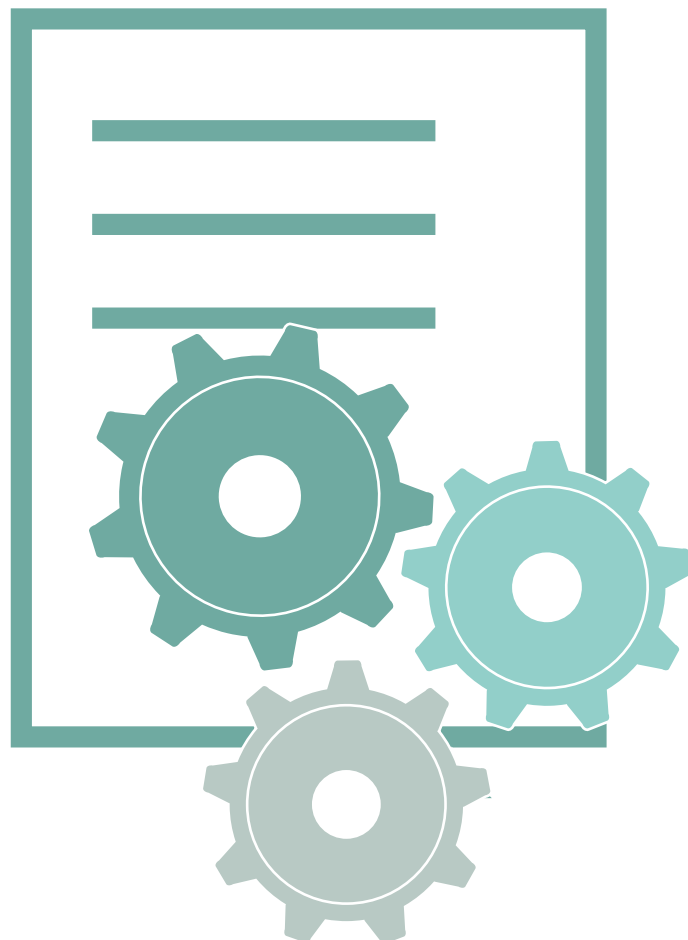


6 Tools and Templates

“The tools can be picked up at any stage of a process to support analysis, sorting information, prioritising and planning actions.”



Introduction

This section will present a series of methods for analysing the information gathered. Each tool or method starts with a description, a purpose and suggestions of the circumstances in which the tool might be particularly helpful. We encourage experimentation and getting experience with each of the tools. Over time, you will gain a better idea of which method of analysis is appropriate in which situations.

6.1 Stakeholder Analysis: Positions, Interests, Issues and Power

What is it? A relatively simple tool for developing a conflict profile of each major stakeholder, and some minor ones.⁵

Stakeholder analysis involves listing the primary (directly involved), secondary (interested), and tertiary (affected) parties, and then identifying, for each one, their stated (public) positions or demands, the interests that lie behind those demands, and the basic needs that might be involved. The process continues to identify the key issues in the conflict, the sources of power and influence of the party, and finally an estimate of the willingness of the party to negotiate. Note: To obtain gender balanced and holistic information, consider using the tool with separate groups of women, men and youth. This might reveal new points of entry for action.

Purpose:

- To understand each party and their relation to the conflict.
- To develop a deeper understanding of the motivations and logic of each group.
- To identify the power dynamics among the parties.

When to use it:

- In a preliminary way, before working directly with the parties, but then updated or elaborated as you gain information from working with them.
- In preparation for a negotiation process, as these factors will influence how the parties act at the negotiating table and away from it.
- Later in a negotiation, to provide information that might help break a deadlock.

Variations in use:

- Some variations leave out “needs” as too basic.
- Some variations of the table add a column as to the importance of each issue for the different parties (sometimes an issue is of primary importance for one party, but less important for another—which gives room to negotiate).

How to Do It

1. Brainstorm a list of the parties to the conflict, starting with primary groups or individuals and then moving on to secondary and tertiary groups, keeping in mind the benefits of grouping women, men and youth as separate categories.
2. Mark the list, showing which groups/individuals are primary parties and which ones are secondary and tertiary. **Primary** parties are the main individuals or groups involved and without which the conflict or dispute cannot be resolved, while the **secondary** parties may have some influence or interest but are not directly involved; **tertiary** parties are not actively involved but affected by the conflict or dispute in terms of geographic location, outcome or process. Example: In a dispute over land, the tribal elders and the people who have been using the land or claiming ownership might be primary parties, while the

⁵ Adapted from various training manuals by CDR Associates, Boulder, Colorado.

District Officer or other neighbours might be secondary parties. People with land close to the disputed area or related to the other parties through family or tribal relations might be affected as tertiary parties.

3. Place the groups on the stakeholder analysis table, with the primary parties at the top. (Note: if you are working in a group or workshop, you might draw the table on a whiteboard or blackboard or with flip chart paper. If only one or two people are doing this, it is fine to work with regular paper.)
4. Take the groups one by one and fill in the additional columns, using the following definitions of the categories: (See also the accompanying example.)
5. As you fill out the chart, you may discover that you need to seek additional information on some groups. That is fine. You do not have to do it all at once.

Issues/Problems: What are the specific issues involved with the conflict? Are the parties/stakeholders concerned with identity, land titles; wage rates; threats from armed groups; justice, territorial boundaries; recognition/status; voting rights; participation in decision-making or some other issue? How do they express the issue? What are different and common impacts of the issues on women, men and youth (across the conflict parties)? The next three categories (positions, interests and interests) will be *about specific issues or problems*.

Positions: The stated demand(s) or public declaration by the party or stakeholder. A labour group might say, “We demand a 10% increase in the hourly wage!” A nomadic tribal group might state, “This has been our grazing land for thousands of years. You have no right to take it for settled farming.” Clarify if women, men and youth have different positions for or within a party and where commonalities and differences (also across parties) exist.

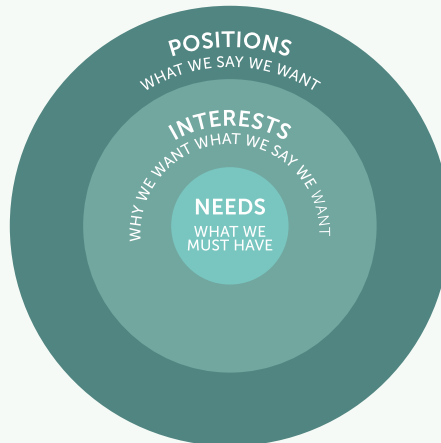
Interests: The preferred way to get one’s needs met – or concerns and fears that drive a position. The labour group cited above might have an interest in making sure that wages keep up with inflation, or they might be afraid that they will not be able to support their families. The tribal group has an interest in protecting open grazing rights. Keep in mind that differences will exist within these groups. In the case of the tribal group for example, youth might worry that they will not be able to separate from the group and form their own herd, while women want to travel shorter distances between usable wells.

Needs: Basic human needs that are required to live and prosper. These include material/physical, social and cultural elements. When basic needs are threatened, people often react forcefully. The labour group is concerned with the wellbeing of their families, related not only to making sure they have housing and food, but also social status, their sense of justice and dignity, and other ‘intangible’ factors. The nomadic group might be fearful that settled farming will deprive them of their traditional livelihood and culture, which, in the extreme case, might be associated with actual survival. Again, within these groups there will also be differences that create divisions within, and overlap between groups; especially when examining the different views of women, men and youth.

6.1 Stakeholder Analysis: Positions, Interests, Issues and Power	6.5 Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis
6.2 Stakeholder Mapping	6.6 Levels of Potential Change
6.3 The Conflict Tree	6.7 Scenarios - Alternative Future Stories
6.4 Dividers and Connectors Analysis	6.8 Mapping of Conflict Using Systems Thinking

BOX 15: POSITION, INTEREST OR NEED? – THE ONION

In the stakeholder mapping exercise, it is common that users get confused about the difference between positions, interests and needs. A useful additional tool to help distinguish these categories is 'The Onion' image, which illustrates the multi-layered communication and positioning of different stakeholders.



