability of funds for peace related ventures, separate line of budget has been established within the MFA.

4.2.1.4 The “Norwegian Model”

In a speech delivered by Jon Hanssen-Bauer, Senior adviser to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on The Norwegian “model” for conflict resolution in Lisbon in 2005, he emphasised the point that Norwegian involvement in peace efforts takes diverse forms ranging from acting as official facilitator of negotiations to sponsoring a back channel for secret negotiations, and to being an actor in an international coalition.

What factors contribute to the success of a small nation in the midst of larger countries in the field of conflict resolution? What makes the peacemaking efforts of Norway significantly different from other nations? The author supports the long-held argument that this is partly due to their creation and application of a new model of conflict resolution defined by Kelleher and Taulbee (2006) as the “Norwegian Model”. This model emphasis personal trust, secrecy and confidentiality, neutrality, availability of resources, active facilitation, long-term commitment, and interaction between diplomatic and humanitarian aid as well as cooperation between governments and non-state actors.

The Norwegian model is underpinned by a broad political consensus on their peace promotion policy. A case in point was the Norwegian engagement in Sri Lanka where Norway maintained several Ministers of Foreign Affairs from different political parties. Norway has available resources for peace processes. In many places where Norway has been involved in peace processes, they have had a long history of development co-operation and humanitarian assistance through NGOs. Norway got involved in the Guatemala peace process through the Norwegian Church Aid, which had been active in the country for a long time. Norway is usually perceived as having no hidden political or economic agenda. In many quarters, Norway is seen as peace supporter because of the Norwegian Nobel Institute and the Nobel Peace Prize. Norway coordinates with international actors with the view to attracting the necessary support for the processes they are involved in.

4.2.1.5 Institutionalisation of Peace Engagements

A special unit for peace and reconciliation has been set up within the Norwegian MFA. This is to ensure a more focused approach to mediation and peace promotion. This section of the Ministry employs a good number of experts with some of them working as Special Envoys in specific conflicts.

4.2.1.6 The Oslo Forum

Similar to the Ahtisaari Day, the Oslo Forum provides an annual platform for facilitation of network among conflict mediators, decision makers, researchers, analysts and experts from various institutional backgrounds. The Oslo Forum is

jointly hosted by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Swiss Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

4.3 Sweden

Sweden is well-known for its support for peaceful resolution of conflict and international peacekeeping and makes it a trusted campaigner on the critical issue of conflict prevention. The commitment to prevent conflict has been a key objective of the Swedish Foreign Policy since the 1990s. Until this time, Sweden had however already engaged in mediation activities during the war between the United States and North Vietnam in the years 1965-1968. Olof Palme was involved in the war between Iran and Iraq, as the UN Secretary General's Special Representative between 1980 and 1982. The role of UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in influencing Swedish preventive diplomacy agenda is also noteworthy. The mediation related activities of key Swedish diplomats such as Carl Bildt and Jan Eliasson aptly demonstrate the experiences of Sweden in peace mediation activities. (Svenson & Wallensten, 2010).

4.3.1 Swedish Activities to Develop International Mediation Competences

4.3.1.1 Prioritising Mediation in Swedish Foreign Policy

At the end of the cold world war, conflict prevention increasingly became pivotal in the reconstruction of the foreign policy of Sweden (Björkdahl, 2002). In 1994, the government issued a policy statement declaring the intensification of conflict prevention. In a government foreign policy declarations issued in 1997 and 1998 prevention of conflicts received prominence. A long term objective for increasing conflict prevention was contained in the policy document *Preventing Violent Conflict*. Similarly, a policy report *Preventing Violent Conflict–A Swedish Action Plan*, which was submitted to the government in 1990 prioritised conflict prevention culture through

mediation. Additionally, a *Government Communication* issued and submitted to the Riksdag in 2007 focused on “providing general guidance for Swedish action in international peace-support and security binding operations” (Reinfeldt and Bildt, 2007). These documents demonstrate the priority Sweden has given to the promotion of peace and security.

4.3.1.2 Creation and Strengthening of National Competencies

Mediation is a cross-cultural theme in various department of Sweden’s foreign ministry. Mediation was given more impetus with the appointments of an Investigator and a Secretary to carry out studies on conflict prevention. The government has also created a secretariat for conflict prevention. Similarly, to promote more engagement and exchange of information among the relevant departments particularly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Ministry of Defence, an interdepartmental Steering Group has been established. Again, a Secretariat for Conflict Prevention was established in 1999 and later relocated to the Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA) which gives more credence to the increased importance of conflict prevention in the foreign policy agenda of Sweden. The FBA focuses on enhancing the effectiveness of internal conflict and crisis management. The MFA also cooperates actively with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the Department of Peace Conflict Research at Uppsala University and the Institute for Political Science at University of Lund.

4.3.1.3 Impacting the International Organisations

As part of efforts to develop its national competences, Sweden has taken the responsibility of promoting prevention of conflict in the context of the UN, the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CE) and the regional organisations such as AU & ECOWAS. Sweden initiated the first resolution on conflict prevention adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2002. The adoption of this resolution has provided inspiration for incorporating conflict prevention into Sweden's foreign policy. The active engagement of Sweden in the UN peace prevention agenda has offered avenues for prominent Swedes to engage in the conduct of mediation. Jan Eliasson, in particular, has been assigned to various mediation related activities by UN in the conflict between Iran and Iraq as well as a Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General to Darfur. The engagement of Sweden at the level of the UN has offered a platform to cooperate with likeminded countries like Canada, Denmark, Netherlands and Norway.

Sweden has made notable contributions to the efforts of the EU towards peace mediation. The EU created a more consistent ground for crisis management and mediation during Sweden's presidency of the EU. Finland and Sweden spearheaded the proposal for the establishment of a European Institute of Peace (EIP). In addition to the European Union, Sweden provides technical support for AU and ECOWAS.

