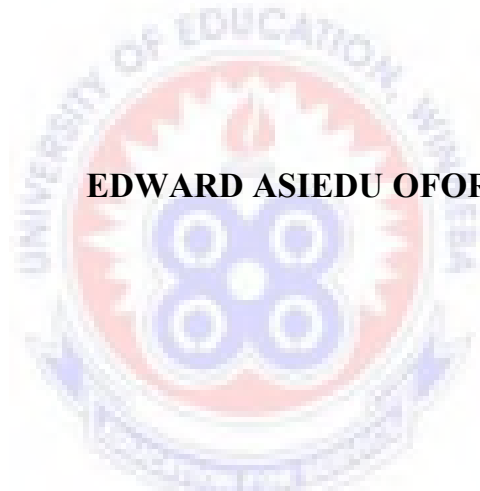


**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**CONFLICTS AMONG FARMERS AND HERDSMEN IN THE KWAHU  
EAST DISTRICT IN THE EASTERN REGION OF GHANA**



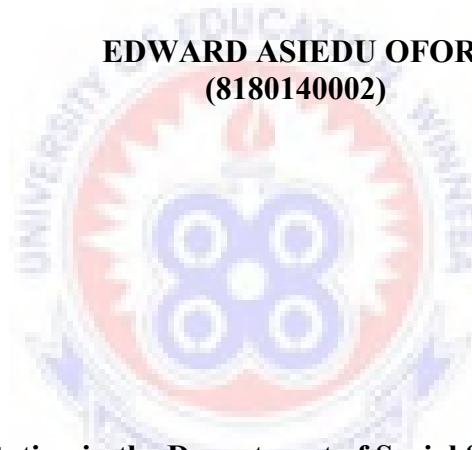
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**CONFLICTS AMONG FARMERS AND HERDSMEN IN THE KWAHU EAST  
DISTRICT IN THE EASTERN REGION OF GHANA**

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**A Dissertation in the Department of Social Studies education,  
Faculty of Social Sciences Submitted to the School of  
Graduate Studies, in Partial fulfilment**

**of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
(Social Studies)**

**in the University of Education, Winneba**

**OCTOBER, 2020**

## DECLARATION

### Student's Declaration

I, Edward Asiedu Ofori, declare that this dissertation, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

### Supervisor's Declaration

I, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work were supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Dr. Ignatius Joseph Obeng (Supervisor)

Signature: .....

Date: .....

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my wife, Benedicta Edusah and to my pastor, Rev. Prince Baffour Ofori.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I'm very grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Ignatius Joseph Obeng, for his technical and professional inputs during the entire period of my research. He worked tirelessly to correct my work and offered pieces of advice whenever I consulted him. I also wish to express sincere appreciations to Dr. Eshun, Dr. Vincent Adzahli-Mensah, Mr. Frederick Yaw Korang, and Mr. Michael Tetteh, for their unlimited support and encouragement throughout my research.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Contents</b>	<b>Pages</b>
DECLARATION	III
DEDICATION	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
ABSTRACT	IX
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background To The Study	1
1.2 Statement Of Problem	4
1.3 Purpose Of The Study	6
1.4 Objectives Of The Study	6
1.5 Research Questions	7
1.6 Significance Of The Study	7
1.7 Scope Of The Study	8
1.8 Definition Of Terms	8
1.9 Organisation Of The Study	10
<b>CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Theoretical Framework	11
2.3 Empirical Studies	19
2.4 Land Rights And Land Ownership Systems In Ghana	23
2.5 Causes Of Farmer-Herderconflicts In Ghana	28
2.6 Nature Of Land Ownership/Right Conflicts In Ghana	34

2.7. Consequences Of The Farmer-Herder Conflicts On Socio-Economic Development	35
2.8 Summary	45
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>47</b>
3.1 Introduction	47
3.2 Research Approach	47
3.3 Research Design	47
3.4 The Study Area	48
3.5 Population	51
3.6 Sample, Sample Size And Sampling Procedure	51
3.7 Source Of Data	53
3.8 Instrument For Data Collection	53
3.9 Data Collection Procedure	55
3.10 Methods Of Data Analysis	56
3.11 Trustworthiness	58
3.13 Ethics	60
3.12 Chapter Summary	60
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND OF FINDINGS</b>	<b>61</b>
4.0 Introduction	61
4.1 Background Of Fulani Settlement In The Study Communities	61
4.2 Land Ownership Rights In The Kwahu East District	63
4.3 Access To Land	69
4.4 Causes Of Farmer –Herder Conflicts In The Kwahu-East District	72
4.5 Consequences Of The Farmer-Herder Conflicts	82

4.6	Role Of Traditional Authorities, Security Agencies And Government In Resolving The Conflicts	87
4.7	Effectiveness Of Conflict Resolution Measures	90
4.8.	Compensation For Losses Due To The Conflict	92
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>		<b>94</b>
5.0	Introduction	94
5.1	Summary Of Key Findings	94
5.2	Conclusion	97
5.3	Recommendations	97
5.4	Areas For Further Studies	100
<b>REFERENCES</b>		<b>101</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>		<b>111</b>





## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research work is to examine the extent to which land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herders in Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. This research was based on five objectives including: to examine land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District, determine how farmers and herders get access to farmlands, analyse the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of land in Kwahu East District, analyse the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in Kwahu East District and, examine the role being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, Security agencies among others in addressing the conflict. The study adopted a descriptive case study research design. The study population involved residents of the three communities within the Kwahu East District namely: Yaw Tenkorang, Kwaku Sarfo and Bebuga. The purposive sampling technique was used to select 4 traditional leaders, 10 farmers, 10 herders and cattle owners, 3 assembly members, The District Chief Executive, The District Commander of Police, and the District Land Officer. The study concluded that, land ownership rights in KED were based on the allodia and usufruct systems, which vest land ownership rights in the hands of traditional authorities and family heads. Again, the study showed that, indigenous farmers lay claim to greater rights over the lands compared to herders who are considered as aliens, without land ownership right. Crop destruction, and competition over land, cattle rustling, mistrust between herders and hunters, closeness of farms to grazing routes and violence against women, unfavorable climatic changes coupled with incompatible farming and herding practices are the causes to the conflict. It has also been established that, the farmer-herder conflicts have resulted in loss of lives, destruction of properties, souring of relationship between farmers and herders and the desertion of towns and villages. The study revealed measures initiated to find lasting solution to this conflict.

Key words: Farmers, Herders, land ownership rights.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Land is an important natural resource and the significance of this natural asset to man on earth through all ages can hardly be overstressed (Opafunso, Bruno-Imokhai & Akinbosade, 2015). All human livelihoods and activities are directly or indirectly dependent on land at varying thresholds. But land connotes different meanings to the various user groups. For instance, builders, manufacturers, fishermen, miners, hunters and farmers have different specifications in their requirement for land for their production/services. Out of all user groups, agricultural production, perhaps exhibits the most varied demands in its use of land. Yet, land is a limited, somewhat scarce resource with both access and usage barriers.

Competition for land between and within various user groups has been a challenge in human society. Non-agricultural user groups compete with agricultural user groups on one hand, while there are various levels of intra-user group competition on the other. Indeed, competition for land use is becoming keener and fiercer, largely due to increasing human and animal populations (Gefu & Kolawole, 2002). It has been illustrated that increasing population growth rate has continued to exert great pressure on available land resources with varying environmental and socio-economic implications (Fiki & Lee, 2004).

Constraints to agricultural productivity in Africa have generally included weak linkages to product and inputs markets and poor extension services. In recent times however, limited access to adequate and secure land has become a major problem for farmers in Africa. Limited access to land has been heightened by the

commoditisation, commercialisation, competition and high demand for land by other stakeholders (Flintan, 2012). Generally, insecure parcels are unattractive parcels for agricultural investments due to the hazards of expropriation (Peters, 2004). The status of land rights has implications for investment and productivity (Holden et al., 2009). In this regard, Deininger and Jin (2006), in their study of land investments in Kenya, Rwanda, Ghana and Ethiopia, found a positive relationship between land rights and investment in these countries. Similarly, Goldstein (2008) noted that people who wield political power particularly within the traditional political system have more secured rights to land, and hence, invest more and have substantially higher outputs.

Globally, livestock contributes about 40 percent to the agricultural Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and constitutes about 30 percent of the agricultural GDP in the developing world (World Bank, 2009). Livestock production plays crucial and multiple roles in the livelihood of people, ranging from food supply, family nutrition, incomes, employment, livelihoods, safety net, draught animal power, manure to sustainable land use for agricultural production (Otte & Knips, 2005; Perry & Sones, 2007); and accounts for almost 30 percent of human protein consumption (Steinfeld, Gerber, Wassenaar, Castel, Rosales, de Haanc, 2006). Meanwhile, the livestock sector is plagued with several challenges such as lack of adequate supplies of quality feed and pasture, diseases, unavailability of adequate water and poor veterinary services (Kassam, 2009; Peeling & Holden, 2004). More recently, the problem of herdsman-farmers' conflicts has appeared in the literature and policy discourse as one of the formidable challenges facing livestock production (particularly ruminant) in many developing countries (Citifmonline, 05-03-2018).

In Africa, farmers and herdsman have coexisted for centuries, developing an interdependent relationship through economic interests such as trading and other means of support (Moritz, 2010). Moritz further notes that, at the same time, conflicts between them have also existed for centuries (Moritz, 2010). Across the continent, the impression of the alarming rate of farmer-herder conflicts is not over emphasised as evidence suggests the conflict is widespread and increasingly becoming more violent. This conflict has plunged communities along the borderlands of Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania into a series of violence thereby displacing families from their homes (Butler & Gates, 2012; Mwamfupe, 2015).

Manu, Bime, Fon and Ajagaet (2014) opined that the insatiable nature of human wants; and competitions for scarce resources are the foremost causes of community or inter-group conflicts. Resource use conflicts/clashes, according to Adisa and Adekunle (2010), are becoming fiercer and increasingly widespread in Ghana and other West African countries.

Ghana has become prone to intermittent outbreaks of conflict, including conflicts between and within ethnic groups. However, one conflict which requires further examination and policy attention is the one between farmers and herders. Relationships between sedentary farmers and herders are largely defined by competing claims to natural resource rights. Intuitively, the push to modernise agriculture in Ghana, and the subsequent expansion of crop farming in time and space, reduces the available resources for pasture, and increases both the frequency and the intensity of farmer-herder conflicts. These conflicts do not end in a zero-sum game, where farmers win, and herders lose. Instead, the resulting conflicts and

accompanying insecurity undermine herders' livelihood and the effectiveness of agricultural programming more generally.

Anecdotally, Ghana is seeing an increase in the frequency and intensity of farmer-herder conflicts which increase local insecurity around land use for farming, and in so doing, undermines the effectiveness of attempts at rural socio-economic development generally.