Another way of explaining positions, interests and needs is the story of two men quarrelling in a library. One wants the window open and the other wants it closed. They bicker back and forth about how much to leave it open: a crack, halfway, three quarters of the way. No solution satisfies them both. Enter the librarian. She asks why he wants the window open: To get fresh air. She asks the other why he wants it closed: To avoid the draft. After thinking a minute, she opens wide a window in the next room, bringing in fresh air without a draft.

- Their **position** is whether they want the window open or closed.
- Their **interest** is their preference for fresh air or their fear of catching a cold.
- Their **needs** are what motivates these preferences (physical well-being, staying healthy).

Adapted from source Simon Fisher, Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action (Zed Books, 2000); Roger Fisher and William Ury, Getting to Yes (New York: Penguin Books, 1991).

Means of Influence/Power: Groups derive power and influence from different sources. Some are influential because they control resources (money, land, key commodities, jobs, access to financing/loans, access to media, oratory). Others gain power through political position, either elected, appointed, or dictatorial. Some politicians are powerful because they represent a large and active constituency. Others enjoy the support of a military force or faction. Certain people are influential because they have close relationships with powerful people. Some groups/individuals have the ability to promote a positive agenda, while others exert negative power by delaying or destroying. Positions of power tend to be distributed unequally between men, women (including female leaders) and youth, however, conflict can also affect power dynamics which makes their potential power worth exploring in an analysis.

Willingness to Negotiate: Some parties may be quite reluctant to come to the bargaining table to settle a dispute or resolve a larger conflict, while others are ready to talk. Other affected parties may be important to involve, but face challenges in joining the negotiations. These challenged could be due to timing, location, negotiation skills needed to engage and be heard in an official setting—issues which women and youth in particular often face. It may be important to not only identify the degree of willingness, but also to explore why they might be either willing or unwilling, possibly related to the associated costs, financial or otherwise.

Negotiation theorists talk about the “Best Alternative To A Negotiated Agreement” (BATNA), which looks at what the party could do if they do not negotiate. A labour group might feel that they are in a weak position at the moment—so they might opt to strike first to show their strength, and only later agree to talk. A nomadic group might look back over thirty years of conflict over grazing rights and settled agriculture, and feel that they have never gotten a fair deal—and therefore distrust any negotiation process. They might prefer to cause disruption as a way to build negotiating power before agreeing to talk.

6.1 Stakeholder Analysis: Positions, Interests, Issues and Power	6.5 Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis
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Another consideration that may be considered in relation to the Willingness to Negotiate category, or as an additional category is the **Status of Negotiation**. Especially in a very dynamic conflict setting, it is important to keep track of the status of negotiation at the moment of your stakeholder analysis. This will help you track changes when you fill in your analysis sheet a second, third time etc. It may also result in changes in the above categories with completely new information. For example, overlooked actors can change into important ones (e.g. from vulnerable groups to recruitment communities) and will then need to be included among the people/parties to the conflict.

The following page provides a template and a practical example on how to map the stakeholders according to the categories outlined in this section.

TEMPLATE STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS: Positions, Interests, Issues and Power⁶

In each of the categories below, identify wherever possible the involvement of women, men and youth. Larger templates are available for download on www.preventiveaction.org

PEOPLE/PARTIES	ISSUES/PROBLEMS	POSITIONS	INTERESTS	NEEDS	MEANS OF INFLUENCE/ POWER	WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE
Primary, secondary and tertiary individuals or groups The roles that individuals or groups play in the conflict, directly and indirectly	Matters in contention, substantive problems that must be addressed (on which parties will have positions, interests & needs.)	Stated demands; what people say they want	Preferred way to get needs met and underlying motivations, desires, concerns and fears that drive the position	Basic human physical, social, requirements for life that underlie interests	Sources of power and influence over other parties; negotiation leverage	Readiness to talk and reach an agreement. BATNA Cost/benefit calculus Status of Negotiation

⁶ Adapted from various training manuals by CDR Associates, Boulder, Colorado

EXAMPLE STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS: NOMAD-FARMER DISPUTE in South Sudan

Note: each of the stakeholder groups in this example can be further analysed in terms of variations and more specific interests that exist within that group, notably from a gender and generational point of view. See the example given in Section 6.3 below.

PEOPLE/PARTIES	ISSUES/PROBLEMS	POSITIONS	INTERESTS	NEEDS	MEANS OF INFLUENCE/ POWER	WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE
Settled farmers	Overuse of water points Destruction of crops Threats/harassment from nomads passing through Political marginalisation	No passage for nomadic groups and herds	Preserve land Protect crops from damage Greater access to decision making	Ability to survive, feed families, maintain way of life and culture	Control of land Ability to block passage of herds/people Alliance with opposition party	Distrust of government (bad past experiences) Would talk if process perceived as fair
Pastoral nomad groups	Poaching of animals Blocked passage Drought Shrinking available pasturage and decreasing quality (overgrazing)	Free movement of people and herds as a guaranteed right	Maintenance of traditional rights of passage and routes Access to pasturage and water sources en route	Ability to survive, feed families, maintain way of life and culture	Alliance with governing party Access to arms Organised militias allowed by government	Prefer to depend on alliance with government to force their position Will talk if pushed by government
Provincial administration	Ensure production by both nomadic and farmer groups Sort out passage issues	All groups must comply with laws	Keep the peace, avoid confrontations and violence Maintain control and political power	Keep positions, power and control as means to provide for families and other dependents	Control of military and police forces Political influence and patronage	Prefer to bring nomads and farmers to negotiation, rather than use of force

6.2 Stakeholder Mapping

What is it? A technique for graphically showing the relationships among the parties in conflict.

Stakeholder mapping is a technique used to represent the conflict graphically, placing the parties in relation to the problem and in relation to each other. If people with different viewpoints map their situation together, they may learn about each other's experiences and perceptions. People intending to work with the parties to attempt some form of conflict resolution may also map the parties in order to understand the situation before taking action.⁷

Purpose:

- To understand the situation better.
- To see more clearly the relationships between parties.
- To clarify where the power lies.
- To check the balance of one's own activity or contacts.
- To see where allies or potential allies are.
- To identify openings for intervention or action.
- To evaluate what has been done already.

When to use it:

- Early in a process, along with other analytical tools;
- Later, to identify possible entry points for action or to help the process of strategy-building.

Variations in use:

- Geographical maps showing the areas and parties involved
- Mapping of issues
- Mapping of power alignments
- Mapping of needs and fears

How to Do It

1. Decide what you want to map, when, and from what point of view.

If you try to map the whole history of a regional political conflict, the result may be so time consuming, so large, and so complex that it is not really helpful.

It is often very useful to map the same situation from a variety of viewpoints, as this is how the parties to it actually do experience it. Trying to reconcile these different viewpoints is the reality of working on the conflict. It is good discipline to ask whether those who hold this view would actually accept your description of their relationships with the other parties.

2. Don't forget to place yourself and your organisation on the map. Putting yourself on the map is a good reminder that you are part of the situation, not above it, even when you analyse it. You and your organisation are perceived in certain ways by others. You may have contacts and relationships that offer opportunities and openings for work with the parties involved in the conflict.

3. Mapping is dynamic—it reflects a changing situation, and points toward action.

This kind of analysis should offer new possibilities. What can be done? Who can best do it? When is the best moment? What groundwork needs to be laid beforehand, what structures built afterward? These are some of the questions you should ask as you are doing the mapping.

⁷ Much in this subsection was adapted from Simon Fisher, *Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action* (Zed Books, 2000).

4. In addition to the objective aspects, it is useful to map perceptions, needs, or fears.

Identifying needs and fears can give you a greater insight into what motivates the different parties. It may help you to better understand some of the misunderstandings and misperceptions between parties. It can also be useful in helping you to understand the actions of parties toward whom you feel least sympathetic. Again, it is important to ask whether the parties would agree with the needs, fears, or perceptions you ascribe to them.

5. Mapping gender relations of parties and other important subgroups.

In many circumstances, it will be important to look at several ways to disaggregate parties—that is, consider subgroups, based on gender, age, location, or even political allegiances. In particular, the gender relations of parties to a conflict can tell you a lot about who is involved in certain aspects/phases/geographical areas of the conflict, and why. This can bring insights into how to approach parties on the basis of their particular issues, power or specific perceptions, needs and fears.