4.3.1.4 Peace Research

In Sweden, research on mediation and other related issues are being carried out at the University of Uppsala's Department of Peace and Conflict Research and in Lund University's Peace and Conflict Studies. The Department of Peace and Conflict Research offers courses in Peace and Conflict studies and also runs the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, which is a renowned source of data on organised violence. Sweden has the Folke Bernadotte Academy as a separate entity in charge of offering training activities related to conflict prevention, although the FBA remains attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. More so, there is the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) which is an independent international institute dedicated to research into conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament. SIPRI provides data and analysis and offers a unique platform for close collaboration among researchers from different countries.

4.4 Strengthening Ghana's National Infrastructure for International Mediation.

Mediation is not a mystical affair, neither is it reducible to common sense, or synonymous with power-based diplomacy. It is a specialised activity with a set of skills and techniques that can be mastered (Nathan, 2010). It is in the light of this that Ghana must take concrete steps towards building and developing competences by learning from the stellar examples of the Nordic Region.

4.4.1 Civil Society

An institutionalised and vibrant civil society is inherently linked to democratic consolidation. This is specially so because civil society can facilitate and promote citizens inclusion and participation in governance as well as development. Civil society organisations are often the agents of mobilisation and aggregation of the voice of the local level actors. In the same way, civil society is an indispensable player in the post-conflict reconstruction and mediation. Civil society has been playing an active role in negotiating various peace agreements, especially across Africa. Women groups, youth and faith-based organisations were and had been phenomenal in the search for peace in Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Cote D'Ivoire, Sudan, Angola, Rwanda and Burundi (Mutasa, 2008).

The important role of civil society in peacebuilding underscores the need for Ghana to continue to integrate civil society into all key mediation structures. In 2008, Ghana benefited immensely from the role of civil society in mediation efforts. The 2008 elections in Ghana were closely contested by the two major political parties namely the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

These two political parties disregarded losing as an option and this created enormous tension in the country. Ghana was on the verge of war but it took the timely intervention of a coalition of civil society and faith-based organisations to intervene. This initiative by the civil society proved beneficial by ensuring peaceful outcome of the elections.

Several factors make it expedient to incorporate civil society organisations in peace processes. Civil society brings variety to the table. They have the ability to engage at multiple levels in order to dialogue with a broader spectrum of interest groups in a peace process in comparison to government mediators. This approach offers a rare opportunity to include groups such as women who are mostly excluded from the official mediation process. Besides, NGOs are often able to assist in post-conflict state building efforts towards addressing the remote causes of conflicts.

Civil society groups in Ghana often contribute to a peace process by offering strategic partnership in terms of providing relevant expertise in the field of early warning, conflict assessments as well as designing the procedure for the conduct of mediation. The civil society in Ghana is already working in partnership with government and has also created a solid coalition within themselves like Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO). During the 2008 elections, the civil society groups such as the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD - Ghana), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) supported Ghana's mediation efforts by helping to identify the issues that had the potential to generate conflict and coming

out with the appropriate measures and time for intervention. It is critical to point out that the involvement of many NGOs in the peace process created some competition among themselves for relevance. Notwithstanding this challenge, the relevance of civil society groups in developing Ghana's peace architecture for both domestic and international conflict mediation is never in doubt.

4.4.2 Strengthening National Mediation Competences

Developing and strengthening Ghana's capacity for mediation requires a holistic view of peace mediation. National competences normally emerge from systematic policies to building them (Kerckänen, 2012). The process of strengthening a country's mediation capabilities also requires a thorough analysis of the specific needs and means. The process of building capacities for mediation requires resources and funding and therefore according to Kerckänen (2012, p. 115), "it is quite impossible to develop national capacities without a full-fledged needs and assessment".

A small state like Ghana needs to be innovative to stand out from the crowd. To achieve this Ghana has to establish close contact at the international level and pursue high profile foreign policy.

It is important for the Ghana MFA and Regional Integration to establish a peace mediation unit with separate funding to take charge and supervise the training and research activities as is being practised in Norway. The ministry can increase expertise in the field of mediation through the exchange of expertise in the field of mediation among various state departments particularly, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Gender and Social Protection as well as the Ministry of Justice

and Attorney General's Department. According to Agyei, the Kofi Annan Peacekeeping Training Centre offers training towards enhancing the capacity of personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration on issues of peace and security. Agyei further underscores the fact that the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy was established through the collaborative efforts of the University of Ghana and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

4.4.3 Thematic Areas of Focus

When selecting areas to support in mediation, it is important for Ghana to focus on certain issues where it has special knowledge and competences. This may include issues like democracy, election and ethnicity related conflicts, and women, peace and security. Human Rights and rule of law must also be considered as topical themes in every mediation effort.

Many conflicts in Africa have been triggered by the refusal of a losing political party to acknowledge the winner. Ghana has considerable expertise in averting such unfortunate circumstances. It is, therefore, imperative for Ghana to invest more resources into technical support of elections and post-electoral peacebuilding, especially in Africa.

In the view of interviewee, Wallenstein, Ghana should consider developing particular expertise on how to negotiate with big corporations. This kind of expertise is needed in dealing with conflicts which have environmental dimensions. This idea has become even more important due to the current oil exploration in Ghana. Besides, there are few mediation experts in natural resources related conflicts at the level of

even the UN and this offers Ghana an opportunity to establish a profile in this field (Wallensteen, 2014, November 18)

4.4.4 Women, Peace and Security

The United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) describes gender as a social construction of roles, responsibilities and rights that societies and communities regard as suitable for men and women. Therefore, gender does not necessarily connote biological differences between males and females but refers to the bigger picture of how women and men become what they are through what they learn from the societies where they live. Gender is defined by the society and culture in which a person lives not a result of the biological differences between men and woman. Since gender is a social construction, it can be deconstructed or changed over time depending on culture and geography. Gender can be challenged by addressing and contributing to gender issues to create equal rights and opportunities in between gender identities in the society.