Farmers and herders usually clash over lands for agricultural or pastoral activities. The availability of arable lands is a variable often intimately associated with basic welfare among rural folks (Giordano, Giordano and Wolf, 2005). In Ghana, farmer-herders conflicts over the years have evolved from minor disagreements and isolated skirmishes to highly violent and frequent conflicts. Within the mostly rural communities that are affected, the conflicts are highly destructive, resulting in loss of lives, injuries, displacements of families and the destruction of properties. In recent years, successive governments have been committed in managing these conflicts, but their efforts remain futile as farmer-herder conflicts are considerably spreading in various areas across the country. The rise of these conflicts tarnishes the reputation of Ghana as a country of peace among her neighbours. Hence, this study sought to explore land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herdsmen in the Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

## **1.2 Statement of Problem**

Until recently, there has been peaceful coexistence between farmers and herdsmen in various communities in Ghana. During the last two decades, there has been an alarming, incessant and renewed conflict between farmers and herdsmen in various parts of Ghana, and these have culminated into violent conflicts and loss of lives and

properties. These conflicts have become severe in some communities in the Kwahu East District in the eastern region of Ghana.

The herdsmen have identified conflicts arising from land use as the main problem they face in their occupation (Abbass, 2014). The increase in competition for arable land has often times led to hostilities and social friction among the two land user-groups in many parts of Ghana. The conflicts have not only heightened the level of insecurity, but have also demonstrated high potential to exacerbate the socio-economic crisis in Ghana and other affected countries due to loss of farmer lives, animals, crops and valuable properties (Tonah, 2006).

While security agencies have intervened in many cases to prevent clashes, places such as Gushegu, Nangodi, Agogo, Dumso and various villages in Atebubu/ Amanteng and Pru districts in Ghana have recorded violent conflicts between farmers and herders in recent times. For example, in February 2016, about 80 cattle belonging to Fulani herdsmen were killed by irate youth in Dumso in the Brong-Ahafo region in response to destruction of crops by cattle herded by Fulani herdsmen. Two farmers were also shot dead while in their farms by suspected herdsmen in Agogo in the Ashanti region. To exacerbate the situation, in January 2018, herdsmen attacked and wounded four state security personnel in the Asante Akim North District, leaving three in critical conditions. There has been a general dissatisfaction concerning the activities of herdsmen among the Ghanaian populace.

In fact, farmer-header conflict has taken a new dimension as it has resulted in killings of farmers as well as herdsmen due to the sophisticated weapons used by the factions in these violent attacks. Many scholars and literatures have attributed the cause of the conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Ghana to various trends (Abbass, 2014;

Giordano et al., 2005). Some have attributed the cause to environmental scarce resources or climate change, while others have attributed the cause to globalisation or urbanisation. These scholars and literatures have failed to discuss the extent to which land ownership rights affects the conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Ghana. These have created a wide gap in the literature on the conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Ghana and West Africa and this work sets out to fill this gap. Therefore, the study is to explore land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herdsmen in Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study was to examine land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herdsmen in Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study was to examine land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herdsmen in Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- (i) examine land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District,
- (ii) determine how farmers and herders get access to farmlands,
- (iii) Analyse the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of land in Kwahu East District.
- (iv) Analyse the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in Kwahu East District.
- (v) Examine the role being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, Security agencies among others in addressing the conflict.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study was based on the following questions:

- (i) What are the land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District?
- (ii) How do farmers and herders get access to farmlands?
- (iii) What are the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of lands in the Kwahu East District?
- (iv) What are the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in Kwahu East District?
- (v) What roles are being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, the security agencies to prevent the conflicts?

### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The study contributes to the academic debate on the varied forms of resource conflicts, particularly in relation to land ownership rights by indigenes and the tension this triggers between farmers and herdsman over the use of land.

An in-depth insight into land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herdsman in KED could be a useful tool towards resolving farmers-herdsman conflicts. Usually the consequences are always on the local government as they lose huge revenue from their locality at the time they have to improve on the socio-economic wellbeing, improve economic growth and enhance standard of living.

The study will be of tremendous benefit to security agencies in Ghana, as these conflicts are violent and protracted, they usually involve very sophisticated weapons, the use of mercenary elements and methods that border on terrorism, including chemical weapons. Again, it puts land ownership and citizenship rights in jeopardy



which have times without number thrown up tribal, ethnic, religious and political sentiment that threaten the economy and cooperate existence of Ghana.

Besides the Ghana Education Service and the National Disaster Management Organization, farmer-herder conflicts exposes children to situations of terror and horror, severe loses of instructional hours and disruptions in their education and lives which lead to high rates of depression and anxiety. In some cases, a whole community is wiped out and those fortunate to escape become refugees in other places (Ndioko, 2017).

Finally, the study will provide a new insight into understanding the complexities of farmer-herder conflicts and may inform government on the approaches to resolving or preventing them. Peaceful coexistence is essential for guaranteeing security and improvement in the lives, property and livelihoods of farmers and herdsmen.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The study was delimited to land ownership rights and conflicts between famers and herders in KED. The study, therefore, looked at people's access to farmlands, causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of land in KED, the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in KED and, finally the roles being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, and security agencies, among others, in addressing the conflict.

### **1.8 Definition of Terms**

**Resource:** A resource is a source or supply from which a benefit is produced and it has some utility.

- Natural resource:** It is anything obtained from the environment to satisfy human needs and wants (Spoolman, 2011)
- Land:** Land is the solid part of the earth, which is a factor of production.
- Right:** A claim backed by law
- Land Right:** Land rights refers to the claim of titleholders to natural resources (land)
- Herdsmen:** The owner or keeper of a herd or of herds, or the one employed in tending a herd of cattle
- Crop Farmers:** These are people engaged in agriculture, producing food or raw materials
- Conflict:** Conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2000).
- Policy:** A policy refers to a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives.
- Socio-economic development:** Social, political, biological, science and technology, language and literature are the main areas that need to be developed to lead to empowerment of disadvantaged groups.

### **1.9 Organisation of the Study**

The research is organised into five chapters. Chapter One presents the introduction of the study. This includes the background to the study, problem statement, purpose, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and definition of terms. Chapter Two of the research entails a detailed review of literature with attention to both theoretical and empirical studies. Chapter Three focuses on research methodology adopted for the study. It discusses the research design, target population, sample size and sample selection, research instruments, sources of data and data gathering procedure, data analysis procedure, ethical consideration and study area profile. In Chapter Four, results and analysis of data gathered from the field are presented. Chapter Five comprises the summary conclusions and recommendations of the study.



## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on a review of related literature to the study. The objective of the literature review is to examine the existing literature about the objectives this study seeks to explore. The literature is reviewed under the following sub-topics:

- (i) Theoretical Framework
- (ii) Conceptual Definition
- (iii) Empirical Studies
- (iv) Land right and ownership systems in Ghana
- (v) Access to land ownership and conflict in Africa
- (vi) Causes of Farmer-Header Conflict in Ghana.
- (vii) Consequences of farmer-Herder conflict on socio-economic development
- (viii) Assessment on the policies and actions by the state in addressing farmer-herder conflict in Ghana.
- (ix) Summary

#### 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted the „The Protracted Social Conflict Theory“ and „The Human Needs Theory“ to examine land ownership rights and conflict between farmers and herdsmen in KED.

##### *2.2.1 The Protracted Social Conflict Theory (PSC)*

When discussing the literature on conflicts, it is beneficial to highlight the work of Edward Azar. As one of the early scholars of conflict resolution, he was the first to

describe the underlying factors responsible for protracted conflicts, especially in developing countries. His seminal work (1978, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986c, 1988 & 1990) provided a solid foundation from which several PSC scholars have developed a theoretical conceptualisation of PSC. Azar, described PSC as: Conflicts that occur in communities where communal groups are deprived of the satisfaction of their basic needs on the basis of their communal identity (Azar, 1990). In the conceptualisation of protracted social conflicts, Azar highlighted the three phases through which non-conflict situation develops into a conflict, and they are discussed below:

Under the first phase known as „Genesis“, Azar argued that the communal content of a society is the most significant of all the factors that result in a protracted conflict. According to Azar, communities with diverse identity groups with distinct interest are suitable grounds for conflicts to prolong over long periods. Moreover, others such as Chojnacki and Engels (2013), Martin (2011), Patel and Burkle (2012) and Tsikata and Seini (2004) subscribed to the position that, identity is a dominant social theme that drive, protract and escalate conflicts. Identity fault lines can exploit the grievances among societal groups, subsequently fuelling conflicts. In fact, numerous examples of conflicts over identity where foreigners or migrants are referred to as „enemies“, have recently been witnessed in Cote D’Ivoire, Sudan and South Africa (Peluso & Lund, 2011). In Ghana, as Tsikata and Seini (2004) observed, the struggle over land and its control between farmers and herdsmen is an important aspect of identity conflicts. Furthermore, and more importantly, Azar and others add to the argument with the submission that, the satisfaction of the basic human needs of these communal groups is a determining factor of the conflict. While one group may enjoy the satisfaction of

their needs, they may be doing so at the expense of others. Hence, the victims of deprivation may rely on the collective use of violence to register their grievances.

Another component of Azar's (1990) concept relevant to this study is the action of the state or government. Ideally, the state has the responsibility to ensure that all persons under its jurisdiction are able to attain their basic needs without obstruction from others. However, Giordano et al (2005) observed in countries experiencing protracted conflicts that, this is not the case. There is a gap among state institutions in delivering their mandates or protecting the rights of ownership of citizens over resources. Thus, in conclusion, this situation exacerbates an already volatile and competitive condition.

The second phase of Azar's protracted conflict is „process dynamics.“ This stage comprises mostly of violent confrontation. At this phase, Azar observed that communal actions and strategies can escalate a dormant situation into a violent conflict.

In the context of farmers and herders conflict, Stanley and Wise (1993), shared a similar view with Azar in their study titled, “Triggers of Farmer-Herder Conflict in Ghana: A Non-Parametric Analysis of Stakeholders Perspectives”, where they concluded that actions such as the destruction of crop farms and killing of cattle are the most significant and immediate causes of this conflict. Furthermore, Azar (1990) also noted that the response or actions of the state can lead to an increase in violence within the community. In most cases of conflicts, the state is known to adopt hard-line strategies as a response. This strategy equally invites a militant response from groups who feel victimised. This is evident in Ghana, as the intensified operation against the herdsmen has resulted in a militant response from the herdsmen against state security institutions.

The third phase of Azar's (1990) protracted conflict is the „Built-in Mechanism of Conflict“, which relates to the effects that a prolonged conflict can have on the communities, including socio-economic effects and the perception communal groups can develop concerning each other. These effects can directly inhibit belligerents to reach an amicable solution and further, prolong the conflict.

Some supporters of this PSC concept include Friedman (1999, 2002), Goertz and Diehl (1992), and Schrodt (1983). Others such as Beaudoin, (2013) presented, test and justify the theoretical conceptualisation of the components of PSC in her studies titled “Protracted Social Conflict, A Re-conceptualisation and Case Analysis”. The concept of PSC is essential in understanding contemporary social or communal conflicts. Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts have increasingly become „internalised“ within communities rather than „internationalised“ among states. These trends of conflict indicate that, civilians instead of being accidental casualties are the targets in the conflict. Therefore, because PSC deals with violence at the social or communal level, the concept provides the framework to identify the components that fuel and sustain a conflict and applying the appropriate intervention to prevent it.