Gender relations can create bridges between conflict parties that would not appear on the map otherwise, and would therefore be missed. For example, two tribes can have a relationship of conflict or discord but women in both tribes are affected by the conflict in similar ways (feeling unsafe, not being able to gather food for the family because of threats/attacks of the other tribe), and may be open to discuss potential improvements of the situation. When this gender relationship is indicated in the map in addition to the conflict relationship, it can reveal entry points for discussion.

MAPPING CONVENTIONS

KEY: In mapping, we use particular conventions. You may want to invent your own.



Circles indicate parties to the situation. Larger = more power with regard to the issue.



Wavy lines indicate discord or conflict.



Double line/cross hatch indicates a broken connection.



Straight lines indicate links, fairly close relationships



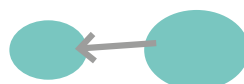
Dotted lines indicate informal or intermittent links.



A Rectangle indicates an issue/topic or something other than people.



Double lines indicate an alliance

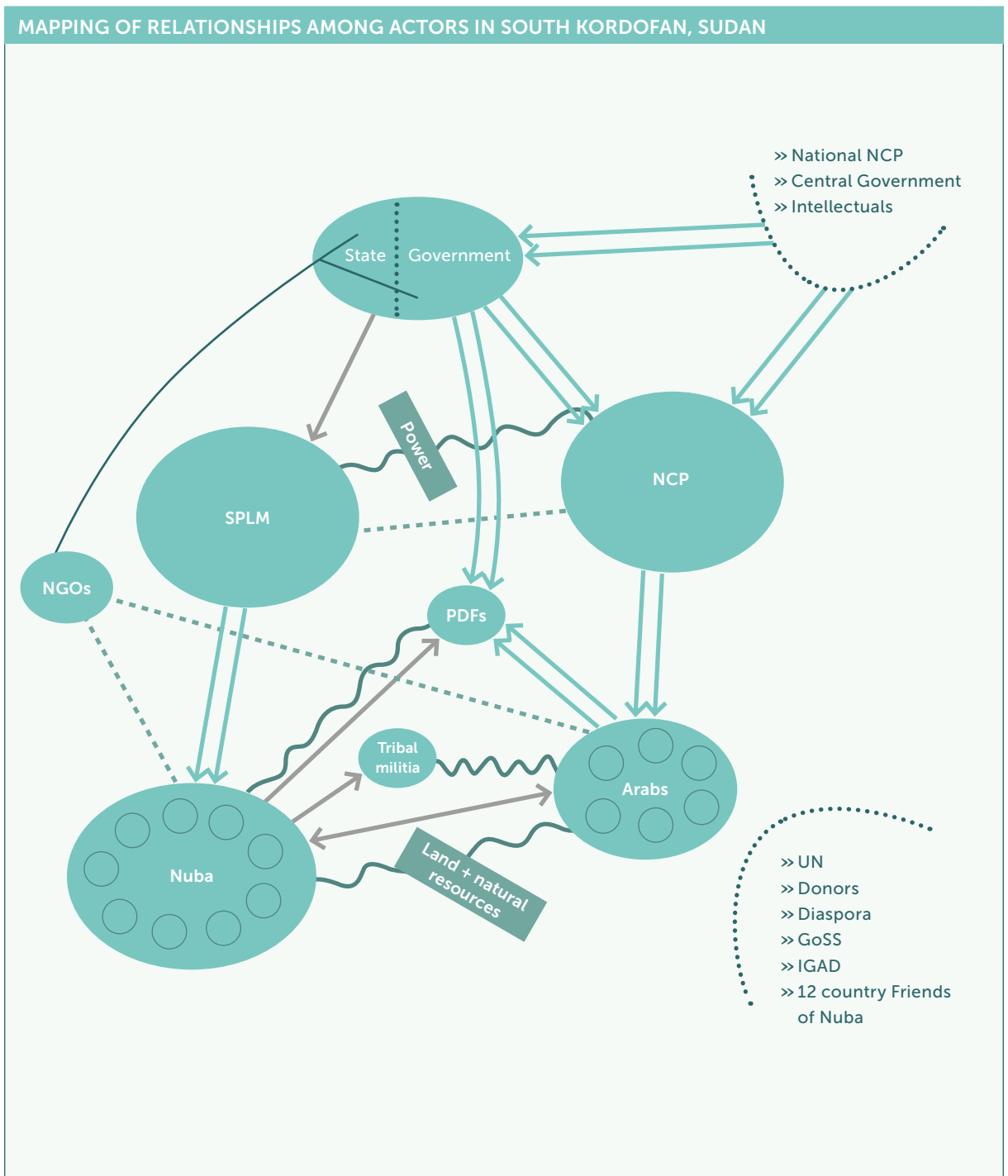


Arrows indicate the main direction of influence or activity.



A Dotted Area or "Shadow" shows external parties that have influence, but not directly involved.

Stakeholder Mapping - Example



6.3 The Conflict Tree

What is it? This is an exercise for analysing the causes and effects of a given conflict. It can serve as an initial step in preparation for later steps of analysis, such as systems mapping. The Conflict Tree works with one or more core problems, and then identifies the root causes, and the effects of the problem. Effects are the current (or past) manifestations of the conflict: what do we see, how are people affected, what patterns of problem behaviour is showing up? Causes are usually long-term structural issues, underlying factors that result in a range of problems and conflicts. They do shift slowly over time, but usually require sustained efforts to induce change.⁸

Purpose:

- To explore one or more conflict-related problems to see how they work.
- To distinguish between underlying causes and effects, which can help in strategizing (that is, working on effects rarely produces permanent change).
- To provide the basis for discussion within groups about what they can or should work on in conflict resolution.
- To enable groups in conflict to discuss causes and effects.

When to use it:

- This can be a first step in conflict analysis, especially if you have only identified an initial presenting problem.
- Use this when you need a simple tool to provide the basis for discussion within a programme team or among stakeholders.
- This exercise is best done by a group in a workshop setting.