UNICEF understands the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination as fundamental to the discussion of gender equality and believes that gender-based discrimination is one of the most common forms of discrimination. Gender discrimination against women manifests in the form of human rights, political representation, participation in decision making, employment and education. As if that is not enough, women have for many years been victims of war. Women are constantly subjected to grave atrocities which include rape and other forms of

violence. Women are disproportionately affected by armed conflicts since majority of refugees and internally displaced persons are women and children.

According to Tickner and Sjoberg (2010), women are also considered to be participants in armed conflicts. Women were combatants in armed conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Algeria Eritrea and many other places. It is regrettable that women are normally not considered worthy to participate in the peacemaking processes during and after a war. Tamoka (2012) considers women as very important agents of change and thus can help in reshaping and rebuilding war-torn communities.

For the past decade attention to the effects of war on women and children has increased and several policy directions have been proposed and being implemented to involve women in the issues of peace and security. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is an example of such policy frameworks aimed at ensuring the protection of women and increasing their participation in the peace business. This resolution was adopted not only as a result of the ongoing campaign for rights of women in the UN but also, due to the changing nature of armed conflicts, the broadening concept of security and infrastructure for peace as well as the powerful role of governmental and non-governmental organisations (Tryggestad, 2009).

On 31st October 2000, the Security Council formally passed the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325). The resolution called for greater participation and inclusion of women's unique perspectives in the "3 P's": participation in conflict prevention, peace-building and reconstruction; protection of

rights of women and girls during conflict; and the prevention of gender-based violence. The UNSCR 1325 is the first resolution of UN Security Council passed specifically to address the impact of war on women and emphasise the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts towards maintenance and promotion of lasting peace and security. As an international instrument which relates with other global mechanisms on women's rights, this resolution is deemed to be a platform that helps individuals, governments, international organisations and NGOs, to advocate for women's inclusion into all the processes and mechanisms dealing with conflict settlement, peacekeeping and reconstruction. The Resolution further calls for the involvement of women and gender perspectives at all levels of political decision-making processes.

Significant developments have taken place in the UN in recent years. The Security Council has adopted four new resolutions and several Presidential Statements in the framework of Women, Peace and Security which have contributed to the strengthening of the implementation of the original Resolution 1325. Resolution 1820 which was adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting, on 19th June 2008 focused on sexual violence in conflicts and it is complemented by Resolution 1888 adopted in 2009. Resolution 1889 (2009) places serious emphasis on "women's participation in political and economic decision-making and in peacebuilding, and requests the Secretary-General to develop global indicators for Women, Peace and Security". Further, Resolution 1960 (2010) includes "a monitoring, analysis and reporting mechanism on conflict-related sexual violence, and makes possible the use of sanctions against those who perpetrate systematic sexual violence."

More than a decade after the passage and adoption of the UNSCR 1325, women's participation and leadership in peace-building is yet to be fully recognised and achieved though this issue is a moral imperative. It is regrettable to say that for seventy years since the formation of the UN, it has never have a female Secretary-General and only a few women have held the position of Special Envoy of the Secretary-General.

Furthermore, continued reports of sexual violence from conflict-affected areas, peacekeepers' sexual misconduct in these areas, the lack of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict decision-making show that there are still huge gaps in achieving the aims of UNSCR 1325 according to the European Peace-building Liaison Office (EPLO, 2010). Thus, scholars have begun to criticise the inefficiency of the resolution. The inefficiency has also been highlighted by the Security Council itself and has therefore urged member states to continue to implement the resolution by adopting National Action Plans.

Finland, Norway, and Sweden were among the first few countries to issue an Action Plan for the implementation of resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. The Action Plans have become major instruments in attempts to increase interests in the status of women and in women's involvement in issues related to peace and security both at national and international levels.

Margot Wallström, the Swedish foreign minister, has taken a landmark measure to conduct a "feminist foreign policy" from a standpoint that flows from the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. According to Margot Wallström, the involvement of women

around the peace table is a sine qua non for sustainable peace and described the argument that there are no competent women to involve as unacceptable (USIP, 2015). Wallström's focus on women, peace, and security has equally been embraced by personalities such as Hillary Clinton and William Hague, the former British Foreign Secretary.

To Swaine (2009 p. 410-411), "action plans represent a relatively new approach to the challenge of ensuring the implementation of resolutions and are regarded as a practical means through which states can demonstrate the steps they have taken to satisfy their obligations under the UNSCR 1325".

One of the first countries to also adopt an Action Plan in the West African sub-region is Ghana. For the Purpose of this thesis, the author will also attempt to analyse or highlight the main focus of the National Action Plan of Ghana for the implementation of the UNSCR1325.

Ghana is a signatory to the Beijing Platforms, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as well as the UNSC resolution 1325. Ghana's role, especially in the deployment of women police officers for peacekeeping operations conducted by the African Union and the United Nations, has been acknowledged in the UN Secretary-General's Reports. In October 2010, Ghana developed National Action Plan for the Implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 On Women Peace and Security (GHANAP 1325). This action plan has seen some progress in its implementation.