Nevertheless, Beaudoin (2013) highlighted a very important critique of Azar's concept of PSC. She argued that Azar's concept lacks a clear theoretical timing, which, conflict must endure before it is considered a protracted conflict. The pattern or tendency of the academic work regarding PSC is to describe or define the conditions that create or contribute to prolonged conflicts rather than identifying the length of time that conflict must endure or exist before being considered a PSC. Thus, conflict researchers have no parameters of time from which they can determine whether a conflict is protracted or not. Therefore, a clear theoretical parameter of the

minimum range of time is required in order to correctly consider conflicts as PSC or not.

### ***2.2.2 The Human Needs Theory***

One theory that analyses the root causes of conflict is the Human Needs theory. The theory offers an insightful understanding of the underlying factors responsible for conflict, and thus; assists practitioners in reaching a possible resolution. This study analyses the theory of Human Needs within the context of the farmer-herders conflict in Ghana. It is widely agreed that in order to survive, all humans depend on certain fundamental essentials or needs, and these essential needs of humanity are the key to survival, irrespective of status, age, location, and gender. These essential needs are referred to as „The Basic Human Needs“. The theory posits that individuals or groups will explore every option to obtain their needs including the use of violence or coercion. Human Needs theorists contend that one of the fundamental factors responsible for protracted conflicts is people’s unyielding drive to meet their unmet needs at the individual, group and societal levels (Burton, 1990). Rosenberg, a proponent of the Human Needs theory suggested that violence is the „tragic expression“ of unmet needs, indicating that all actions undertaken by humans are an attempt to satisfy their needs (Danielsen, 2005:3).

Furthermore, the Human Needs Theory postulates that fundamental to the resolution of conflicts is the view that, any arrangements with the objective of fully ending conflicts should include arrangements that fully satisfy the basic human needs of the actors. Hence, the basic human needs of the actors are not negotiable if any resolution is to be reached. To explain further, one of the early proponents of the Human Needs Theory, John Burton, opined that, in addition to common and imperative biological



needs of food and shelter, there are basic social human needs such as recognition, security and participation that are relevant to the well-being and livelihoods of the people (Burton, 1990).

In using human needs as a theory in conflict studies, its proponents argue that conflict arises where the needs of a particular group are not recognised and even if recognised; its attainment is frustrated, or not satisfactorily fulfilled. According to Burton, in order to avoid conflict, society must address those needs. This is because, as much as people are eager for new opportunities for the improvement of their well-being, they will protest measures and conditions that deny them of needs they deem relevant to their survival. As a result, any relationship, system or condition that denies these human needs eventually generates protest and if not managed appropriately, escalates into conflicts.

In addition, Pirages contributes to the argument by distinguishing between needs and wants. He implies, “Basic human needs are physiologically determined while wants are socially determined.” (Pirages, 1976, cited in Burton, 1990). Hence, if some controlling resources are the need of an individual or society, then the absence of this control leads people to adopt anti-social behavior, including, violence, which ultimately may lead to conflict.

Some scholars renowned for their application of the Human Needs Theory are Abraham Maslow, Marshall Rosenberg, John Burton, and Manfred Max-Neef. Others such as Danielsen (2005) applied the Human Needs Theory in his study of the conflict in Sri Lanka, between the government and the Tamil Tigers. In Africa, scholars such as Frempong (1999) adopted this theory in his studies, where he examined the “Sub Regional Approach to Conflict Resolution in Africa”. Specifically, in farmers-herders

conflict, Ahmadu (2011) also employed the Human Needs Theory in his study where he explored the causes and management approaches to the farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad Region.

In the context of this research, the pursuit of basic needs by farmers as well as herdsman is the precipitator of the conflict, especially in a situation where the same land resource is increasingly limited and controlled. In addition to land as the fundamental need, other needs such as recognition, security and participation are essential to farmers and herders. The herdsman desire recognition within a society that regards them as „foreigners“. In addition, both farmers and herdsman must be assured of their security rather than living under the fear of attacks.

Lastly, in finding an amicable solution to the conflict, the parties must equally participate in the resolution process. The study argues that, meeting the basic human needs of farmers and herders is indispensable to resolving the conflict. This study shares the consensus that in order to reach a successful resolution, any strategy with the aim of finally resolving this conflict must include the satisfaction of the basic needs of both farmers and herdsman.

The Human Needs Theory is very useful in the context of violent conflicts. First, it is a widely applicable theory in various forms or dimensions of the conflict. The theory is applicable at all levels of society such as intra-personal and inter-personal conflicts, inter-group conflicts and at the international stage (Danielsen, 2005:6). Secondly, the theory focuses on the root causes of conflict rather than the triggers of the conflict. In Human Needs Theory, practitioners identify the fundamental needs of the parties and look at the best environments in which the parties can peacefully meet their needs.

Thirdly, the Human Needs Theory underlines the common elements of humanity. In global affairs where differences among the various groups of people are emphasised, the Human Needs Theory attempts to unify all peoples from different regions and cultures, under a common understanding that irrespective of who we are; we all have the same basic needs (Danielsen, 2005). The fourth advantage of the Human Needs Theory is that, it makes it very clear that human needs are non-negotiable. Hence, basic human needs cannot be traded, suppressed or bargained for.

However, there are some drawbacks to applying the Human Needs Theory in conflict studies. Firstly, across the conflict studies literature, there are disagreements on what exactly are the basic needs as suggested by the Human Needs Theory. How do we really identify human needs? Among the various theorists, there are discrepancies over what the basic human needs are. For example, Maslow identified food, shelter and water, among his basic needs. Burton identified distributive justice, safety and security as human needs. Rosenberg identified physical nurturance and interdependence as human needs and Max Neef identified subsistence and protection as human needs. Among these various definitions, there are no universally agreed set of basic human needs, and this creates gaps when applying this Human Needs Theory. Secondly, another source of disagreement is the importance of needs. Which needs are more important than others? Should some needs be prioritised than others? For instance, should food and shelter be met before considering security? Or are protection, recognition, and self-fulfillment equally important?

However, irrespective of what the basic needs are, their deprivation by one group against another can lead to the use of violence to attain those needs. The Human Needs Theory permits the assumption that conflicts between farmers and herders

centre on the opposition of one group against the other, in the pursuance of fundamental needs. This results in frustrations on both sides, and consequentially the use of violence to satisfy those needs.

In conclusion, the Protracted Social Conflict and Human Needs theories reinforce each other in the sense that the denial of fundamental essentials for man's survival could lead to resorting to conflict for self-preservation. Conflicts that are rooted in self-preservation are more likely going to be protracted, particularly, where the denial is rooted in the differences in identity.

### **2.3 Empirical Studies**

In West Africa, farmer-herder conflicts are not only common phenomena over the years, but also a common characteristic of their economic livelihood (Moritz, 2012; Tonah, 2006; Turner, Ayantunde, Patterson, & Patterson III, 2011). In many places in sub-Saharan Africa, farmer-herder conflicts have escalated into widespread violence leading to property destruction, loss of human lives and displacement of people (Hussein, Sumberg, & Seddon, 1999). At the centre of farmer-herder conflicts is the issue of access to and the use of land and water resources. The land and water resources are diminishing or increasing in scarcity due to several factors, causing intense competition and violent conflicts over their usage (Moritz, 2010; 2012; Oladele & Oladele, 2011).

As both herders and farmers' livelihoods depend on their access to the same resources, any factor that increases competition over the use of these resources also increases the possibility of conflicts between the two groups (Moritz, 2012). An important factor influencing resource availability for agricultural and pastoral production is climate change. Moritz (2012) stated that although climate change is occurring everywhere,

the Sahel Region of Africa has been particularly volatile over the past decades. Climate change has brought about the shrinking of environmental space and an increase in natural resource scarcity. This, in turn, results in increased competition and pressure on available resources and conflicts among the user groups (Abbass, 2014; Mwiturubani & van Wyk, 2010; Okoli & sAtelhe, 2014). Climate change also causes conflicts as pastoralists migrate from areas characterised by drought and lack of feed into new areas in search of water and feed for their livestock. In sub-Saharan Africa, the southward migration of pastoral herds (Fulani herdsmen) into the humid and sub-humid zones is among the factors cited for the widespread and increasing farmer-herder conflicts (Fabusoro & Oyegbami, 2009; Moritz, 2010; Tonah, 2006).

Population growth and expansion of agricultural production are also cited as driving forces of resource scarcity and violent conflicts. Rapid population growth increases competition over available resources (Adebayo, 1997; Mwiturubani & Van Wyk, 2010). Population growth has also caused a southward migration of many pastoralists from the Sudan-Sahelian zone as a means of avoiding conflicts but in the end create the potential for conflicts with farmers in the new areas (Moritz, 2012). Williams, Hiernaux, and Fernández-Rivera (1999) indicated population growth has raised the demand for food leading to the expansion of farming into previously uncultivated areas used for livestock grazing. Commercial crop production results in encroachment on most of the traditional cattle routes, leaving pastoralists with insufficient passage for livestock to reach drinking points and this causes conflicts (West African Network for Peace building (WANEP), 2010).

Expansion in agricultural production into formerly grazing areas and cattle routes increases the proximity of grazing livestock to cropped fields (Turner, Ayantunde and

Patterson, 2011), resulting in livestock-induced crop damages. Livestock-induced crop damage, either on the field or in storage on farms, has been found to be the most important trigger of farmer-herder conflicts in most parts of West Africa (Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Ofem & Inyang, 2014; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009; Tonah, 2002; 2006; Turner, Ayantunde, Patterson, & Patterson, 2007). Sometimes, crop destruction is due to the carelessness and indiscipline on the part of herdsmen through leaving livestock unattended to, or an intentional act as found by Tonah (2002) in the Volta Plains of Ghana. Tonah (2002) asserted that Fulani herdsmen would normally allow cattle to wander along the entire plain ostensibly in search of pasture and water, but with the motive of preventing farming along the plain so that the land is available exclusively for their use. There is evidence that farmer-herder conflicts can occur in the midst of resource abundance and low animal and human population densities. This was observed in Ghana by Tonah (2002; 2006) and in Cote d'Ivoire and Central Cameroon by Basset (1988). For instance, Tonah (2002; 2006) found conflict to arise over access to the best agricultural lands and water sources between farmers and herders.

Cultural, religious and ethnic differences between herding and farming groups also cause conflicts by creating misunderstandings, suspicion, hostility and prejudices (Ahmadu, 2011; Moritz, 2012). In most parts of West Africa, the herdsmen (Fulani herdsmen) are considered strangers (aliens) and the abuse of the host-stranger relationships has led to heightened conflicts, especially when herders start demanding equal rights of tenure and exploitation (Seddon & Sumberg, 1997). Moreover, the fundamental rejection of herders' activities in some communities has been cited as causing conflicts in farmer-herder relationships (Yembilah & Grant, 2014). Some farmer-herder conflicts experienced in recent times have been attributed to the

inability of traditional (local) and government institutions to deal with them (Mortiz; 2010; Mwamfupe, 2015; Tonah, 2002).