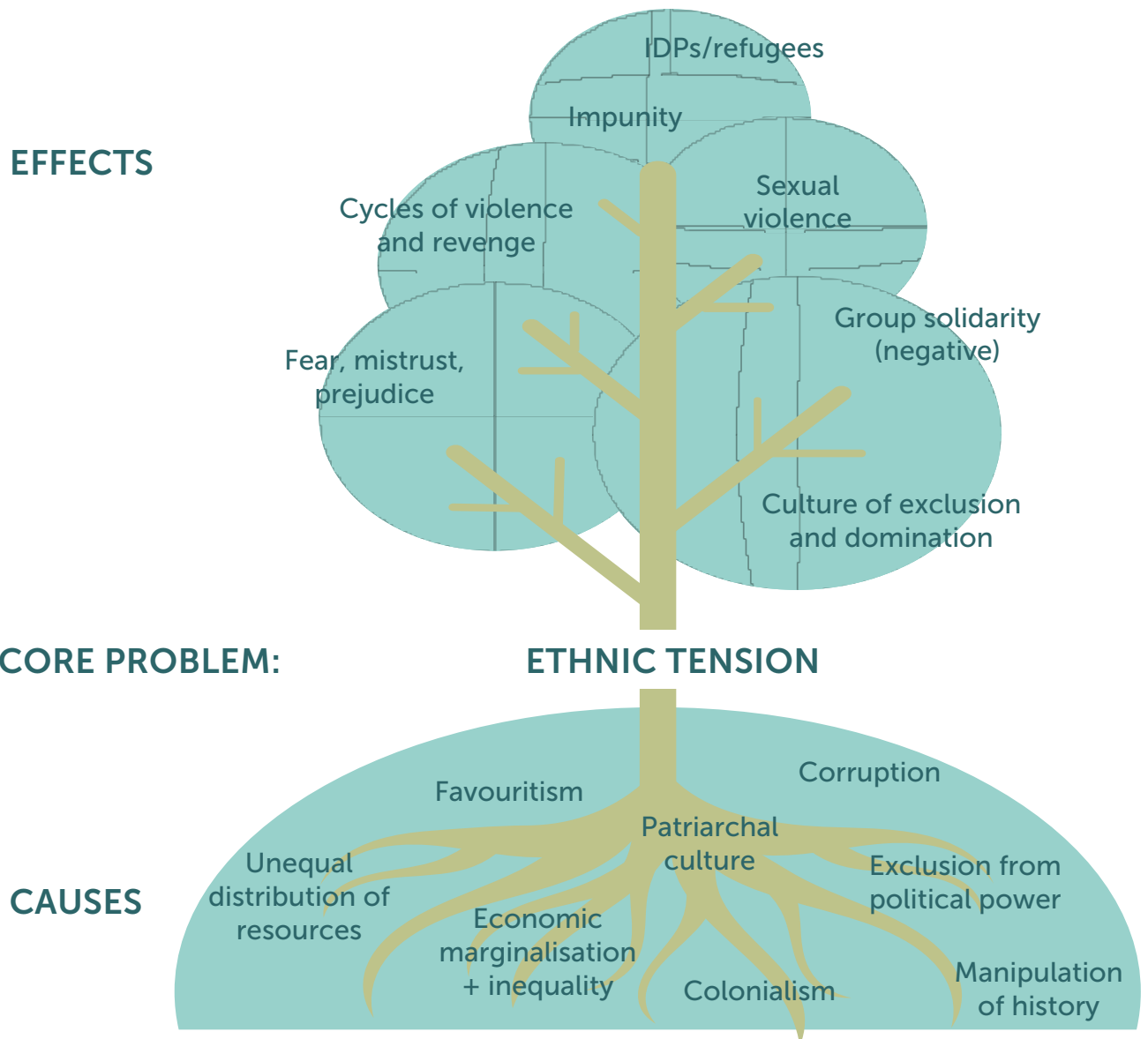
How to Do It

1. Hold a preliminary conversation with a group of workshop participants to determine what they see as the main conflict problems. These could be brainstormed on a flipchart or board, and then discussed to decide which of the items identified are Core Problems. Try to limit it to no more than two or three.
2. Draw a simple picture of a tree, including roots, trunk and branches—on a large sheet of paper, chalkboard, flipchart, or anywhere else convenient. Write one of the Core Problems on the trunk.
3. Give each person several cards or small sheets of paper (about 4 x 6 inches or 10 x 15 cm) or large post-it notes and ask them to write a word or two (or a symbol or picture) on the cards, indicating a key factor in the conflict, as they see it.
4. Invite people to attach their cards to the tree (using masking tape, if needed): on the roots, if they think it is a root cause; on the branches if they see it as an effect; or on the trunk, if they think it is an aspect of the Core Problem.
5. Once the cards have been placed, facilitate a discussion regarding the placement of the cards. Are they in the right places? If someone disagrees that something is a cause or an effect, ask why, and why the person who places it there thought it should go there. Try to reach agreement about placement of the cards.
6. Once you have completed a tree on one of the Core Problems, move on to the others, if there are any. (You could have only one Core Problem.) Repeat the steps above with cards, placement, and discussion.
7. If you have completed several trees, facilitate a discussion regarding how the trees interact. Do effects in one tree reinforce causes in the same tree or become causes in another tree? Do we see similar causes in several trees? Are there patterns that emerge? What positive factors should be added to complete the picture?
8. Following this discussion, you can use the trees as the basis for discussing potential points of intervention in the conflict. Given who we are and our mandate, what we do best, and our capacities, where can we make a difference? Is it to alleviate the effects (symptoms)

⁸ Much in this subsection is owed, again, to Simon Fisher.

or addressing root causes? How can we best get at the Core Problem? What have we done so far, with what results? Is there another approach that might be more effective? Can we build on positive factors?

EXAMPLE: Conflict Dynamics in Burundi



6.4 Dividers and Connectors Analysis

What is it? A method for understanding the conflict context, by identifying factors that bring people together (connectors) and factors that push people apart (dividers).⁹

Dividers and Connectors analysis is the first step in the broader Do No Harm framework, which is a process for ensuring that humanitarian, development and peacebuilding initiatives at a minimum do not make conflict worse and, at best, help to address conflict dynamics. That is, it is a **basic tool for conflict sensitivity**. Understanding what divides people is critical to understanding how interventions can feed into or lessen these forces. Understanding what connects people despite conflict helps organisations understand how interventions reinforce or undermine those factors that can mitigate conflict or become positive forces for peacebuilding in society.

Purpose:

- To identify the factors supporting peace and those undermining it.
- To develop sufficient understanding of the conflict context to avoid making the situation worse through programs and interventions.
- To ensure that local capacities are harnessed in promoting peace.

When to use it:

- Before programme design, to identify possible negative impacts and avoid them.
- In the course of programme implementation, to ensure that key operational decisions (who to hire, which groups to partner with, how to distribute resources, how to relate to various parties to the conflict, etc.) are made with full knowledge of their potential impacts.
- In continual reflection and evaluations, examining whether the programme is having inadvertent negative impacts or not.

How to Do It

Situations of conflict are characterised by two driving forces (sometimes referred to as ‘realities’): Dividers and Connectors. There are elements in societies that *divide* people from each other and serve as *sources of tension*. There are also always *existing* elements which *connect* people and can serve as *local capacities for peace*. Outside interventions interact with both Dividers and Connectors. Components of an intervention can have a negative impact, exacerbating and worsening dividers and undermining or delegitimising connectors. An intervention can likewise have a positive impact, strengthening connectors and serving to lessen dividers. The ‘Three-Box’ analysis tool illustrates this link between dividers, connectors and key actors:

FORCES FOR PEACE →	PEACE	← FORCES AGAINST PEACE/ FOR CONFLICT	KEY ACTORS
<p>What are the forces in the situation that exist now that can be built upon to promote movement towards peace? What currently connects people across conflict lines? How do people cooperate? Who exercises leadership for peace and how?</p>		<p>What are factors are working against peace or for conflict? What factors, issues or elements are causing conflict and/ or dividing people, and how?</p>	<p>Which individuals or groups in the situation are in a position to strongly influence the conflict—either positively or negatively? Who can decide for/against peace?</p>

Source Reflecting on Peace Practice, CDA Collaborative Learning Projects (Cambridge, MA: CDA, 2013), p. 6.

⁹ Adapted from Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).

Key Questions

The following questions can be used to unlock dividers and connectors in a variety of ways. These represent the overall framework of a dividers and connectors analysis, and inform the specific steps that follow.

1. What are the dividing factors in this situation? What are the connecting factors?
2. What are the current threats to peace and stability? What are the current supports?
3. What are the most dangerous factors in this situation? How dangerous is this Divider?
4. What can cause tension to rise in this situation?
5. What brings people together in this situation?
6. Where do people meet? What do people do together?
7. How strong is this Connector?
8. Does this Connector have potential?
9. Are there dividers or connectors associated with gender roles or organised groups of men, women or youth? Are certain groups suffering more than others in the situation—and what are the effects of this on dividers/connectors?

Generally, Dividers and Connectors analysis is done with a team or group of workshop participants. It can be done as an individual exercise, but will have less validity.

Step I: Brainstorming Dividers and Connectors

Using key questions or other appropriate questions, generate two lists of Dividers and Connectors. Do this through any one or a combination of the following methods.

- Brainstorm in plenary: Everybody shares ideas and the ideas are collected on a flip chart, brainstorm style.
- Buzz Groups of two or three, write down ideas and then come back to the larger group to report ideas and capture them on flip chart for discussion.
- Individual reflection: Participants write down three (or five) important Dividers (and/or Connectors) and write them on cards or pieces of paper. Come back to the large group and post the ideas.

Process note: You can also use categories to help the brainstorming process—essentially to prompt ideas that might otherwise be forgotten. The group can consider each category and the potential Dividers and Connectors in each of them. The group might also generate other categories to capture experience and jog memories.

POSSIBLE CATEGORIES TO CONSIDER:		
Systems & Institutions	Political	Geography
Attitudes & Actions	Economic	>>Village
Values & Interests	Social	>>District
Experiences	Technological	>>province
Symbols & Occasions	Legal	>>national
	Environmental	

Step II: Group Discussion

- Having generated the two lists, the group should then discuss the lists, asking the following questions:
- Are these the right Dividers (and Connectors)? How do you know these things are Dividers (Connectors)? Are these all existing factors, or things we wish for?
- Some things listed may appear too broad or vague. Try to reach greater specificity. “We have listed ‘poverty’ as a Divider—why is poverty a Divider? What aspects of poverty divide people? Or is it really about inequality — or something else?” “Is ‘religion’ a divider — or do we mean a specific behaviour?”
- In some cases, the proposed Divider/Connector might appear on both lists! Ask: What aspects of this factor might be a Divider? What aspects might be a Connector? Disaggregate further.
- How would you know if these factors changed? How would you know if they got better or worse (*indicators*)?