Ghana's National Action Plan (2012-2014) for the implementation of UNSCR

1325 has been designed to achieve the following parameters:

“Increase the participation of women in the promotion of peace and the resolution of conflicts in particular by supporting local peace initiatives of women; prevent gender-based violence and protect the needs and rights of women and girls within the scope of Peace Missions, humanitarian operations, positions in the international UN and African and Regional and sub-regional organisations; Ensure a coherent approach to the implementation of 1325 and to promote a gender perspective in Peace and Security; Link the implementation of Resolution 1325 to the National Constitution, International and Regional instruments such as Beijing Platform for Action, the CEDAW Convention or Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's rights on the Rights of women in Africa, among others; Review national security and defence sector policies to ensure alignment with global and national commitments to gender equality; Evaluate all training materials to ensure that a gender perspective is incorporated; Review conditions of service for peace-keepers to ensure that specific requirements for women such as clothing, equipment, monthly supplies and separate facilities are addressed; Establish a minimum target for deployment of women to peace-keeping; Establish gender units within Ministries of Defence, and Interior to, among other things to oversee the recruitment and deployment of women to peacekeeping” (GHANAP 1325, 2010. p. 7).

Institutionalisation of women's role in peace-building remains important. The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Ghana has been hosting the start-up of the Women Peace and Security Institute (WPSI) through the support of the UN agencies such as UNDP and UNFPA since 2010.

Ghana has established a Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Police Service to address issues relating to violence against women. There are efforts towards the enlistment of more women in the Ghana Armed Forces and the Police Service and to continue more deployment of female military and police officers for peacekeeping operations. As part of activities geared towards the implementation of the Resolution, Ghana intends to embark on capacity building training for women in mediation, negotiation and early warning and to sensitise and build the capacity of Parliamentarians on global women's rights instruments.

The general perception that the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 poses some challenges for countries experiencing relative peace is to some extent valid for Ghana. Many Ghanaians hardly see the resolution to be relevant to their circumstances due to the nature of conflicts in Ghana. Ghana does not experience the kind of conflict that pertained or pertains in countries such as Liberia, Congo and South Sudan. Many of the conflicts are localised. Although there are efforts by women to actively engage in the peacebuilding and mediation processes, they are normally informal.

The government of Ghana should exhibit genuine commitment by ensuring fair representation of women in everything from ambassador posts to political committees. It is noteworthy that certain key institutions and ministries such as Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) as well as the Electoral Commission are headed by women. The government of Ghana in July 2015 continued to prove the worth of women in the socio-economic development of Ghana by commissioning a Career Diplomat, Martha Pobee as the first female ambassador-designate and permanent representative of Ghana to the United Nations. This is an impressive effort but certainly not enough. It is not enough to have women occupy some key positions in the governance structure and yet have only one female representation in the governing board of the National Peace Council out of 15 members.

4.4.5 Funding

The challenges ahead in an attempt to initiate Ghana's own mediation of any conflict are sombering. The cost in peace-making initiatives includes the provision of

accommodation and maintenance for the parties involved for the entire period of the talks. Costs for travel, accommodation and sustenance allowance for the Ghanaian representatives involved in the negotiation with the belligerents are all borne by the government of the mediating country. In an interview with Neumann, a Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, and a senior researcher at NUPI, he argued that the ownership of a mediation process lies with the conflicting parties themselves and so are the costs involved in the settlement processes (Neumann, 2014, December 01). Wallensteen (2014, November 18) agrees with Neumann when he says “ peace has to be built on local resources”. Funding should not become an impediment to Ghana’s mediation efforts. After all, “the biggest capacity is what you represent and not what you have” according to Kivimäki (2014, December 10)

4.4.6 Advancing Multi-stakeholder Approach

Ghana can also cooperate with NGOs, think tanks, the UN Electoral Assistance and Mediation Support Unit (MSU) as well as the Department of Political Affairs. A Ghanaian mediation policy should be closely attached to AU and ECOWAS. A continental and regional cooperation should be considered as a crucial avenue for effective mediation. Ghana should initiate an ECOWAS or AU network on peace mediation to promote contact and identify the possible avenues where more cooperation is needed. Ghana’s current chairmanship of the ECOWAS Security Council offers it a huge responsibility to push hard the agenda for strengthening mediation competences. Ghana must ensure a focused partnership with the relevant

institutions in the AU and ECOWAS particularly, the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council (MSC), the ECOWAS Early Warning Directorates, the AU Commission's Peace and Security Department (PSD) and the AU's Panel of the Wise.

It is important to bring together the peculiar expertise of various departments of the state administration and to partner with organisations such as African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) specialised in mediation in order to utilise regional expertise. Exchange of information and dialogue with NGOs working in conflict zones must be given a further boost.

Cooperation in the field of training and knowledge sharing should be strengthened. New forms of cooperation, especially with the Nordic region, should be sought to add more value to mediation and to bridge the gap between Africa and Europe.

4.4.7 Practice-oriented Research

The establishment of a new independent training institution for mediation in Ghana will not be necessary. There are already in existence peace and security related programmes in University of Ghana, (UG) University of Education, Winneba, (UEW) University of Cape Coast (UCC) as well as Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) that can be tailored to meet the requirements for training in mediation expertise. Research should form the foundation of every effort to strengthen Ghana's mediation competences. Existing institutions such as WANEP, KAIPTC, LECIAD, and the National Peace Council can lead the peace research

agenda, because of their long existing history in the field of peace and security. A substantial investment in mediation research could be Ghana's asset in the long run. Another innovative avenue for mediation is the use of academic platforms. According to Kivimäki, this can be done by inviting conflicting parties to learn together with their enemies about conflict resolution. Academic platforms are often non-threatening and offer an easy access point for actual mediation processes (Kivimäki, 2014, December 10). Therefore, it is paramount for Ghana to invest in academic conflict resolution training in conflict areas. A vigorous development of its national competence for peacebuilding is an asset that is capable of making Ghana strategically placed to conduct mediation.