Hussein K., Sumberg J., & Seddon D. (1999) emphasised the breakdown of traditional mechanisms governing resource management and conflict resolution as one of the reasons for the increase in violent farmer-herder conflicts. Moreover, international and local government policies on agricultural production, land tenure/land use, and climate change contribute to farmer-herder conflicts (Ahmadu, 2011; Moritz, 2012; Mwamfupe, 2015). As to which group benefits or loses depends on the nature of the policies, but largely such policies are indicated to favour farmers. Policies aimed at fighting land degradation or favouring commercial agricultural production limit grazing movement and access to land and water resources for herders (Tonah, 2006).

Other factors that have been cited as causes of farmer-herder conflicts are herdsmen engagement in social vices, such as cattle rustling, theft, highway robbery, female harassment and rape (e.g. Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Ahmadu, 2011; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009; Tonah, 2000), pollution of drinking water sources by livestock (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009; Tonah, 2003), zero-grazing land (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009). Other causes of farmer-herder conflicts include; herders' aggressive behaviors (Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Ahmadu, 2011), disregard for local traditional authorities (Ahmadu, 2011), harassment of nomads by host communities, indiscriminate bush burning, inadequate grazing reserves and stock routes (ibid), changes or insecurity of land tenure and corrupt practices (Ahmadu, 2011; Mwamfupe, 2015), politics (Ahmadu, 2011; Tonah, 2000) and declining interdependent relationship between farmers and herders (Tonah 2000; 2006).

## 2.4 Land Rights and Land Ownership Systems in Ghana

Land rights are integral part of Land Laws, as they socially enforce groups of individuals' rights to own land in line with the land laws of a nation. The Land Law addresses the legal mandates set forth by a country in regard to land ownership, while land rights refer to the social acceptance of land ownership. Indigenous land rights are the rights of indigenous peoples to land, either individually or collectively. Land and resource-related rights are of fundamental importance to indigenous peoples for a range of reasons, including the religious significance of the land, self-determination, identity, and economic factors (da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999).

Ghana operates a hybrid system of land ownership that comprises both customary and statutory land ownership systems (Ubink & Quan, 2008). The customary land ownership system operates under the customs, rules, norm, and the traditions of a particular community, and this differs from community to community across the country. Statutory ownership relates to lands owned by the state for public purposes or acquired through the state's powers of eminent domain in the interest of the public. Statutory ownership also refers to vested lands owned under customary ownership, but which are held and managed by the state for the beneficial enjoyment of the owners. It is estimated that about 80 per cent of all landholding in Ghana is under customary ownership while the remaining 20 per cent is held by the state for public purposes (Kasanga & Kotey, 2001; Mahama & Baffour, 2009). The various types of interests that exist in Ghana are the allodia title, freehold title (customary freehold or common law freehold), leasehold and a lesser interest created through sharecropping e.g. “the abunu” and “abusa tenancies” (da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999; Government of Ghana, 1999).



The allodia interest, which is the highest land title in Ghana, is held by stools (skins), sub-stools, clans, families, as well as individuals in some cases (da Rocha & Lodoh, 1999). Among the Akan and in some Ga communities, stools and sub-stools hold the allodia title. In some parts of Adangme (Greater Accra), the Anlo (Volta Region) and Ajumaku (Central Region), families and clans own land. In the Upper East and Upper West regions, and in some parts of the Northern Region, Tendaamba holds the allodial interest (Kasanga, 1988). Individuals and families from the allodial landholding group mostly hold the customary freehold, denoting the near-maximal interest in land (Bentsi-Enchill, 1964). Chiefs and Tendaamba belonging to families also have interest in family or communal land (Kasanga, 1988; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001). Both members of the landowning group (subject usufructuary) or strangers (stranger usufructuary) can hold the customary freehold interest.

A leasehold interest is a legal interest in land created in favour of a lessee for a specific duration, to occupy and use the lessor's land at a periodic fee. Under the current legal regime of Ghana, a lease can be granted for as short as one year, and for a maximum duration of 99 years for Ghanaians, and 50 years for foreigners. In many instances, Fulani pastoralists in Ghana enter into leasehold arrangements (purely cash-based) with allodia trustees (chiefs and usufruct holders/legal right holders). Since such land transactions by chiefs are completed with limited participation of usufruct holders, this has implications for peaceful co-existence, transparency and accountability. Whenever conflicts erupt with members of the host communities, the chiefs and the state are pressured by local communities to evict the pastoralists. Boamah (2014) attributed the domineering stance of chiefs in land leasing to efforts aimed at re-establishing authority over customary lands and boundaries in Ghana. The last category of land interests in Ghana is customary tenancies in which a gratuitous

tenancy is created when the landlord gives out his land to the tenant to use for free of charge. The only known gratuitous tenancy in Ghana is a licence seasonal, annual or indefinite licences which can either be for farming (farming licence) or building (building licence). “Abusa” and “Abunu” sharecropping agreements are the commonest customary tenancies and are mostly in respect of tree crops (Blocher, 2006).

#### ***2.4.1 Access to Land Ownership or Rights and Conflicts in Africa***

Constraints to agricultural productivity in Africa have generally included weak linkages to product and input markets and poor extension services. In recent times, limited access to adequate and secure land is a major problem for smallholders' sustainable production in Africa. Smallholders' limited access to land has been heightened by the commoditisation, commercialisation, competition and high demand for land by other stakeholders (Flintan, 2012). Due to pronounced ownership insecurity associated with land commoditisation, investment in agriculture (Toulmin, 2006) and sustainable soil management is reducing (Goldstein, 2008). Generally, insecure parcels of land are unattractive parcels for agricultural investments due to the hazards of expropriation (Jacoby et al., 2002; Peters, 2004). The status of land ownership has implications for investment, environmental sustainability and eventual productivity (Holden et al., 2009). In this regard, Place and Hazell (1993) and Deininger and Jin (2006), in their study of land investments in Kenya, Rwanda, Ghana and Ethiopia, found a positive relationship between ownership security and land investment in these countries. Similarly, Goldstein (2008) noted that people who are „politically powerful“ (within the traditional political set up) have more secured ownership to land, and hence, invest more in soil fertility and have substantially higher outputs.

In the Savannah and Sahel grasslands of West Africa, both smallholders and pastoralists suffer land ownership insecurity in times of agricultural diversification and expansion, conflicts and land grabbing (Flintan, 2012; Campion & Acheampong, 2014). Generally, land commercialisation transforms land ownership from communal towards individualised rights (Besley, 1995). The individualisation of land rights, however, limits the use of common spaces without conflicts. For example, livestock mobility and the use of grazing lands, create tensions between nomads and smallholders.

Beyene (2014) maintained that the diversification of land-use practices had significant effects on rangeland management and sustainable use of natural resources in dry regions. Also, transnational land transactions have caused conflicts among farmers and pastoralists and this has led to potential loss of arable land by smallholders in Ghana (Tsikata & Yaro, 2011; 2013). According to Acheampong and Campion (2014), large-scale land acquisitions for *Jatropha curcas*, sometimes lead to violent conflicts between the biofuel investors, traditional authorities and smallholders. It is expected that when functioning land management institutions are established, they would be able to deliver on land ownership security (Migot-Adholla, Benneh, Place and Atsu, 1994; Kasanga & Kotey, 2001; Anyidoho, Amanquah and Clottey, 2008). Customary ownership systems have been praised for their ability to efficiently deliver land to all segments of land users at the community level, even in its largely informal nature. They are also promoted as being fluid and dynamic (Juul & Lund, 2002).

Notwithstanding the advantage of customary land institutions to adjust to changing conditions, they have failed to deal completely with land ownership insecurity in Africa, and to reconcile the multiplicity of overlapping rights and interests, especially

between smallholders (crop producers) and pastoralists. It is believed that the nature of the prevailing customary land ownership system in Ghana itself has exacerbated land ownership insecurity experienced all over the country (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Similarly, Whitehead and Tsikata (2003), Amanor (2006) and Quan and Antwi (2008) insisted that the social relations of local political power, inherent in customary land institutions will not improve land delivery to socially disadvantaged groups. The activities of herders and smallholder croppers have always had different dimensions of complementarities. Typically, herders gain access to harvested crop fields to feed their animals on free-range basis, while the animal droppings fertilise crop fields. This complementarity between herders and farmers, however, has broken due to the growth in population in Africa, and the continuous allocation of land and labour between large cattle herders and crop producers (Cotula et al., 2004). This broken relationship has tended to increase resource conflicts among herders and croppers.

A large migration of people seeking land to settle and farm is also a factor underlying land disputes in Africa (Yelsang, 2013). From these positions, land conflicts are essentially linked to increased scarcity of land caused by demographic pressures and higher land values. Relations between pastoralists and indigenes are often tensed, with few common social and cultural value interactions (Cotula et al., 2004). According to Yelsang (2013), uncertainties surrounding land scarcity and marketisation, generate fears and suspicion between neighbours, and even within families. In 2006, two Ghanaians and two Fulani cattle owners were reported to have acquired a total of 190 acres of land and paid 5,000 cedis as „drink money“. Since 2009, Fulani pastoralists have moved into the Afram Plains of Ghana, in search of grassland for grazing. This period also coincided with the acquisition of 13,058 hectares of land by Scan Fuel (GH) Limited for which \$23,000 was paid as „drink money“. Subsequently in 2012,

many Fulani pastoralists who acquired pasture lands in the Asante Akim North District had their lands confiscated due to the demand for land for large-scale commercial agriculture. In their desperation for alternative lands, Fulani pastoralists have come into conflicts with neighbouring small holders. It is against this background that this study examined land ownership rights and conflicts between Fulani pastoralists and farmers in KED.

## **2.5 Causes of Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Ghana**

Dary, James and Mohammed (2017) studied triggers of the farmer-herder conflicts in the Upper West Region of Ghana, using qualitative methods to collect data and non-parametric statistical techniques in their analysis. The study revealed that there are 14 triggers of farmer-herder conflicts, and these include destruction of crops by cattle, competition over water and scarce land, false accusations against Fulani herdsmen and vice-versa, and farming on cattle routes, amongst others. Among all the fourteen triggers, the destruction of crops in storage and on farms was ranked as the key causal factor of farmer-herder conflict in the area (Dary et al., 2017). Dary et al showed that there is only one planting season in a year and the conflict has resulted in the loss of investments, reduced income, and destruction of crops, lower cattle and milk production. In effect, the conflict has worsened food security for farmers, herders, and non-farmers. Dary et al. recommended that the opinions, efforts, and cooperation of all stakeholders, including the marginalised group(s) must be involved in conflict resolution measures and programmes geared towards ending such conflicts over land use.

Ayee, Frempong, Asante and Bofo-Arthur, (2004) studied the dispute between natives and migrants, herders and farmers and chiefs and settlers in Kwahu Afram

Plains. The conflict centered on access to land, land ownership and pasture for herders. Ayee et al. argued that in Akyem Amanfrom (a village in the District), the main reasons for the dispute over land were discriminatory and unfair conditions governing land acquisition, land use problems and illegal or unregulated activities of pastoralists. Ayee et al. cite an example of a man who was shot dead by a herdsman over a land dispute in the Ewe community in 2002 (Ayee et al., 2004). According to Ayee et al., traditional rulers get enormous benefits when they issue out lands to herdsmen rather than farmers, therefore, more lands are given to herders and more support for their activities. Traditional rulers' support and engagement with herdsmen has also been documented by Olaniyan, Michael and Okeke-Uzodike, (2015) in Agogo and by Tonah (2006) in the Volta Basin.