Step III: Prioritise

- Which are the most important or dangerous Dividers?
- Which are the most important, strongest or best potential Connectors? (Don’t invent things you wish for—these must exist now!)

(Note: Local people familiar with the situation should take the lead here.)

Step IV: Options and Opportunities.

- How can these Dividers (or Connectors) be influenced or changed? What can your team or organisation do to have a positive impact?
- Is there anything you are currently doing that might have a negative impact? Why is that negative impact happening? What can you do to change the impact?
- Can your options and opportunities be linked to the indicators you developed in Step II? How will you monitor changes?
- If your changes do not have the effect you anticipate, do you have a back-up option? How will you learn why a change has not had the impact you expect?

EXAMPLE: Local communities in Lofa County, post-war Liberia

DIVIDERS	CONNECTORS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual massacres across ethnic lines. • Unclear land titles/disputes over use and ownership. • Inclusion/exclusion from traditional practices of secret societies. • Unequal marriage practices: Muslim men marry Christian women, but Christian men can’t marry Muslim women. • Disrespect for cultural differences. • Patron-client systems of favouritism/exclusion. • Persistent ex-combatants and command structures. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History of peaceful, mutually beneficial relations, intermarriage, living side-by-side. • Generous permission for land use over many decades across ethnicity. • Shared desire to leave the war behind. • Problem solving by elder councils, women and youth leaders. • Common rituals and celebrations. • Friendships across ethnic lines, mutual assistance and protection during massacres • Willingness to integrate ex-combatants in the community

6.5 Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis

What is it? An exercise for identifying potential causes of violence in the immediate future and over time. This tool may be particularly useful in conflict prevention planning, as implementing organisations determine a range of strategies for addressing urgent threats (operational prevention) as well as long-term structural prevention work.

Purpose:

- To sort a variety of factors into short-, medium- and long-term issues.
- To allow planning for conflict prevention work.
- To present information graphically, allowing for discussion of priorities and timing of actions.

When to use it:

- When deciding whether and how to intervene in an emerging conflict situation, where some violent incidents have already occurred.
- When considering how to orient development efforts towards conflict prevention, particularly how to address long-term structural problems that are likely to result in violence over several years.

Variations in use:

- Combine with the “Levels and Layers Exercise” as an axis down the left side—and then show the issues in the time dimension across the chart to the right.
- Include positive factors—things that provide countervailing forces for peace.

How to Do It

This exercise is best done after other analysis processes, as a further step.

1. Based on the analyses already done, identify the issues or problems that will potentially lead to violence over time. Create cards or pieces of paper (or post-it notes with one issue/problem on each).
2. Create a chart or timeline like the one on the next page, and place the issues on the chart according to how soon it might result in violence. Be sure to include any incidents of violence that have already occurred, showing what the issue was that sparked violence.
3. As you are considering plans for conflict prevention, keep the chart on the wall as a reference point, when discussing priorities and timing.

Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis - Template

RECENT PAST	CURRENT	YEAR 1	YEAR 2	YEAR 3	YEAR 4	YEAR 5+
Previous Violent Incidents	Urgent Threats of Violence	Issues/factors that could lead to violence in 1 - 4 years Potential positive trends/factors				Issues/factors that could lead to violence (or peace) in 5+ years

6. Tools and Templates

- 6.1 Stakeholder Analysis: Positions, Interests, Issues and Power
- 6.2 Stakeholder Mapping
- 6.3 The Conflict Tree
- 6.4 Dividers and Connectors Analysis

- 6.5 Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis
- 6.6 Levels of Potential Change
- 6.7 Scenarios - Alternative Future Stories
- 6.8 Mapping of Conflict Using Systems Thinking

Immediate to Long-Term Threat Analysis - Example

RECENT PAST	CURRENT	YEAR 1	YEAR 2	YEAR 3	YEAR 4	YEAR 5+
Previous Violent Incidents	Urgent Threats of Violence	Issues/factors that could lead to violence in 1 - 4 years Potential positive trends/factors				Issues/factors that could lead to violence (or peace) in 5+ years
Violent election campaign 2 yrs ago	Election coming in 12 months	Peaceful transfer of power				
			Oil development: environmental issues and displacement		Oil development: question of sharing of revenues	
Assassination attempt on President last year		Increasing tension between modern state and traditional chiefly structures				Arid zones no longer viable due to climate change
	Drought + food shortages in X + Y provinces					
Ethnic riots in provincial towns: 4 incidents in 5 yrs.		Refugees and ex-combatants return to villages → land conflicts				Ethnic groups excluded from political power + economic opportunities seek equity
	Positive factor: Inter-religious dialogue process					
Armed group from neighbouring country active in remote areas			Positive factor: regional arms control efforts			

6.6 Levels of Potential Change

What is it? Analysis of the levels of conflict, including deeper structural and cultural factors, formal and informal institutions; social norms; inter-group relations; as well as personal attitudes, behaviour, perceptions, prejudice—as a preliminary step to considering change strategies.¹⁰

Purpose:

To identify conflict factors at multiple levels, before deciding where and how to intervene to promote change.

To differentiate conflict factors that are more and less difficult to change.

To provide the basis for setting change-oriented goals and devising strategies.

When to use it:

- As a diagnostic tool early in a programme planning process, along with other analytical tools.
- After you have used other analytical tools, as a further way to sort through information.
- As a preliminary exercise before program strategy tools, such as the RPP Matrix.

Note: This exercise is best done following other analytical processes, such as the Conflict Tree or Dividers and Connectors Analysis, or the three-box analysis of factors, which is part of a systems mapping of conflict (see next section). It is also most useful to do this as a team or in a workshop group.

How to Do It

1. Draw a large table similar to the one on the next page, listing only the titles of the categories in the left hand column (with explanations given verbally).
2. In the full group and drawing on information generated or organised using other tools, identify current conditions in the categories of the table.
3. Identify changes needed, starting with individual reflection, in pairs or small groups. Each individual or group should identify one or two **high priority changes** needed. Write these on cards to be posted. At the same time, identify possible approaches/methods for attaining the changes.
4. Discuss the placement of the cards/items. Do we have things in the right places? Are there more items in one category than another? Are there overlaps and duplications? Can some items be grouped together?
5. Discuss the potential approaches. Given who we are and our mandate, skills and resources, which issues are we realistically able to address? Use a colour or symbol to mark those items.
6. Are there items that we think are high priority, but that we do not (currently) have the capacity to address? Use a different colour/symbol to mark those items. Are other groups working on this—or is it an important gap? Who might be able/willing to work on it, and how might we influence them to take the initiative?
7. What are the implications of this discussion for our programme strategy or preventive action plan?

¹⁰ Similar to material in John Paul Lederach, Reina Neufeldt and Hal Culbertson, *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, and Learning Tool Kit* (Mindanao: Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2007) and RPP materials (see Bibliography).