5 Discussion

5.1 Discussion of Findings

The cost of conflicts in terms of loss of human lives and destruction of property is immeasurable. Annan (2002) reinforces the argument that the cost of war is not only counted in terms of injury, destruction, displacement and death but also in terms of opportunities lost. This makes it imperative for countries to adopt strategies to develop a national infrastructure for peace to help reduce internal conflicts and to position itself to engage in international peace mediation.

It is importunate for small countries in particular to build and strengthen national competences for prevention of armed conflicts. The United Nations attaches seriousness to such efforts by member states. It is in the light of this that the UN Staff College has instituted a programme to offer country specific workshops for member states to help them develop home-grown techniques and strategies for dealing with armed conflicts.

“Small states have unique comparative advantages in the field of mediation, as they are generally more nimble than larger mediation entities such as the UN, regional organisations or powerful states. At the same time, they have more resources, political clout and democratic legitimacy than NGO mediators. Nonetheless, small states are confronted with numerous challenges when seeking to develop their mediation profile: creating a solid domestic consensus for mediation, fitting mediation activities into a coherent ‘whole-of-government’ approach, professionalising the field of mediation by investing in human resources, and collaborating with other mediators in order to increase efficiency and minimise negative competition.” (Lanz and Mason, 2012. p. 78).

In the face of these sobering challenges, it is imperative to have dedicated expertise and a specialised unit for mediation in this new era of peacebuilding to at least reduce the impact of war on property and human resources. This makes the call for strengthening the mediation capacity of Ghana for the purpose of addressing its

internal problems and international disputes more urgent. It is instructive to know that the Nordic region provides shining examples of how small states such as Ghana can position themselves in order to be more relevant in the peace entrepreneurship.

Active peace promotion has been a feature of Ghana's foreign policy since the country gained independence. Notwithstanding, Ghana's engagement in mediation is yet to be institutionalised as a portfolio of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Peace mediation should have been a centrepiece of Ghana's identity at least in the West African sub-region considering Ghana's long period of engagement in peace peacekeeping and peace promotion in the sub-region. It must be admitted that civil society groups particularly, WANEP has contributed to the reputation of Ghana in terms of mediation, yet WANEP does not necessarily emphasise its "Ghanaianess" because it is not a wholly owned Ghanaian civil society organization. It is about time the government of Ghana took concrete steps towards building on the strong reputation in the field of peacebuilding instead of our reliance on the efforts of single individuals in recent times.

The processes of mediation in settling disputes among conflicting parties are almost indispensable ingredients within every security and peace infrastructure. However, it may be established as a formidable strategy if the mediation process is properly institutionalised and put in appropriate context. The praiseworthy efforts of some Ghanaian leaders in mediating conflicts in Africa and elsewhere are not due to systematic investment in the creation of a corpus of professional mediators, rather due to their personal experiences and qualities. Ghanaian heads of states and diplomats

cannot simply be deployed to engage in international peace processes simply because of their stature. The absence of a well-defined and articulated action plan for mediation has often resulted in ad hoc approach to internal and external crises. The successful execution of a mediation assignment transcends just the good will and stature of the mediator. Svensson and Wallensteen (2010) emphasise the point that capacities and expertise on which mediators can rely are still too much on ad hoc basis. Thus, 'there has to be an institutional setting for international mediation' and that would make crisis response easier and quicker, and also change operations into less dramatic and more routine ones (Svensson & Wallensteen, 2010). The development of a comprehensive mediation policy, adequate training of mediators as well as the inclusion of women and civil society are prerequisites for strengthening Ghana's mediation competences.

Ghana lacks the capacity to dedicate a large amount of funds for peace-related activities as compared to Norway. Therefore, Kivimäki (2014, December 10) advises it is necessary for Ghana to mobilise resources from development cooperation funds though Wallensteen warns that the ECOWAS, the AU, the EU, or the UN should be the natural places for raising funds rather than France, the UK or the US who are often suspected of having special interests in conflicts (Wallensteen, 2014, November 18). It will also definitely prove worthy if a significant percentage of the new oil riches that are being accumulated in Ghana is reserved for specifically developing mediation competences. The financial and logistical limitations of Ghana in initiating its own international conflict mediation should guide Ghana not to just jump on the bandwagon of mediating every conflict. Ghana needs to size up the area of mediation

by paying attention to geopolitics in order to continue to enjoy good leverage as a trusted and impartial mediator. Since Ghana lacks the capacity in terms of funding to carry out a broad policy like its Nordic counterparts, it becomes crucial for Ghana to evaluate its competence and capacity to see where its contribution can make a more meaningful impact. Small states engage in particular types of diplomacy due to their inability to compete with large powers as argued by the Political Scientist Ronald Behringer. Rather than getting involved in different aspects of foreign policy, it is absolutely necessary for Ghana to practice a 'niche diplomacy' by developing a narrow but deep specialisation in peacebuilding. This is how Norway has become a major player in global conflict resolution efforts. Ghana is regarded as impartial, it has no legitimacy deficit of colonial powers and is usually perceived as having a long tradition for peace with no hidden political agenda. These are among the qualities Ghana share particularly with Finland and Norway, which makes them successful in many peace engagements.

However, it must be noted that there have been instances where peace promotion initiatives by Norway, for instance, have not yielded the anticipated results. Clear cases are the Norwegian engagements in Sri Lanka and the Middle-East. The breakdown of negotiations between the government of Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers in 2007 is a classical case in point. In order for Ghana to increase its success rates in peace engagements, there is the need to adopt the Norwegian so-called joint work principle. This principle involves cooperation with all interested parties, international and regional organisations, NGOs and other countries that are actively

engaged in peace promotion and are able to respond rapidly to a crisis (Helgesen, 2007).