Tonah (2006) showed that conflicts over land in the Volta Basin exist despite abundant land and low population in the area. Chiefs and landowners lease out vast and arable lands to Fulani cattle owners at the expense of smallholders. The reason is that, herders and cattle owners can make high payments of two or more cattle to chiefs, whereas farmers are unable to pay such large amounts and, in some cases, nothing at all to the chiefs. The youth groups who are into farming are also unable to compete with the Fulani herders, due to the latter's ability to pay high rent. Therefore, the youth engage herders in conflicts, resulting in violence including, the death of a herder and destruction of crops and property in May 2000 (Tonah 2006). Again, Tonah indicated that the enormous benefits chiefs and landowners get from the Fulani herders have resulted in fierce competition between chiefs and landowners as regards hosting migrant Fulani herders. What sparks the conflict yearly is the competition over the use of the basin during dry seasons for grazing and cropping. This result in

clashes with herders when farms are turned into cattle pathways and farmers accuse herders of allowing their animals to enter their farms and destroy their crops.

Lastly, Bukari (2017) found that recurrent land conflict in Agogo mostly occur between farmers and Fulani herders, and he argued that there are three reasons for this. First, farmers claim that the Fulani herdsmen are strangers and therefore do not have rights to own lands, especially communal lands. Therefore, any Fulani cattle owner who acquires land or is seen using land is perceived as unlawful by the autochthonous and this result in attacks on them and counter-attacks by the Fulani herders. Secondly, there is a frequent seizure of grazing lands by local farmers for the expansion of agriculture activities, especially commercial farming, even if the Fulani herder acquired the land legally, thereby resulting in insecurity for them. Since they have paid for the leasing of the land, it often results in conflicts.

\Also, cattle rustling, killing of cattle and raping of women in Agogo were identified as among the causes of the frequent violent clashes between the farmers and herders. In 2003, it was reported that the wife of a farmer was raped in his presence by a Fulani herder at gunpoint around Kwame Danso in Asante Akyem District, which infuriated residents in the area to retaliate (ModernGhana.com 2003). Lastly, Bukari (2017) found that most lands acquired by the Fulani for their activities are through informal means and their failure to register the lands to formalise the process after the acquisition is part of the causes of land conflicts between farmers and herders. Bukari recommended that there should be proper common property management in communities and that a bottom-up approach should be adopted in resolving such conflicts instead of a top-down approach.

### ***2.5.1 Immediate „Triggers“ of the Conflict between Crop Farmers and Herdsmen***

As much as increased competition over resources driven by remote causes can result in animosity among competing groups, these causes themselves are not sufficient enough to immediately cause an escalation of violence. Some factors rapidly escalate existing conditions into violence. Stanley et al., (2017) referred to these factors as “triggers”. Furthermore, Stanley et al. describe these „Triggers“ as the curve that leads to violence. These triggers include the destruction of crops, killing of cattle, pollution of water bodies, harassment or social vices and the perceived collusion of authorities.

#### **(i) The Destruction of Crops**

At the centre of the farmer-herder conflict, is the destruction of crops by cattle. The herdsmen either intentionally or unintentionally, drive or leave their cattle herds to wander onto farms to feed and destroy crops in the process. Out of anger, the farmers retaliate in revenge attacks, killing the cattle that wander into their farms. Others also spray the crops with pesticides that kill the cattle that graze through their farms. The herdsmen view the killing of their cattle as an act of aggression against them, and consequentially attack the farmers. This results in a cycle of violence through a series of revenge attacks by both parties. A study conducted by Stanley et al, (2017), on the perception of factors among stakeholders that included, farmers, herdsmen, traditional authority, civil society, and security agencies, ranked the destruction of crops as the primary trigger of violence. In addition, Stanley et al (2017) noted that, even herdsmen respondents; acknowledge that the destroying of crops by cattle is the single most important factor that leads to violence. Furthermore, others such as Aliyu (2015) and Mortiz (2010) added to the argument when they noted the destruction of crops by cattle as the profound precipitator of violence between crop farmers and herdsmen.



## **(ii) The Pollution of Water Bodies**

Water bodies are an essential and necessary feature for the survival of every society or community. Unlike in urban areas where water is collected from pipes and tanks, in the rural area, water is fetched directly from springs, streams, rivers and lakes. Communities located along the banks of rivers and lakes such as the Afram River and Volta Basin rely on fishing as an economic activity. In areas where there are inconsistent rainfalls, dams are built to store water for domestic use and irrigation. The herdsmen also depend on these water bodies for their herds. In fact, the availability of water all year round was one of the factors that first motivated them to migrate further south of the Sahel (Dosu, 2011). However, the manner through which the herdsmen do this is what is unacceptable to the people. According to the studies conducted by Tonah et al. (2006) noted that the herdsmen allow the cattle to step into the water bodies and muddy them and this makes water bodies unusable for domestic activities. Furthermore, the cattle defaecate into the water bodies, and contaminate them and this also makes them prone to diseases. In an effort to stop these acts, the people forcefully prevent the pastoralists from accessing the water bodies through blockades (Opoku, 2014) while, the herdsmen retaliate by forcing their way through with guns.

## **(iii) The Criminal Activities of the Herdsmen**

Another trigger of the conflict is the perceived criminal activities of the Fulani herdsmen. The herdsmen have been widely accused of engaging in criminal activities such as robbery, murder, assault and sexual harassment (REGSEC, 2012). Several studies attest to these accusations that even though the Fulani primary occupation is the rearing of cattle, and migrate with the sole purpose of doing that, the firearms they carry give them the means to indulge in criminal activities against small communities.

The herdsmen are believed to have acquired these weapons through their existing links in the Sahara deserts, where there is a proliferation of weapons possibly from the intra-state conflicts in countries in that region (Moritz, 2010).

**(iv) Collusion between the Herdsmen and Authorities**

The perception of the collusion of authorities is from both parties of the conflict. According to the members of the community, the traditional authorities are in collusion with the herdsmen due to their economic interest or stake in the cattle business (Baidoo, 2014; Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015; Olaniyan et al, 2015; Opoku, 2014). It is suggested that the chiefs benefit from the herdsmen through the rent the latter pays to the former; therefore, the chiefs are reluctant to expel them despite all the atrocities the herdsmen perpetrate on the local people.

Furthermore, the various studies claim that the chiefs themselves, other influential individuals or public officials are cattle owners and, therefore, there is a conflict of interest when dealing with the herdsmen (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015). This deepens on the notion that, state authorities are on the side of the herdsmen, and this urges the local people on to take matters into their own hands such as the killing of cattle found on their farms.

Moreover, the wide condemnation of the Fulani menace nationally forced the government to act by deploying an armed security contingent made up of the police and the military. Their mission was to quell the spate of attacks and drive the herdsmen out of the area. The herdsmen view this action as bias and as declaration of war on them by the state. Therefore, they arm themselves to protect and defend themselves from what they believe to be an unfair position of the state against them (Moritz, 2010).

## **2.6 Nature of land ownership/right conflicts in Ghana**

Wehrmann (2008), in a study of land conflicts in Ghana, associated the causes of land conflicts to political, economic, socio-economic, socio-cultural, demographic, legal/juridical, administrative, technical (land management), ecological and psychological factors. The National Land Policy also outlines the causes of land disputes in Ghana to include multiple land sales, indeterminate boundaries of customary-owned land resulting from lack of reliable maps and plans, conflicts of interest between and within land owning-groups and the state (Government of Ghana, 1999). Land disputes within landowning groups are more pronounced in parts of Ghana where families hold lands, and family heads fail to account for land revenue. Ubink and Quan (2008), Tsikata and Yaro (2011) and King and Bugri (2013) contended that the lowering enthusiasm of chiefs towards transparency and accountability is compounded by the limited statutory compulsion for chiefs to deliver on their mandates.

Crook (2005) in his study of land disputes in Kumasi, Goaso, and Wa, identified intra-family disputes, trespass/boundary disputes and unauthorised disposition of land rights in land by chiefs as the commonest causes of land disputes in Ghana. The nature of land ownership in Ghana itself is blamed for the high-level insecurity recorded (Tsikata and Seini, 2004). The complications associated with the land ownership system in Ghana re-emphasise customary land usage, customary land management with accompanying dispute resolution mechanisms and a means to enhance ownership security.

According to Peluso and Lund (2011), the confluence of territorialisation, property rights and commoditisation of land, contribute to land conflicts and land ownership

insecurity. Yaro (2010) attributed land conflicts to increasing commercialisation. In his view, lands are increasingly being commercialised in Ghana for both residential and agricultural purposes, which hitherto were not. Yaro maintained that high levels of insecurity of land ownership are characteristic of customary lands. Under such ownership systems, pastoralists, women and settler farmers are among a variety of groups who suffer from land insecurity and lose when land is commercialised. Flintan (2012) observed that in the past, pastoralists had access to vast tracts of rangeland that were managed through customary institutions. In recent times, however, Fulani-dominated pastoralists in Ghana have been much accused of various infractions with smallholders. Lund (2011) linked these Fulani-smallholder farmer infractions to the fact that land and property rights in Africa are basically connected to citizenship and social identity. The politics of belonging and citizenship is therefore, connected to one's ownership of land and even the security of one's ownership. This explains why conflicts with pastoralists in Africa overland are intertwined with issues of belonging and citizenship. The nomadic Fulani are regarded as foreigners and not belonging to any social classes in their host communities and therefore, are not entitled to land ownership rights.

## **2.7. Consequences of the Farmer-Herder Conflicts on Socio-Economic Development**

The consequences of the farmer-herder conflict can be linked to humanitarian, social, economic and security effects. The humanitarian effects of farmer-herder conflicts are enormous. According to Okoli and Atelhe (2014), natives-nomads conflict results in loss of lives, population displacements, human injury, and livelihood crisis. In this regard, the conflict does not only lead to the killing of people, but also some become homeless, displaced and destitute. Elaborating further on the humanitarian effects,

Ofem and Inyang (2014) asserted that apart from the killings by nomads and reprisal attacks by the indigenes, some people become widows, widowers and orphans during the conflicts, while other victims of the conflict are maimed or injured. Ofem and Inyang also argued that people become internally displaced as a result of the conflicts, especially women who decide to stop going to the distant farm for fear of attacks by the nomads.

In the case of the Fulani-Konkomba conflict in Ghana in 2011, investigation revealed thirteen deaths, while eleven people were seriously injured. Also, many houses were burnt and properties were destroyed (Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Olaniyan, 2015). Finally, Ofuoku and Isife (2009) also contended that farmer-herder conflicts result in loss of lives and the destruction of lives and other properties as well as the displacement of farmers. Also, some become victims through injuries or maimed. Consequently, some women and children become widows and orphans respectively.