Table for looking at Levels of Potential Change - Template

FACTORS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS	CHANGES NEEDED	POTENTIAL APPROACH(ES)
<p>Individual/Personal Factors: What attitudes, behaviours, perceptions, and skills do people have that feed into conflicts or reduce them? What evidence do we have?</p>		
<p>Individual Relationships: What are the patterns of individual interaction across group lines? Where do people interact/not? Are there friendships among individuals in different groups? How strong are such relationships? How do leaders at various levels of society relate to larger groups of citizens? What are the points of interaction?</p>		
<p>Group Relationships & Social Norms: How do different groups in society relate to each other? Are there deep divisions—and, if so, along what lines? Are there links or tensions at the leadership level? What social norms support conflict or mitigate it? How are people organised or mobilised? What is the degree of polarisation/alienation across groups? What elements of social cohesion exist?</p>		
<p>Institutions (formal and informal): How do schools/ universities, police, armed forces, justice system, transport, government administration, banks/finance and other institutions function—and how do they influence conflict? What are the informal mechanisms at the community level, such as local dispute resolution processes? How does leadership function within institutions?</p>		
<p>Deep Social, Political and Economic Structures and Culture: How does the economy work? Who gains and who loses? What are the social structures of inclusion/tolerance, exclusion/prejudice? How does governance work—on paper and in practice? What cultural beliefs and practices aggravate or diminish conflict?</p>		

Levels of Potential Change in [Fictional Country] - Example

FACTORS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS	CHANGES NEEDED	POTENTIAL APPROACH(ES)
<p>Individual/Personal Factors: What attitudes, behaviours, perceptions, and skills do people have that feed into conflicts or reduce them? What evidence do we have?</p>	<p>Problematic attitudes of citizens towards police</p>	<p>Police-community dialogue processes</p>
<p>Individual Relationships: What are the patterns of individual interaction across group lines? Where do people interact/not? Are there friendships among individuals in different groups? How strong are such relationships? How do leaders at various levels of society relate to larger groups of citizens? What are the points of interaction?</p>		
<p>Group Relationships & Social Norms: How do different groups in society relate to each other? Are there deep divisions—and, if so, along what lines? Are there links or tensions at the leadership level? What social norms support conflict or mitigate it? How are people organised or mobilised? What is the degree of polarisation/alienation across groups?</p>	<p>Reconcile hostile groups, deal with past atrocities</p>	<p>Intergroup dialogue + mediation of specific claims/redress.</p>
<p>Institutions (formal and informal): How do schools/universities, police, armed forces, justice system, transport, government administration, banks/finance and other institutions function—and how do they influence conflict? What are the informal mechanisms at the community level, such as local dispute resolution processes? How does leadership function within institutions?</p>	<p>Too much influence of military on politics and policies</p>	<p>Establish new norms of behaviour.</p> <p>Grievance procedures, community policing</p> <p>Revised/enforced military code of conduct.</p>
<p>Deep Social, Political and Economic Structures and Culture: How does the economy work? Who gains and who loses? What are the social structures of inclusion/tolerance, exclusion/prejudice? How does governance work—on paper and in practice? What cultural beliefs and practices aggravate or diminish conflict?</p>	<p>Zazu minority group systematically excluded from social/political/economic life.</p>	<p>Enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and constitutional provisions for representation.</p>



There is a fair amount of literature and fully developed techniques of scenario building. This is a simplified version. See the Bibliography for further references.

6.7 Scenarios - Alternative Future Stories

What is it? Classic scenario building is a quite elaborate set of steps for future planning. This exercise is a simplified version, that helps to identify how a conflict situation might evolve, based on your understanding of the key drivers. The scenarios can then serve as the basis for planning actions or programmes that account of these possible futures.

Purpose:

- To project current conflict dynamics into the future, to think about what might happen.
- To permit planning for both positive and negative outcomes.
- To provide an opportunity to think about how to encourage movement in positive directions and avoid the worst outcomes.

When to use it:

- As a step in programme planning.
- As a way to engage groups that are doubtful about the need to address conflicts.

How to Do It

1. Review the Key Driving Factors of the conflict, as identified in previous exercises (such as systems mapping). Post these clearly on a flip chart or black/white board.
2. Divide the participants into several small groups. Assign a set of factors to each group, and ask them to imagine how those factors might evolve and change over the next five years. "If we consider factors associated with exclusion and marginalisation, how might those change over the next five years? What might happen?" Or: "We identified issues regarding corruption and mismanagement of resources as a key driver; how might that develop over the next five years?" (Note: these should only be plausible ideas, not wild imaginings.) If possible, each group should come up with at least two, perhaps three alternative future stories about the key factor(s).
3. Ask each group to report back to the plenary, to tell their alternative stories. Then discuss how the different stories and factors might fit together. Do the possible futures for several factors add up to a reasonable scenario? Can we see two or three overall future directions?
4. Give people some time to think about the emerging future stories, to let them sink in. Take a break, go for lunch, or set the stories aside until the next day.
5. Come back to the stories; again divide into small groups based on the two or three major future stories or scenarios. Ask each small group to address these questions:
 - » What excites us or worries us about this story?
 - » What could we do to either make sure that this story comes about, or prevent it? What are people doing already with what success? What additional efforts might be needed?
 - » Given who we are, what is realistic that we could do? What should we advocate that others do?

Report back to the larger group and engage in a discussion about the programming and advocacy implications of the exercise.

Example of Scenario Work: The Mont Fleur Scenarios in South Africa

Scenario thinking as a way of approaching the future is increasingly being used as a tool for strategising in private and public sector organisations.

The Mont Fleur scenario exercise, undertaken in South Africa during 1991–92, was innovative and important because, in the midst of a deep conflict, it brought people together from across organisations to think creatively about the future of their country.¹¹

The purpose of Mont Fleur was “not to present definitive truths, but to stimulate debate on how to shape the next 10 years.” The project brought together a diverse group of 22 prominent South Africans—politicians, activists, academics, and businessmen and women, from across the ideological spectrum—to develop and disseminate a set of stories about what might happen in their country over 1992–2002.

Summary of the Scenarios

The scenario team met three times in a series of three-day workshops at the Mont Fleur conference centre outside Cape Town. The team foresaw four possible outcomes depending on the answers to three crucial questions.

- Will negotiations result in a settlement? If not, a non-representative government will emerge.
- Will the transition be rapid and decisive? If not, there will be an incapacitated government.
- Will the democratic government’s policies be sustainable? If not, collapse is inevitable; if the new government adopts sustainable policies, South Africa can achieve inclusive democracy and growth.

After considering many possible stories, the participants agreed on four scenarios that they believed to be plausible and relevant:

- *Ostrich*, in which a negotiated settlement to the crisis in South Africa is not achieved, and the country’s government continues to be non-representative.
- *Lame Duck*, in which a settlement is achieved but the transition to a new dispensation is slow and indecisive.
- *Icarus*, in which transition is rapid but the new government unwisely pursues unsustainable, populist economic policies.
- *Flight of the Flamingos*, in which the government’s policies are sustainable and the country takes a path of inclusive growth and democracy.

The group developed each of these stories into a brief logical narrative.

A fourteen-page report was distributed as an insert in a national newspaper, and they produced a 30-minute video that combined cartoons with presentations by team members. The team then presented and discussed the scenarios with more than fifty groups, including political parties, companies, academics, trade unions, and civic organisations. At the end of 1992, its goals achieved, the project was wrapped up and the team dissolved.

Results from the Project

The Mont Fleur project produced several different types of results: substantive messages, informal networks and understandings, and changed ways of thinking. The primary public output of the project was the group of scenarios, each of which had a message that was important to South Africans in 1992:

- The message of *Ostrich* was that a non-negotiated resolution of the crisis would not be sustainable. This was important because elements of the National Party (NP) government and the business community wished to believe that a deal with their allies, instead of

11 Excerpted from Adam Kahane, “The Mont Fleur Scenarios, What Will South Africa Be like in the Year 2002?”, *Global Business Network*, Deeper News, 7.1 (1996).

a negotiation with their opponents, could be sufficient. After hearing about the team's work, NP leader F.W. de Klerk was quoted as saying, "I am not an Ostrich."

- *Lame Duck's* message was that a weak coalition government would not be able to deliver and therefore could not last. This was important because the nature, composition, and rules governing the Government of National Unity (GNU) were a central issue in the pre-election negotiations. The NP wanted the GNU to operate subject to vetoes and other restrictions, and the ANC wanted unfettered winner takes all rules. *Lame Duck* explored the boundary in a GNU between compromise and incapacitation.
- *Icarus* warned of the dangers of a new government implementing populist economic policy. This message—coming from a team that included several of the left's most influential economists—was very challenging to the left, which had assumed that government money could be used to eradicate poverty quickly. The business community, which was worried about *Icarus* policies, found the team's articulation reassuring. The fiscal conservatism of the GNU was one of the important surprises of the post-election period.
- The simple message of *Flight of the Flamingos* was that the team believed in the potential for a positive outcome. In a country in the midst of turbulence and uncertainty, a credible and optimistic story makes a strong impact. One participant said recently that the main result of the project was that: "We mapped out in very broad terms the outline of a successful outcome, which is now being filled in. We captured the way forward of those committed to finding a way forward."