The question of whether it is prudent for Ghana to initiate its own mediation in a conflict particularly in the African sub-region requires deeper analysis. Mediation requires huge financial resources and requires a lot of political courage since the reputation of the country could be jeopardised if the peace process fails. Notwithstanding, the Author argues that, if Ghana becomes too risk-averse, it may lose the opportunity to be relevant in the fight for peace. The cautious approach of the Ghana government in recent times has been evident in the little support the President J.E.A Mills offered to Cote D'Ivoire in initial stages of their post-election conflict. The public opinion in Ghana was not in favour of the President's "dzi wo fie asem" meaning [mind your own business] approach to the conflict.

There are enormous opportunities in the frameworks of AU/ECOWAS peace related cooperation for exchange of expertise at both bilateral and multilateral levels. Closer cooperation among countries especially in the ECOWAS sub-region can lead to more effective peace operations. Ghana should commit to promoting increased cooperation among regional and international actors in implementing its own initiatives. The European Union common foreign policy provides an effective channel through which small European Union member states can expand the reach of their foreign policies. There are much coordination and interaction among the EU member states and this helps the small states to speak in one voice. For Ghana to be able to exercise higher influence, the AU and ECOWAS need to increase efforts towards

increasing more coordination not only at the level of Addis Ababa and Lagos but also at all levels where they are represented. Ghana should pay more attention to investment in the UN, the AU and the ECOWAS peace mediation developments.

Moreover, gender perspective must permeate issues of peace, security and humanitarian assistance. The UNSCR 1325 forms a cornerstone of the Nordic countries' engagement in conflict and post-conflict peace processes in their national action plans for implementation of the resolution. Women should consider their participations in peace processes as rights and not a privilege. The participation of women must be considered at all levels of the peace process. A significant number of women must be engaged in the mediation efforts carried out in national, regional and international frameworks. According to Neumann (2014, December 01), the absence of women on the mediation table creates legitimacy problem since women constitute over fifty percent of the population of many countries. Wallensteen favours the inclusion of women in peace related processes by arguing that there are a lot of research evidence that, the more gender equality in a country, the less likely there are civil conflicts and violation of human rights. According to Wallensteen, "having more women involved means you are giving voice to more people and that can affect the social fabric in positive way". Wallensteen further maintains that, there are a lot of women issues that are ignored in the mediation process where only men are involved (Wallensteen, 2014, November 18)

In Annan (2002), the recognition of women as potentially important players in the promotion of peace dates back to several decades. The First World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975, as well as the Platform for Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, made passionate clarion calls on governments and international organisations to make the protection of women in war and their active participation in all aspects of peace processes their priorities.

The perceived admissible “softness” of women tend to hinder the mediation efforts of women in a culturally patriarchal society. However, ACCORD (2009) argues that skills such as patience and empathy possessed by women make them better placed and equipped to mediate. Another special expertise of women is aptly demonstrated by the United States Permanent Representative Samantha Power when she said that women listen well and that “attentiveness is the most under-rated ingredient in diplomacy” (BBC, 2014). As part of measures aimed at implementing the UN resolution on Women, Peace and Security, Ghana has to take practical steps towards mainstreaming and promoting gender equality in its official mediation guide and action plans. The Ghana National Peace Council needs to pay attention to women and youth participation in the work of the Council. The Council has no representation from the youth group who are stakeholders in many of the conflicts. There should be an increased membership of women on the governing board and at the various levels of the peace council in accordance with the UNSC Resolution 1325. Women possess tremendous experience and knowledge but regrettably they are often side-lined both in official peace negotiations and post-conflict rebuilding of war-torn societies in the view of UNESCO (2003).

Although Ghana has shown commitment towards the implementation of the Resolution 1325 more work remain. Kivimäki (2014, December 10) opines strongly that women are the most unexploited resources for mediation though they represent the less threatening gender. The government of Ghana must begin to show more seriousness towards gender related matters by beginning to offer more women the opportunity to serve in top leadership positions. This may help to provide more impetus for the implementation of the action plans. It is obvious despite the challenges being faced currently relative to the issue of gender, peace and security, there is a more optimistic future for women inclusion and active participation in sustainable peace-building.

Muslim and Christian Clergy constitute a large percentage of the membership of Ghana's Peace Council from the national to the Local levels. This is necessary because religious groups and leaders carry a kind of moral authority that enable them to play various roles in conflict prevention. Ghanaians are inherently religious. This centrality of religion in the lives of Ghanaians is what makes the religious authority a trusted third party in domestic peace processes.

There is not much evidence about the success of local mediators in intra-state conflicts. Notwithstanding, there is no doubt a national mediation architecture is useful and offers prospects for conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

Strong international peacekeeping and peacebuilding engagements distinguish Ghana as a small state that is also capable of investing in peace. Ghana is considered a trusted partner and this offers enormous opportunity to engage more actively in

transborder mediation related activities. By relying on its history and expertise, Ghana stands the chance of succeeding in increasing its profile in the vanguard of peace mediation. However, this will require practical and genuine commitment from the Government. Therefore, Ghana needs to show more commitment in investing resources, strengthening national competence and mustering the necessary political courage to be able to punch above its weight and become more visible in the international arena of peace and security.

5.2 Methodological Limitations

It has been argued that reliability and generalisability are usually not applicable concepts in qualitative research. This is because qualitative research is based on positivistic perspective (Eskola, 2010). Notwithstanding, quantitative research can be evaluated. The Researcher considered the choice of the research method in order to ensure the reliability of the study and its results. The Researcher improved the reliability and credibility of the research by making the research process transparent and admitting the Researcher's subjectivity and limitations (Eskola & Suorant, 2008). In an attempt to improve the reliability of the research, the reader is offered insight into how this research was conducted, as well as the method for data collection and analysis. Triangulation was used to uphold the validity and reliability of the project. Data triangulation refers to the method of employing additional sources of information to the main data of the study with the view to increasing the validity of a study of a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2004; Eskola & Suoranta, 2008). Interviews

were conducted to test the validity of the main data for the study. The use of triangulation in the study provides mutual confirmation of data (Bryman, 1988).