The social effects of farmers-pastoralists conflict threaten peace and tranquility among various groups. In their work on herder/farmer conflicts, Okoli and Atelhe (2014) asserted that such conflicts create tense and volatile inter-group relations among various groups. This manifests in mutual mistrust and animosity which are often misplaced. In view of this, the herdsmen see the natives as enemies of their collective survival and destiny and vice versa. Okoli and Atelhe added that, the conflicts create an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and perpetual tension that threaten peaceful co-existence, security and stability of the society (2014). In addition, Tonah (2006) contended that nomads-natives conflict leads to threats and intimidation forcing both to leave conflict-prone settlements. In this regard, the tense relationship affects the level of cooperation and economic exchanges between the two groups.

However, in the case of Agogo, the tense and volatile relations are not only between the natives and the nomads, but also the natives and the traditional leaders as the youth accuse them of releasing lands to the Fulani herdsmen. They also accuse them of unholy alliance with the nomads.

The economic effects of pastoralists and farmers' conflicts had dire productivity and agricultural consequences. Okoli and Atelhe (2014) maintained that the economic implications relate to losses associated with the destruction of homes, farmlands, community assets, and household properties. In Okoli and Atelhe's view, for fear of being attacked, many people refuse to go to their farms, resulting in low agricultural productivity during the harvest season. Furthermore, many farmlands and large volumes of farm crops and produce are destroyed while hundreds of cattle are killed.

Elaborating further on the economic effects, Ofuoku and Isife (2009) noted that the conflicts lead to a reduction in farming output and income of farmers and nomads. Ofuoku and Isife went on to argue that farmers lose part or whole of their farms, and crops through the grazing and the destruction by the cattle, and indiscriminate bush burning. On the other hand, the conflicts lead to loss of cows belonging to the nomads, through indiscriminate killing. In this regard, the yields of the farmers and the nomads are reduced, which is translated into low incomes. Consequently, this negatively affects their savings, credit repayment ability, as well as food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers. Also, Tonah (2006) posited that such conflict have a negative effect on agricultural productivity as farmers find it difficult to acquire the services of the cattle required for ploughing, weeding of fields, transporting of harvested crops and consequently detracts against rural agricultural development.

The last consequence related to the implications of the conflicts is the effects on the security of Agogo in particular, and the nation in general. According to CSIS and Gizewski (1997), the last two decades have witnessed a growing recognition of resource scarcity in national and international security. In the West African sub-region, many conflicts, civil wars and transnational border conflicts started as competition and conflicts by two groups. The 1993 war between Nigeria and Chad occurred due to the conflict between the fishermen of the two countries (Omede, 2006). Civil wars in Chad and Niger started as a result of competition between Tubu, Arab and Fulbe herders over a well, while the tension between the Tuaregs and the state of Mali, Chad and Niger have been linked to resource conflict (Shettima & Tar, 2008). In the Senegal valley, resource conflict between farmers, herders and fishermen escalated into border conflict between Senegal and Mauritania, while the struggle for land between groups played a key role in the Rwandan genocide (Homer-Dixon, 1999).

Though scholars are divided on the security consequences of conflict over resources between the two groups (Frerks, 2007), however, the effects of farmer-herder conflict on security cannot be compromised. Okoli and Atelhe (2014) opined that denying any person or group their rights to legitimate settlement and livelihood threatens sustainable peace and development not only in the immediate environment but also in the entire country. This is so because, development cannot be attained and sustained under the atmosphere of crisis as humanitarian, economic and social consequences affect productivity. In Okoli and Atelhe's view, attendant security and livelihood crises threaten the collective subsistence and survival of the affected populations. Therefore, farmer-herder conflicts threaten human security, as well as national security (p.85).

### ***2.7.1 Factors that make Herders migrate to Southern Ghana***

According to Folami and Folami (2013), good climatic conditions, market opportunity, green vegetation, forage, and hopes and aspirations as the pull factors that attract the Fulani herdsmen to a particular place. In his study of the Fulani in Northern Nigeria, Stenning (1959) noted that the availability of pasture, water and market shaped their migratory routes to a particular place. The attraction of the Fulani to southern Ghana from the savanna areas to the forest zone began in the 1990s (Tonah, 2005). According to Tonah (2005), the Fulani migrated deeply into the southern parts of Ghana as far as the Afram Plains at the eastern edge of the forest zone. The Afram Plains area, which was a sparsely populated, low-lying plateau east of the Kwahu ridge, was well-drained by several rivers, including the tributaries of the Afram River (Tonah, 2005).

The decentralisation of the country's political system in the 1980s divided the Afram Plains into four administrative districts, namely Sekyere East, Asante Akyem North (Agogo), Afram Plains and Kwahu. This led to the opening of the Afram Plains area as not only for subsistence farming, but also as an area suitable for large-scale farming and other economic activities. In this regard, the construction of roads, the provision of electricity, water supply and other social amenities attracted more inhabitants to the area including the Fulani herdsmen and unlocked the hitherto isolated and wild countryside (Tonah, 2005).

According to Tonah (2005), good weather conditions, pastures, water, a sparse population, and available land attracted the Fulani to the Afram Plains, as a result of the opening up of the area for human settlement. Tonah noted that Fulani nomads started sending cattle into the Afram Plains during the dry season to take advantage of



the lush vegetation of the area (Tonah, 2005). In addition, local stockowners, chiefs and middlemen acquired the services of Fulani herdsmen by inviting them to the area to tend their cattle on their behalf, or in return for monetary rewards; as the cattle owners acquired large tracts of grazing land from the local landowners (Olaniyan et al, 2015; Tonah, 2005). In short, stockowners, chiefs and middlemen have been the traditional trading partners and allies of the Fulani in Southern Ghana, and have a long history of working with herders (Tonah, 2006). This “unholy alliance” does not only attract the Fulani, but also creates a conducive environment for their settlement in the South (Tonah 2005). (Olaniyan et al, 2015) noted that a considerable number of the cattle herded by the Fulani belong to indigenous Ghanaians especially government officials and some affluent members of society.

Apart from these herdsmen who migrated from the Northern part to the South, other herdsmen from neighbouring Niger, Benin and Nigeria suddenly invaded the Afram Plains area (Olaniyan et al, 2015). These nomadic pastoralists are commonly referred to as alien herdsmen (Tonah, 2005, p.26). Unlike the resident Fulani who had settled and taken up residence among the indigenous agricultural population, these alien Fulani herdsmen are nomadic pastoralists who live in mobile camps located in the isolated bush areas, avoiding any form of long-standing social relations with the natives (Tonah, 2005). It is believed that it is the activities of these alien herdsmen that have resulted in the destruction of farmers’ food crops and being responsible for the violent confrontations between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the Afram Plains area, especially the Agogo area of the Asante Akyem North District.

### ***2.7.2 Assessment of the Policies and Actions by the State in Addressing Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Ghana***

#### **The Expulsion Policy: The Local Community and the National Level Response**

The local community and the national government have adopted the expulsion policy in dealing with the farmer-herder conflict. The local people are agitating for the ejection of the herdsmen and their cattle from all Agogo farmlands. In view of this, the national government has tackled the conflict from this angle through an expulsion policy called “Operation Cowleg”.

#### **The Policy of Expelling Migrants in West Africa**

The policy of eviction or forcibly expelling immigrants, including the Fulani herdsmen to their „countries of origin“ has been practised in a number of West African countries such as Nigeria, Mauritania, Ghana, Senegal, Côte D’Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone (Hagberg, 2000; Opong, 2002; Olaniyan et al., 2015; Tonah, 2005). According to Tonah (2005), West African countries have resorted to this policy in tackling economic hardships, rising crime rates and high unemployment in the host countries or as a response to the conflicts between migrants and the host communities. In this regard, migrants are classified as “aliens or foreigners” by the host countries. In 1983, the Nigerian government, under President Shehu Shagari, embarked on nationwide eviction of all foreigners from the country, forcing millions of West Africans to flee to neighbouring countries. It turned out that most of the migrants were Ghanaians who went to Nigeria to look for greener pastures in the 1970s due to the collapse of the Ghanaian economy (Tonah, 2005). In 1989, the government of Senegal forcibly expelled Fulani pastoralists, following clashes between the herdsmen and the indigenous farmers (Schmitz, 1999). The Sierra Leone government also repatriated the Fulani herdsmen to their country of origin, Guinea,

during the 1920s and 30s economic depression and, subsequently curtailed their immigration (Kposowa, 2000). In 2012, the Fulani herdsmen in some villages in the Plateau State, Nigeria, were also expelled by the Special Task Force, which was mandated with the maintenance of peace and order in that crisis-torn state, following clashes with the indigenes (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

### ***2.7.3 The History of the Expulsion Policy in Ghana***

The policy of expelling migrants in Ghana can be traced to the Aliens Compliance Order. During this period, the government of Kofi Abrefa Busia passed a law, the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969 (Antwi -Bosiako, 2008; Gould, 1974; Peil, 1971; Tonah, 2005). The law, among other things, stipulated that those without resident permits were to leave the country within 14 days, while mandating all migrants to regularise their stay in the country. In view of this, over 100,000 nationals of several West African countries, many of whom had come to seek economic refuge in post-independent Ghana were expelled from the country (Gould, 1974; Tonah, 2005). This is the basis of expulsion policy in Ghana, though it differs from the eviction of the Fulani nomads in terms of approach, scale and law. It must be emphasised that Ghana as a country, has twice embarked on a nation-wide expulsion of the Fulani herdsmen from the country.

According to Tonah (2005), the policy of expelling the Fulani nomads was first adopted in 1988/89, after a series of clashes between the nomads and host communities. These clashes began to gain attention in the Ghanaian media during the late 1980s. The media reports held that the Fulani herdsmen were responsible for the farmer-herder conflicts and the worsening security situation in many parts in Ghana. Again, concerns were raised about the number of Fulani herdsmen migrating into

Ghana. In view of this, it was claimed that the Fulani nomads from all parts of West Africa were making Ghana their homeland, permanently occupying traditional lands, and attacking the local people (Tonah, 2005). Furthermore, the herdsmen were accused of environmental degradation and deforestation wherever they settled. Besides, the migration of Fulani, as well as their herds of cattle from neighbouring countries to Ghana, through unapproved routes was heavily blamed for the occurrence and spread of livestock diseases such as rinderpest, foot and mouth disease as well as anthrax in some parts of the country (Bhasin, 1988; Daily Graphic, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1988 cited in Tonah, 2005).

Tonah (2005) further asserted that the increasing complaints about the destructive activities of the Fulani nomads by the farmers led to strained relation between the two groups. As a result, the Ghanaian government initiated a nation-wide expulsion programme, the “Operation Cowleg” and the Operation Livestock Solidarity” in April 1988. “The aim of the programme was to flush out the Fulani herdsmen who had unlawfully occupied lands belonging to local farmers and to check the spread of livestock diseases” (Tonah, 2005). Tonah posited that Fulani pastoralists were issued two weeks’ ultimatum to leave the country, after which any herds found with them on the Ghanaian soil would be confiscated to the state.

Accordingly, joint military and police personnel, in conjunction with officials of the Animal Health and Production Department, were set up to carry the task by Olaniyan et al., (2015). The aim of the policy was to put an end to the incessant conflicts between the indigenous population and the herders, who are often classified as strangers. Here “stranger” connotes the usual meaning of someone who is unknown, but also carries a stronger sense of unease and fearfulness.