See for instance the Conflict Tree (6.4) and the Dividers and Connectors (6.5); for systems maps, factors identified are/ can be both causes and effects.

The second result of Mont Fleur was the creation of informal networks and understandings among the participants—an influential group from across the political spectrum—through the time they spent together. These connections were standard for this forum period, and cumulatively provided the basis for the subsequent critical, formal agreements.

The third result—the least tangible yet most fundamental—was the change in the language and thought of the team members and those with whom they discussed their work. The Mont Fleur team gave vivid, concise names to important phenomena that were not widely known, and previously could be neither discussed nor addressed. At least one political party reconsidered its approach to the constitutional negotiations in light of the scenarios.



For a more detailed guidance to use a systems approach see the Resource Manual 'Designing Strategic Initiatives to Impact Conflict Systems: Systems Approaches to Peacebuilding' (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2016).

6.8 Mapping of Conflict Using Systems Thinking

What is it? A method for analysing conflicts as **systems**, showing the dynamic interactions and connections among factors and actors in causal loops and arranged in conflict systems maps.

Increasingly, peace practitioners treat conflicts as **complex human systems**, rather than static lists of issues, factors and actors. Factors and actors do not stand alone; they interact in dynamic ways that are also constantly changing. Systems mapping allows us to show the connections—and how one factor is a cause of another, and is also the result of other factors. The resulting conflict map is a useful tool for developing intervention strategies.

Purpose:

- To understand and display graphically the connections and interactions among conflict factors and actors.
- To provide a powerful tool for identifying alternative ways to intervene to change a conflict system through points of leverage.
- To generate a way to trace potential effects—intended and unintended—of conflict intervention strategies.

When to use it:

- As an additional step, after you have performed several other analytical exercises.
- As a precursor to strategy building.
- As a tool for considering possible positive or negative effects of a conflict prevention or resolution programme.
-

Variations in use:

- It is possible to use the mapping process at different levels of conflict: at the community, province/state, national and regional levels.
- One can also analyse a particular sector or issue, or the influences on a particular constituency, such as youth or women.

Further explanation and resources:

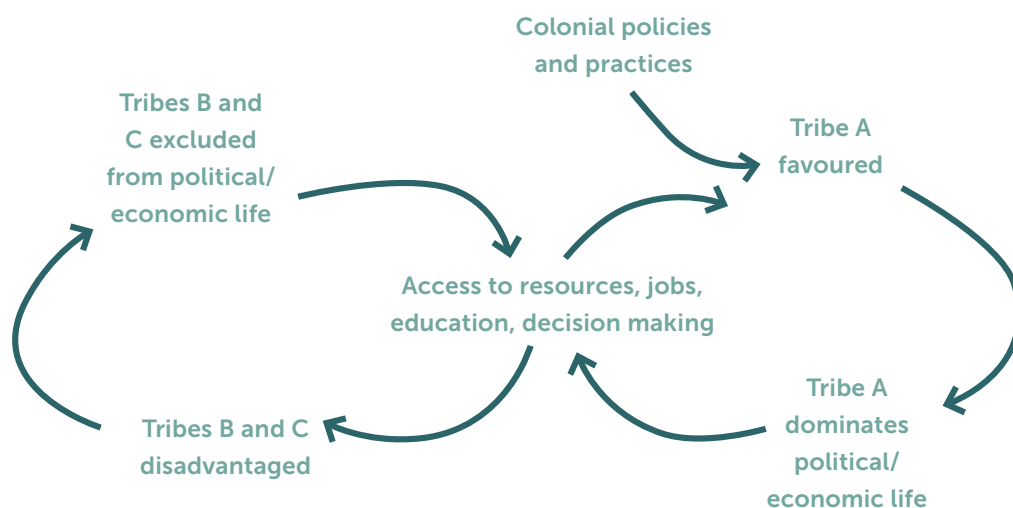
Although systems maps represent a powerful tool for strategizing and programme design, the process of producing systems maps can appear intimidating—although some people do grasp it intuitively. Experience shows that systems thinking is best introduced in a training workshop or through direct mentoring. Therefore, for this particular tool, rather than provide step-by-step instructions, we will provide several examples of systems maps, with narrative explanations. In terms of how to produce such systems maps, see the list of resources in the Bibliography, or contact groups who support the application of systems thinking in peacebuilding.

Systems mapping can build on the other conflict analysis tools presented in this guide. Most of the other tools are useful for identifying key actors and factors of conflict—which is also the raw material for systems mapping.

Working with Key Driving Factors of Conflict: Systems mapping starts with identifying the *key driving factors* of the conflict. What are the major factors, both negative and positive, in the conflict? If you have a long list, work to determine which of the factors listed can be considered *key drivers*, using the following definition:

A driving factor is a dynamic or element, without which the conflict would not exist, or would be completely different.

Conflict systems mapping then works with the key drivers and other contributing factors to depict how they all interact to cause, and perpetuate, a conflict system. Here is a relatively simple example that shows a systemic dynamic regarding favouritism and exclusion, with 'Access to resources, jobs, education, decision making' being the key driving factor:



A narrative explanation of this dynamic might sound like this:

It all started with the colonial power, which manipulated ethnicity to set up one tribe as dominant over the others and gave them privileges and power as a way to control the country. At independence, the dominant tribe took over the government and commercial enterprises, and they have been in charge ever since. They have systematically excluded other groups from economic and political power. The systems map shows how the colonialists favoured one tribe that came to dominate the economic and political arenas and, as a logical result, gained control over key resources (jobs, education, policy making...). At the same time, other tribes (B and C) were relatively disadvantaged, and have remained marginalised, without access to resources.

This diagram is a simple example—although it captures an important dynamic and represents what is called an ‘archetype,’ essentially a typical pattern that is found frequently in many conflicts, particularly in post-colonial societies. This classic archetype is often called ‘success to the successful’ and embodies the common concept of ‘the rich get richer.’ The examples presented below represent more complete analyses of complex conflict systems—at a community and national level.

Full Examples of Systems Maps

The following pages present systems analysis of conflicts in Ghana, with accompanying explanatory narrative. In this case, two conflict systems are described—one a pervasive dynamic of polarisation and politicisation, the other a series of disputes over chieftaincy succession, of which several have resulted in violence. These conflict maps can be used to identify points of entry or leverage points to create change in the system.

Example: Systems mapping of key conflicts and causes in Ghana

Chieftaincy disputes, land and other natural resource disputes, ethnic disputes, religious disputes, and socio-cultural disputes are cited by local observers as the most frequent types of conflicts in Ghana. Each of these is exacerbated by the dominant political climate and culture. Nationally, politicians typically focus on gaining and maintaining power, rather than governing, policy development, service delivery, or equitable economic development. Thus, the political culture is dominated by a high stakes struggle between the two major political parties, the NDC and NPP. Once parties assume power, they tend to break developmental promises made to Ghanaians, leading to very poor service delivery and policy making. For instance, the country can still not provide enough portable water to its citizens or sufficient electricity to homes and businesses, to name just two.

Underlying these conflict types are a series of structural causes of conflict, including economic inequalities. At the macro level, southern Ghana has more resources and controls development and investment allocations and realises relative prosperity, while northern Ghana continues in relative deprivation. At the local level, access to land and other resources is controlled by chiefs, who often make decisions based on a system of patronage and loyalties, which in many cases has become tied to the main political parties. As a result, certain groups benefit from favourable treatment, while others are excluded and grow restive at their persistent inability to make gains. In the mineral rich areas of southern Ghana, mining companies and, more recently, oil industries have caused displacement, ecological damage and human rights abuses, a situation of growing concern. In addition, local chiefs and CSOs raise questions about whether the communities are receiving a fair share of revenues from the natural resource exploitation.

Most local people interviewed emphasise politicisation and polarisation along party lines as the principal drivers of conflicts in the country, a dynamic that distorts and magnifies all other conflicts. Without this pervasive political culture, the underlying structural factors would be less likely to result in violence. For instance, it is a known fact in Ghana that the NDC is aligned with the Adani group and NPP is aligned with the Abudu group, the two contending parties in the well-known Dagbon chieftaincy crisis.