A common critique of qualitative research is in relation to the question of generalisation and replicability of the research findings. It is important to note that generalisation of a qualitative study is difficult because of the dynamics of the historical context. This study is not meant to produce findings that could be generalised in all contexts. This is because what is valid in one case study may not necessarily be true for a similar case though valuable lessons from a case may be applied to other similar cases. The writer, therefore, prefers to use extrapolation instead of generalisation. In this study, attempt has been made to study the mediation portfolio of Ghana to the broader topic of small states in international peace mediation. The author argue that the critical scrutiny of the active mediation role of some small states in the Nordic region can offer the opportunity for Ghana to draw some lessons. However, the Researcher admits that the findings are not value-free and, therefore, a close examination of similar cases may not produce the same outcome. This study has demonstrated how the analysis relates to the broader concepts.

5.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study

There were some constraints to the study. The Important constraints to the study were limited funding and time frame within which to conduct the research. It was difficult to contact the Ghanaian respondents through emails and phone calls to even book an appointment for interviews. More so, many of those whose emails and phone

numbers were available to me did not respond to my request for an interview. The Researcher did not have the necessary financial resource to travel to Ghana, which could have made it easier to contact many of the targeted respondents. The study faced non-responses from emails sent to make arrangements for interviews. Nonetheless, the use of secondary sources helped the study to make up for the limited response.

It is also important to note that an interview is an interaction between individuals and this in itself constituted a limitation. This was because both the interviewer and the respondent may have an incomplete understanding of each other. Besides, the interviewee may conceal vital information and only provide answers he deems socially suitable or legally acceptable. Further, insufficient data on the thesis topic in Ghana also constituted a limitation. This was partly because Ghanaian scholars had not previously researched on this topic but the interviews and other compensated for that. In spite of the various limitations, the quality of the study has not been compromised because several efforts were made to operate within the various constraints to ensure an excellent outcome of the study.

It is important to reiterate that the aim of this thesis is not to provide a conclusive answer to the complex issues of small states in active mediation roles and how to build Ghana's capacity for mediation. The purpose is to obtain some vital insights into the topic and contribute to previous researches. It is the intention of the researcher to share the findings of the study for further discussions and research.

5.4 *Relevance of the Study*

In public discussions on Ghana's foreign policy and international security agenda, no serious attention has been paid to the peacemaking strategy of mediation by small states. This lack of attention is not only peculiar to Ghana and Africa alone and this exhibits a broader trend in international affairs.

Whereas the subjects of peacekeeping, peacebuilding, peace enforcement and peacemaking are attaining a position of global security currency, among politicians, academics and activists, there is no corresponding focus on small states in international mediation. The absence of adequate discussion of the dynamics and dilemmas of Ghana as a small state in international peace diplomacy is surprising given the activeness of Ghana in this field of conflict management.

There are motleys of studies on the subject of small states and international mediation diplomacy. There are intense debates on the concepts of small states especially in Europe (Carvalho & Neumann, 2015; Cooper & Shaw, 2009; Naseer, 2002; Neumann & Gstöhl, 2006; Prasad, 2009; Thorhallsson & Wivel, 2006). Thorhallsson, (2006) and Greig & Diehl (2012) have also attempted to investigate the effectiveness of small states in international diplomacy and Mediation. ACCORD (2009), and Nathan, L. (2010), are among the few efforts to explore how the mediation capacity of the Africa Union can be built. Quite regrettably, there has been negligible if at all research on mediation from the perspective of small states in Africa in general and Ghana to be specific. There is no or little scholarly attempt to investigate the prospects and capacity for mediation of small member states in the African Union including of course Ghana

though Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Libya have been involved in peace processes in many countries.

While the broad areas of mediation and small states have been given considerable attention in books and articles, these articles hardly ever discuss the issues of small states in Africa in General and Ghana, in particular, situating it within the context of the role of small states in peace mediation. This lacuna in peace research in Ghana is quite surprising considering the importance attached to issues of peace by Ghana in particular and Africa as a whole.

This is probably the first systematic study to attempt to help fill this gap in the body of literature. The conclusion of this study shall be relevant to academics, policy makers and institutions considering that many African countries fall under the categorisation of small states. It is anticipated that the recommendations of this thesis will contribute to the ongoing discussions on mediation in Africa. It is also hoped that this study will provide a more nuanced understanding and impetus for further research on the concepts of small state and mediation.

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Appendix 1. Key Informants Interviewed

Contact Person	Designation	Organization	Country
Timo Kivimäki	Professor and former Advisor to President Martti Ahtisaari	Department of Political and Economic Studies, University of Helsinki	Finland
Edwin N. Agyei	Director, Policy Planning and Evaluation Bureau	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration	Ghana
Iver Neumann	Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, and a senior researcher at NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)	Norway
Peter Wallensteen	Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research and the Richard G. Starmann Sr. Research Professor at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA	Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University	Sweden

Appendix 2: THEMATIC SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (Finland, Norway Sweden)

PEACE MEDIATION

- What is your understanding of the concept of mediation
- Briefly tell me something about the peace architecture of your country.
- How long has your country been involved in international mediation?
- How did you build your country's profile for international mediation?