A decade later, the second nation-wide expulsion of the pastoralists was executed in 1999/2000. “The main difference between the two expulsion exercises was that, while the second exercise was decentralised and executed by the various Regional and District Assemblies throughout the country, the first exercise was directed and coordinated by the central government” (Tonah, 2005). Though the exercise was nation-wide, the momentum was in the forest and middle belts of the country, as the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in the forest zone of Ghana provoked so much controversy (Tonah, 2005). There was no single day without a negative reportage on the farmer-pastoralist conflicts in the Ghanaian media. Indeed, the media reports accused the Fulani of allowing their cattle to destroy food crops, damaging the environment, polluting sources of water, raping women and brandishing dangerous weapons, among others (Tonah, 2005). These reports were not different from the 1980s cumulating to the first expulsion.

The main complaint against these Fulani herdsmen was the danger they and their livestock posed to the environment (Tonah, 2005). Their animals devastated farmlands, caused soil erosion through over-grazing and polluted water bodies which sometimes served as sources of drinking water for the host communities. To make matters worse, the Fulani herdsmen, added new dimensions of terror to their already destructive activities. Most of them go about and armed with dangerous knives and sometimes even guns, which they use to intimidate those farmers who confronted them. There have even been reports of these herdsmen who raped some women they encountered in the bushes (Tonah, 2005).

In view of this, the government in 1999 directed all the Regional Security Councils and Districts to flush out “alien Fulani herdsmen” from their territories under

“Operation Cowleg” II. Again, a task force constituting the police and the military personnel were set up across the various districts to carry out the exercise (Tonah, 2005). Although it is unknown the number of cattle herds seized nationwide during the expulsion exercise. However, Tonah asserted that in the West Mamprusi district alone, a total of 2,406 cattle were initially confiscated from the herdsmen. Out of this number, only 296 cattle belonged to the alien herdsmen. Interestingly, most of the herdsmen arrested had to be released as it turned out that they were hired herdsmen keeping cattle belonging to indigenous farmers (Tonah, 2005).

#### ***2.7.4 The “Operation Cowleg” in Agogo***

In Agogo, several expulsion exercises have been carried out since the conflicts began. Despite the evictions, there is still the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in the area. Again, the conflicts still exist, and become very tense during the dry season, especially from December to March every year. The last operation was carried out in January 2016, hence the need to assess this policy which is the local community and the government’s plan of action towards the farmer-herder conflict in Ghana (Tonah, 2005). Indeed, both the REGSEC and the Kumasi High Court (Dadson Committee Report, 2010) ordered the eviction of all the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from Agogo. Alternatively, confinement (modern methods) of the cattle was suggested to those who are willing to stay. This led to the drafting of an evacuation plan to eject the herdsmen and their cattle by the REGSEC (Republic of Ghana, 2012).

### **2.8 Summary of Literature Review**

This chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings for the study. The chapter therefore sought to link the study to the theoretical and conceptual discourse on land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herders. This has been

done with the aim to gain deeper insights into what has already been theorised with respect to the objectives of the study, and to explore the gaps identified in the literature. To this end, the Protracted Conflict and the Human Needs Theories were adopted as the theoretical frame works for the study. A review of literature further outlined the history of the relationship between farmers and herdsmen, and the suggested causes and effects of conflicts between farmers and herders. Across the discussions regarding farmers and herders' conflict, the various literature has been skewed towards the history, causes and effects of the conflicts, and do not extensively examine the reasons behind its protracted nature, especially, within the context of land ownership rights. This study, attempts to address this lacuna by conducting a field study to gather data and present findings on land ownership rights and conflict between farmers and herdsmen in KED.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the method used in carrying out the study has been discussed. Sub-topics covered include, research design, population, sample, sampling technique, data collection instrument, data collection procedure and the methods of data analysis

#### 3.2 Research Approach

The qualitative approach was used for this study. In the view of Bryman (2008: 366), qualitative research places greater emphasis on words in the collection and analysis of data. The qualitative approach was selected because it tends to explore the meanings, attitudes, values, beliefs and the experiences of people affected by the farmer-herder conflicts within their natural settings (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Again, circumstances underpinning land ownership rights and how land rights influence the nature of the farmer-herder conflicts as well as actions of the actors within these conflicts can be difficult to express with numbers (Berg and Lune 2012). Characteristically, qualitative research places high premium on participants' perspectives in this case of land ownership rights, the causes, effects and remedies to the farmer-herder conflicts. The qualitative approach therefore limits the imposition of ideas on participants and contributes to deeper insights into human experiences and actions (Bryman 2008).

#### 3.3 Research Design

The study focused on the description of land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and headsmen in Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana. A descriptive case study was suitable for this study as it allowed for the gathering of data in a real-world context, and it took into account the political and ideological



context within which the research is situated (Cohen et al., 2003, in Lunn, 2006). It is an intensive description and analysis of a bounded system (Harper & Thompson, 2012; Bell, 2005; Mayring, 2014) used to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. As the study was carried out in three towns in the Kwahu East District of Ghana, the data were used together to form one case. Several research scholars including Harper and Thompson, (2012), Bell, (2005) and Yin (2003) consider that case studies are descriptive and heuristic and are particular to a certain context. Case studies have a more human face than other research methods, as it is strong on reality and context which enables „thick“ description.

### **3.4 The Study Area**

The study area, Kwahu East District is located in the Eastern Region of Ghana with Abetifi-Kwahu as its administrative capital. The district was formally part of the current Kwahu South District. It geographically lies on (6° 40' 0"N, 0° 45' 0" W). The district shares boundaries to the north with Asante Akim North, to the south with Kwahu South District, Kwahu North District to the east, and to the southeast with Fanteakwa District. The total land size of the district is approximately 860 square kilometres.



**Figure 1: Map of Kwahu East**

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), 2014

According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC), the District has a population of 77,125 inhabitants comprising 37,620 (48.8%) males and 39,505 (51.2%) females with 71 settlements and a growth rate of 4.2 percent (Ghana Statistical Service: GSS, 2010). Given a growth rate of 4.2 percent the current population can be estimated at 271, 898. The majority of the inhabitants are engaged in agricultural and forestry activities and petty trading. On the other hand, 36 percent of the population is in the formal sector according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census.

Traditionally, the District is administered and controlled by the Kwahu Traditional Council (KTC) headed by the paramount chief (Kwahumanhene). The seat of the paramount chief is in Abene, which is in the District. The paramount chief is assisted by 17 Divisional Chiefs, of who nine are in the district (KED). During Akwasidae<sup>3</sup>,

the Kwahu overlord sits in council with the divisional chiefs to take vital decisions and settle chieftaincy disputes as well as conflicts between individuals. Other functions of the traditional authority include initiation of developmental projects, protecting their subjects, linking the people and the central government, and serving as custodians of lands. The three study villages (Hweehwee, Oboyan, and Dwerebease) are ruled by sub-chiefs who owe allegiance to the Kwahumanhene. These sub-chiefs, in turn, have elders at the village level who assist them in the governance of the villages.

Even though the traditional authority is not as effective as in the pre-colonial and colonial eras, they are still relevant. Therefore, the modern political authorities need to collaborate with the traditional authorities in the district to ensure efficient administration and development of the district.

Regarding Fulani herders, early settlers in the study area also got access to land for cattle grazing through tenancy agreement between five Fulani herdsman and the late paramount chief of Kwahu, Daasebre Akuamoah Boateng II. Other herders got access to land through contact with the first settlers, and herders who were hired by local cattle owners depended on them for pasture lands.

Fulani pastoralists entered the southern part of Ghana in the early 1990s particularly Eastern and Ashanti regions (Tonah 2005). According to Tonah (2005), most of them settled at forest zone of Agogo and Kwahu Afram Plains during the same period. Some migrated to the Kwahu East District due to the availability of pastures in the area and settled with the help of indigenous cattle owners and chiefs. In recent times, some herders expelled from the Agogo area are reported to have relocated to the

Kwahu East District, which was made easier due to a through-way that links the two places (Onyemso to Dwerebease) and the availability of pastures.

Kwahu East District is a fast-growing vibrant area with a heterogeneous and diverse working population. It is a busy district that accommodates rural-urban and urban-urban migrants who troop there to undertake income-generating activities of various kinds including trading, farming and pasture for animal rearing.

The Kwahu East District was chosen because of its association with farmer-herder conflicts. Also, because of the Districts' proximity to the researcher, the KED was chosen and purposively sampled for reasons of convenience and easy accessibility to respondents.

### **3.5 Population**

Population is defined as a body of people and collection of items such as events, objects, plants and animals that a researcher intends to generalise results (Ofori & Dampson, 2011). The study area has over seventy-one settlements but three of them with long-standing and frequent protracted conflicts were selected for the study. The target population for the study was residents of the three study communities within the Kwahu East District namely: Yaw Tenkorang, Kwaku Sarfo and Bebu.

### **3.6 Sample, Sample size and Sampling Procedure**

Social scientists are never able to study the entire population; they depend on selected constituents to infer meanings into the larger population. These constituents are called samples (Babbie, 2010). Rick (2006) asserted that out of a research population, a sample is selected. According to Flick (2014), a sample is defined as a representative of respondents selected from a research population. The number of respondents

depends on the accuracy needed, population size, population heterogeneity and the resources available. Sampling involves taking a portion of a population, observing the portion and generalising the findings to the large population. It is the procedure a researcher uses to select people, places, or things to study (Flick, 2014). The quality of a sample, determines the quality of the research findings in large measure. For the purposes of this study, traditional leaders or authorities, crop farmers, herders, Assembly members, the District Land Officer, District Police Commander and the District Chief Executive were interviewed. The multi-stage sampling procedure, which combines both probability and non- probability sampling techniques, was used to select 30 respondents. This sampling procedure relies on sampling at different stages in the process (Maduekwe, 2011).

The purposive and convenient sampling techniques were used to select 4 traditional leaders, 10 farmers, 3 Assembly members, The District Chief Executive, The District Police Commander, and the District Land Officer, while the snowball sampling technique was used to select 10 herdsmen and cattle owners. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sample that is selected based on the characteristics of a population and the objective of the study (Crossman, 2017). The purposive sampling method was used to select respondents for this study because of respondents' close association with and knowledge of the farmer-herder conflicts and land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District. This type of sampling can be useful in a situation where a researcher needs to reach a target sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern (Grevetter & Forzano, 2006). Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenience, accessibility, and proximity to the researcher (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). This procedure relies on data collected from the characters that

are conveniently available to participate in the study. Convenience sampling was considered because only community members who were available and willing to provide information were accessed. It was convenient to reach the indigenes because of the proximity of the towns selected to the researcher. Lastly, the snowball sampling method was used because of the difficulty in reaching out to the herdsmen who were mostly in the bush grazing their cattle. As a result, the research had to rely on one herdsman as a proxy who in turn led the researcher to locate other herdsmen.