Therefore, the issue of politicisation stands out as the most important conflict driver. In terms of the potential for precipitating widespread violence, chieftaincy disputes are of almost equal concern, recognising that political factors magnify the problem, as noted.

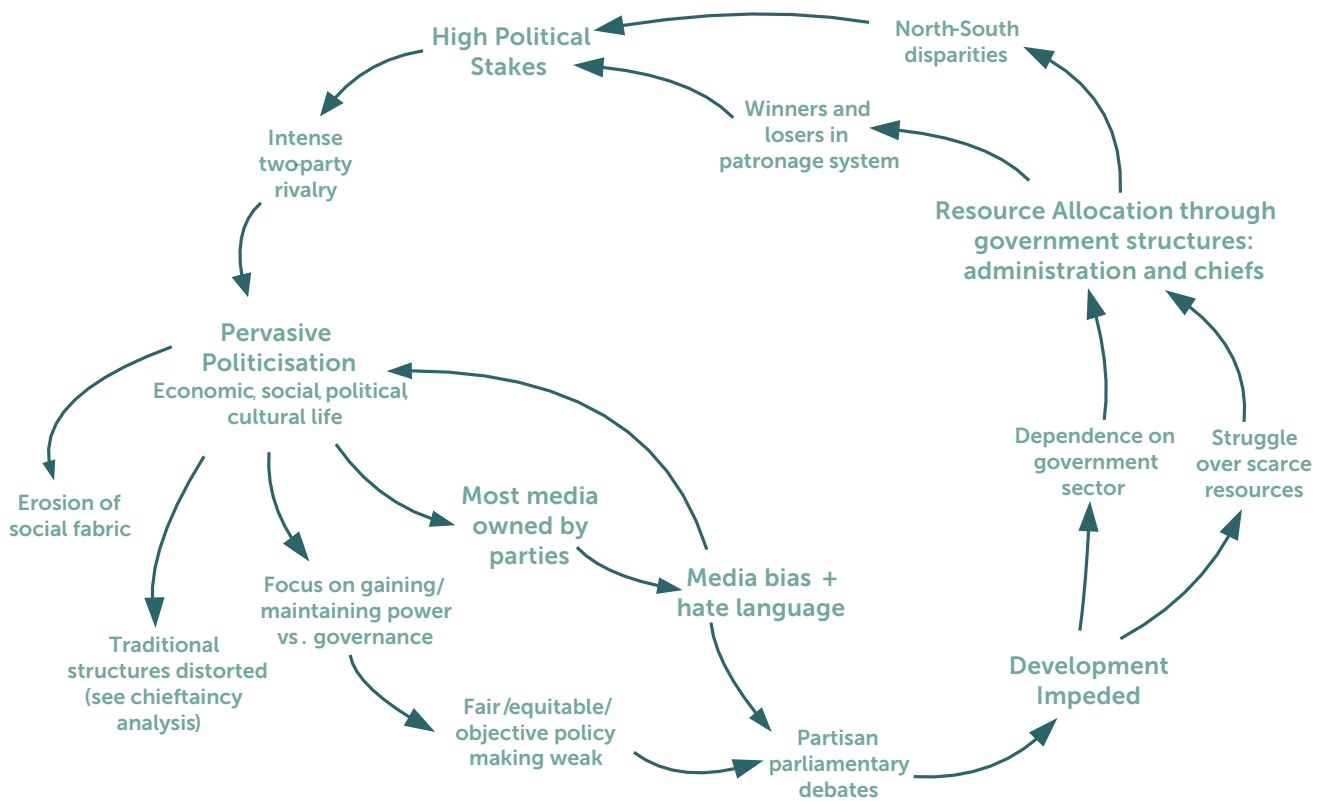
1. Systems Mapping of Politicisation and Polarisation:

Chieftaincy disputes, which in many cases predate the high stakes national politics, are often used by the political elite as leverage for gaining power. Until human needs, especially subsistence, identity, participation and protection are addressed, both chiefs and their subjects will remain vulnerable pawns on the political chess board—and politics will continue to be viewed as a potential means for satisfying those needs.

Figure 1 presents a systems analysis of the issue of polarisation and politicisation of public life in Ghana. An explanation of the diagram starts at the right-hand side with the two factors of 'dependence on government sector' and 'struggle over scarce resources.' In essence, the private/commercial sector does not provide adequate sources of income and employment, so the government sector predominates. Thus, the preferred route to wealth is through appointment to a secure government job. At the same time, structural factors of poverty and inadequate development result in a scarcity of resources, and a high-stakes struggle for power and control over the public sector as the perceived sole source of benefits, and through which resources are allocated—at both the national and local levels. The disparities between North and South and the dynamic of winners and losers in the patronage system throughout the country flow from these factors.

Figure 1: **Polarisation & politicisation of public life in Ghana**

The high stakes associated with holding government power prompt the major political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), to engage in an intense rivalry for power and control over political patronage to benefit their adherents. This fundamental dynamic produces the driving factor of ‘pervasive politicisation of economic, social, political and cultural life’. As a result, this pervasive politicisation generates a number of destructive dynamics, including erosion of social fabric, a distortion of traditional structures (especially chieftaincies), a focus on gaining or maintaining power rather than governing, and political control of most media outlets. While each of these could be explored in further depth (and the chieftaincy issue is analysed further below), the main effect is the focus on power, with the media serving to amplify the more destructive consequences.



The continued struggle for power affects the process of governing, which leads, in turn, to weak capacity for engaging in fair, equitable or objective policymaking. Most parliamentary debates in Ghana are characterised by sharp partisan behaviour, including personal attacks and accusations of bad faith, exacerbated by contentious commentary and hate language in the loyalist media. Relative neglect of governance impedes the development process, perpetuating dependence on the governance sector and the scarcities that fuel the struggle for power and political rivalries. While strong rivalries and even mutual accusations are to be expected in the rough and tumble of the democratic process, a concern for conflict prevention must ask whether such dynamics have potential for leading to widespread political violence. Local observers judge that politicisation is not a problem in itself—but when coupled with other important factors, the potential for violence emerges.

2. Systems Mapping of Chieftaincy Issues:

The other key conflict area concerns traditional rulers, especially where succession is contested. Figure 2 below (Chieftaincy Disputes in Ghana) shows the dynamics regarding chieftaincy, which intersect with the key drivers of politicisation described above. In addition to the effects of politicisation/polarisation described in Figure 1, additional effects appear, including the politicisation of the role of chiefs (tending to side with one political faction/party over another); distorted media coverage of disputes regarding chieftaincy issues;

impacts on socio-cultural groups associated with the chieftaincy system (makers of tradition dress, ornamentation and drums, for instance); and threats to identity. These factors all serve to produce succession disputes, augmented by the lack of documentation regarding succession in some places.

When chieftaincy succession disputes occur, they are normally handled by the House of Chiefs on a regional basis, using traditional dispute resolution procedures. However, such mechanisms are often unsuited for handling high-profile paramount chieftaincy disputes (such as the Dagbon crisis). The House of Chiefs is reportedly often unable to convene sessions of the Judicial Committee due to lack of basic resources for transport and housing. This leads to long delays in resolution, prompting contending groups to resort to the judicial system, often resulting in verdicts rejected by one side or the other. Official documents from early in the new century identify nineteen major chieftaincy conflicts since 1980, of which only four had been settled, six contained and nine remained unresolved at that time.

An Administrative Brief of the Chieftaincy Secretariat in May 2001 showed 171 cases before the Regional Houses of Chiefs nation-wide, and 44 cases on appeal to the National House of Chiefs.

Succession disputes and attendant delays generate inter-group tensions and violence, locally, or, in the case of paramount chieftaincies, over a wider area. In areas affected by violence and continuing tensions, development or reconstruction is essentially stalled for extended periods. Stalled development exacerbates resource scarcities, which, coupled with distorted and inequitable systems of resource allocation, generate land conflicts, a contributing factor to succession disputes in the first place. Inequitable distribution of resources becomes a contributing factor to local and national struggles for power and influence and the resulting politicisation.

Figure 2: Chieftaincy disputes in Ghana