SMALL STATES

- Would you say **your** country is a small state?
- It seems the role of small states in the international system is mostly ignored due to over reliance on hard security. Do you agree?
- Do you think small states can punch above their weight?
- What do you say about the perception that small states cannot in themselves achieve anything with respect to international conflict resolution unless they collaborate with big countries and institutions such as the United States, EU, UN, ECOWAS, AU?
- In general, all the four Nordic countries have cooperated extensively with other countries in the context of conflict resolution. It appears, however, that they have rarely been engaged in cooperation between themselves in this sphere despite their rather advanced cooperation in most other fields.

Finland and Norway have joined forces in the case of Myanmar and Nordic observers were employed in the monitoring of the ceasefire agreement in Sri Lanka to strengthen the impression of impartiality.

It seems there does not exist any joint Nordic profile in the sphere of mediation and conflict resolution. Why?

- Norway and Sweden may be doing well acting independently. Do you think Ghana can effectively mediate for example conflict in West Africa without collaboration with other neighbouring countries in the West African sub-region?

- Considering the fact that AU and ECOWAS themselves do not have the capacity for effective mediation, does this sad scenario offer Ghana any chance to achieve (succeeds) anything as a mediator?
- The Nordic Countries are deemed to have some kind of leverage in terms of mediation because they are largely known to be neutral. Besides the fact that for e.g. Finland is seen not to have any special interest, how does the smallness of their sizes and probably other factors contribute to this positive image?

BUILDING CAPACITY AND COMPETENCE FOR MEDIATION

- What should be the areas of focus in building or strengthening Ghana's national competence for international peace mediation?
- Norway has chosen to provide mediation with a standing of its own with a separate section, personnel and means earmarked in the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for that purpose.

Finland has moved towards a similar direction, but in a less pronounced manner.

Sweden has the Folke Bernadotte Academy as a separate entity in charge of various activities related to conflict prevention, although the FBA remains attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Would you say this is the only way to give more priority to mediation?

- Do you think it would be expedient for Ghana to have a separate section for mediation for mediation considering the financial implications?

CHALLENGES FACED IN BUILDING CAPACITY

- What challenges have you faced (Likely to face -esp. Ghana) in building your country's competence for peace mediation?

LESSONS FOR CAPACITY BUILDING

- What lessons would you recommend to Ghana in Learning from your country?

WOMEN IN PEACE AND SECURITY

- Do you think women bring something special to the mediation table?
- There is a general perception that the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 poses some challenges for countries experiencing relative peace. To what extent is this valid for Ghana, Finland, Sweden, and Norway?

LOCAL ARCHITECTURE FOR PEACE

- Local Peace Council in Ghana is mostly dominated by religious leaders because of their moral authority. Many of whom do not have special training in mediation. What do you say about such a scenario?

FUNDING

- Mediation requires huge financial injection and countries like Norway has big budget for that.

Considering the local challenges being face by Ghana, would you support an attempt by such a country to initiate its own mediation in neighbouring countries and beyond considering the huge financial resources required to fund such processes?

CIVIL SOCIETY

- To what extent have civil society groups been involved in the matters of mediation in Norway/Sweden /Finland?
- What special expertise do civil society groups and NGOs bring to bear?

PEACE RESEARCH

- To what extent has peace research contributed to the efforts of your country to strengthen its mediation capacity?

Appendix 3: THEMATIC SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
(Ghana)

PEACE MEDIATION

- What is your understanding of the concept of mediation
- Briefly tell me something about the peace architecture of your country.
- How long has your country been involved in international mediation?
- To what extent has Ghana been involved in peacebuilding processes in Africa?
- How does Ghana's effort towards international peacebuilding play out in the UN, AU and ECOWAS?

SMALL STATES

- Would you say Ghana fits into the concept of small state?
- It seems the role of small states in the international system is mostly ignored due to over reliance on hard security. Do you agree?
- Do you think small states can punch above their weight?

WOMEN, PEEACE AND SECURITY

- Do you think women bring something special to the mediation table?
- Does Ghana have women mediators
- How is the issue of women peace and security reflected in the programmes of the MFA?
- Will it be necessary to establish a gender unit within the ministries of Foreign affairs, Interior and Defence for the purpose of recruitment and training of women for mediation?
- Does Ghana have an action plan for implantation of the UNSCR 1325? If yes, To what extent has the action plan been implemented?
- There is a general perception that the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 poses some challenges for countries experiencing relative peace. To what extent is this valid for Ghana, Finland, Sweden, and Norway

BUILDING CAPACITY AND COMPETENCE FOR MEDIATION

- Does Ghana have capacity for international mediation?
- Do you think it is necessary for Ghana to strengthen its mediation competences in order to build its own profile for international?
- Do you have a separate unit within the MFA for handling issues of mediation?
- Does Ghana have any separate within the MFA that is solely in charge of issues of mediation peace and security?
- What kind of collaboration exist between the MFA and the various research and training institutions, and the universities offering peace and conflict related courses?
- What kind of investment does the government of Ghana make in peace research?
- What areas should be the focus for building capacity of Ghanaian expertise for international mediation?

FUNDING

- Do you consider it to be prudent for Ghana to initiate its own mediation process in any conflict especially in Africa, considering the Ghana's economic circumstances? If yes where will the funding come from?

THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

- Can you give a brief overview of the Ghana National Peace Council?
- How has the NPC been useful since its establishment?
- The national peace council has only one woman representation among 13 members. Do you agree with me that this situation raises questions about government's commitment towards women empowerment?
- Apart from the moral authority possessed by the members of the National Peace Council
- What kind of training is given to the members of the National Peace Council?
- What challenges does the National Peace Council face?

CIVIL SOCIETY

- Do you consider the civil society to be important partner in peacebuilding?
- What has been the contribution of the local civil society groups in promoting peace in Ghana and Africa in general?