### **3.7 Source of data**

The study used both primary and secondary source of data. The primary data was gathered through interview schedules and focus group discussions. In each of the study communities, Chiefs, Assembly members, some farmers and herdsmen were interviewed. The secondary data was mainly gathered from published works, journals, online sources and news reports. These were mainly retrieved from the library and various online archives. Multiple sources of data were used and that enabled cross-checking of information and triangulation of results.

### **3.8 Methods for data collection**

The main instrument for primary data collection was the interview schedule and Focus Group Discussion.

#### ***3.8.1 Interviews***

To collect data for the study, 30 respondents including 4 chiefs, 3 assembly members, 10 farmers, and 10 herdsmen and cattle owners, the District Police Commander, the District Land Officer and the District Chief Executive (DCE) were interviewed. The purpose of this technique was to obtain information through actual face-to-face

interaction with them. The use of an interview guide also allowed the researcher, the flexibility to ask follow up question and to probe more.

According to Flick (2014), interviews may be the primary data collection strategy to provide information on how individuals conceive their world and make sense of important events in their lives. The interview focused on the questions formulated from the research objectives for a systematic description, prediction or explanation of land ownership rights and the farmer-herder conflicts in Kwahu East District, stated by Bryman (2006). One of the major advantages of the interview is that, it provides access to what is „inside the person’s head,“ and as such it makes it possible to determine what a person knows, likes or dislikes and thinks (Bryman, 2006). In addition, with interviews, information can be obtained not only in terms of participants’ words but also in terms of non-verbal communication, such as tones of voices and facial expressions, which provide more complete and subtle meanings of collected data (Creswel, Plano & Clark, 2011).

A major disadvantage of interviewing as a data collecting instrument is that, it could be prone to subjectivity and bias on the part of the interviewer (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Another contextual disadvantage of interviewing is the interviewer's effect of personal identity. For instance, a researcher’s or participant’s ethnic origin could impact on the number of information participants are willing to divulge and their honesty about what they reveal in the interview sessions (Fram, 2013). Data collection may also be affected by the gender and experience of the life of the interviewer. Response effects in terms of the eagerness of participants to please the interviewee with their information may also serve as hampering factor in collecting honest data (Krueger & Casey, 2009). The interview guide was designed to capture

the major themes of the study. This allowed for consequential interaction between the researcher and participants as noted by Flick (2014).

### ***3.8.2 Focus Group Discussion***

The researcher also employed a Focus group discussion (FGD) for the collection of data. According to Gerritsen (2011), FGD is a structured discussion used to obtain in-depth information (qualitative data-insight) from a group of people about a particular topic. The aim of FGD is to study a topic in-depth and intensively. It is a discussion guided by a moderator, according to the prepared interview guidelines (Temkin, 2017). FGD is not open to public meetings, because the selection of participants whose meetings present characteristics which it is important to ensure that participants in the group have something in common to each other (Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins & Popjoy, 1998). FGD is a group discussion of 8 to 12 participants with guidance from a facilitator, which discusses a certain topic among participants (Glynn, Shanahan & Duggan, 2015). In all, two focus group discussions were held separately for the herdsmen and the farmers. 8 herdsmen and 10 farmers were selected for the discussion. The number of participants selected was based on their availability and willingness to participate in the discussion. The focus group discussion offered further insights into the nature and dynamics of farmer-herder social interactions. The discussions also provided supplementary data in addition to the data acquired from the interviews and provided means to cross-check information from the interviews.

### **3.9 Data Collection Procedure**

A letter of introduction was obtained from the Head, Department of Social Studies Education, Faculty of Social Science Education, University of Education, Winneba. The participants were contacted by the letter, explaining the details of the study and



inviting them to participate in the study. They chose freely on whether or not to participate. Upon deciding to participate in the study, each participant and the researcher set a date that was convenient for them to be interviewed for an hour in their home, palace, or work setting. Through the use of an alias, each participant's identity, as well as the identity of the group was kept anonymous for the protection of privacy.

Each participants' interview ranged from 45 - 60 minutes in length, regarding the participating views on the causes of land ownership right and conflicts among farmers and herdsmen, extent of land ownership right and conflict among farmers and herdsmen, effect of land ownership rights and conflicts among farmers and herders on the socio-economic development and the policies and actions by the state in addressing farmer-herder conflict in KED.

### **3.10 Methods of Data Analysis**

Proper analytic procedures ensure reliability and validity. In this situation, after the interviews were completed, the interview data were then transcribed. The audio recorded data were transcribed by listening to the tape over and over for a while which took between 45 minutes and one hour for each interview and later were transferred into written text. This process involved the researcher reading and re-reading the transcribed interviews in order to familiarise himself with the data. After transcribing, each transcript was sent to the participants in their various settings to confirm their accuracy and for the participants to include further reflections if they wished. The transcribed interview notes were then further discussed with each participant for validity purposes.

After transcribing the interview, the data from the thirty participants for this research project, the researcher analysed the data under common themes to answer my research questions. One of the strategies the researcher employed in this study to identify common themes was coding. Coding is the process of classifying and categorising data into themes, issues, topics or concepts (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2008; Bums, 2000; Maykut & Morehouse, 2001). This means that the researcher has to systematically go through data, line by line, phrase by phrase and write a descriptive code by the side of each piece of data (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2008; Cohen et al., 2000) noting the regularities and recurring ideas/themes in the settings or people (Maykut & Morehouse, 2001) Coding can be done by hand or using one of the computer programmes (Cohen et al, 2000).

In this study, hand-coding was used. Cohen et al (2000) spoke of three ways of coding. The first method they identified was multiple coding. Multiple coding, according to Cohen et al (2000), can be attached to one version of the data with coloured pens, highlighting, symbols or thin slips of coloured paper sellotaped to the text and sticking out over the edge. The second, „multiple copies of data“ (everything relating to a particular category is filed together in a box labeled with a particular code). The third method she identified was the „data indexing system“. This method enabled the researcher to record the coding on cards, leaving the data untouched except for page and line numbers (Cohen et al, 2000). In analysing the interview transcripts, the researcher used the first method highlighted by Cohen above. First, the researcher used coloured highlighter pens to highlight parts of the participants“ responses that described land rights and conflicts among farmers and herders in KED. Different coloured codes were used for different themes. For example, causes were yellow, effects were blue and policies coded green. This was done in relation to

information that emerged from the literature review and the research questions. This process continued until all the thirty interview transcripts were completed. Once the categorising was done, the researcher looked for key issues raised in each category and reported the information using the thematic approach (Neuendorf, 2019; Braun, Clarke, & Rance, 2015).

### **3.11 Trustworthiness**

According to Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen and Walker (2010), four cardinal principles are necessary to ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research. These principles include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In ensuring the credibility of the research data for this study, a number of measures were put in place. Firstly, the researcher ensured that data was gathered from varied sources including interviews and focus group discussions which enabled the triangulation of data. Additionally, documents, reports and analysis relevant to the objectives of the study were all employed. Furthermore, the researcher visited the study communities to familiarise himself with and engender the trust and confidence of the chiefs, people and opinion leaders. Again, to further strengthen the credibility of the research, the researcher subjected the study data to stringent scrutiny from his supervisor, peers and other researchers.

In order to achieve rigor, the researcher attempted to expose readers to the natural settings and experiences of respondents by capturing direct quotations from respondents (Ary et al, 2010). Again, interpreted data was verified through member checking. In order to allow respondents to authenticate the analysis of information provided, the researcher ensured that interview and focus group recordings were played back for participants through out all the study communities.

Furthermore, theoretical accuracy of the data collected was ensured as further proof of credibility. To this end, based on preliminary observations and visits to the study communities, literature review was undertaken to identify theories that reflected the current conditions of the study communities. Following the necessary community and stakeholder engagements, interview and focus group discussion guides were designed for data collection. An appropriate sample was selected to take part in the study devoid of any bias. Bias was minimised because respondents were selected based on their association with and their knowledge of the information required for the study. Purposive sampling was also employed to reduce negative sampling.

The issue of transferability of the study was addressed to ensure that the research findings could be transferred to other districts in Ghana and globally who shared similar conditions as in the study districts. As a result, the methods of data collection have been captured and explained for the purpose of future researchers who wish to make use of similar or same research objectives in similar contexts.

As regards the dependability of research data, evidence of data collected including recordings of focus group discussions and interviews are available for verification. By conducting the research in three different communities with different social dynamics has helped improve dependability.

Factors that prove the credibility of this research is evidence of the fact that the findings of the study can be corroborated by other researchers with similar or same objectives working within the same context. Furthermore, responses to the interview questions together with responses from focus group discussions were transcribed and analysed according to the research objectives.

### **3.13 Ethics**

According to Miller, Bircs and Jessop (2012) consent is very important in research. As a result, the informed consent of all participants was sought prior to the study. All participants were briefed on the purpose of the research and the consequence of taking part in the study. Furthermore, research data and the identities of participants were kept confidential and solely for academic purposes in order to protect the privacy and identity of participants. For this reason, all information used were those that participants agreed that the researcher could use them. This was necessary to protect the privacy and rights of individual participants. In addition, because of the sensitive nature of conflict issues, care was taken to avoid any action that would inflame passions. The researcher also took steps to be honest, transparent and gave the necessary acknowledgement to all academic sources that were used.

### **3.12 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented the introduction to the methodology employed in this study. It looked at the research approach, research design, and population of the study. It also dealt with sample and sampling procedure, sources of data, and data collection instruments. Finally, the data collection and analysis procedures as well as ethical considerations were looked at. The next chapter looked at the presentation of results and discussion of findings.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

#### 4.0 Introduction

The chapter covers the presentation and analysis of data gathered for the study. The findings were based on the data collected from the respondents in three communities namely (Yaw Tenkorang, Kwaku Sarfo, and Bebuga) in the Kwahu East District (KED), Ghana. These communities were selected because of their experiences with the farmer-herder conflicts in the Kwahu-East District of Ghana. The study employed the qualitative methods relying mainly on participant interviews, observations on the field and field notes taken. The results are presented in accordance with the research objectives stated below. The objectives were to:

- (i) examine land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District;
- (ii) determine how farmers and herders get access to farmlands;
- (iii) analyse the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of land in KED;
- (iv) analyse the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in KED; and
- (v) Examine the role played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities and Security Agencies, among others, in addressing the conflict.

#### 4.1 Background of Fulani settlement in the Study communities

At the time of conducting this study, no literature was available to explain the migration history of the Fulani herders into KEDA and as a result, the study had to rely on the oral account of the traditional authorities and elders. Cattle rearing, just like other forms of animal husbandary predates the colonial area and was not new in

the study communities. However, it was not as widely practised as the situation is today. It was the preserve of only few well to do farmers who kept a few to about 20 cattle. One respondent, the “Odikro” of Bebuia stated, “The locals employed the services of migrant herdsmen from the northern Ghana to tend their cattle”. This confirms findings of (Abubakari & Longi 2014), who established the presence of cattle herding prior to the emergence of the Fulani pastoralists. They further revealed that nomadism was a foreign practice since most cattle owners were also crop farmers and grazed their animals on their farms. Thus, cattle were kept like other domestic animals and this avoided the incidence of crop destruction. One respondent, a migrant from the north who has been employed to herd the cattle of a local narrated:

The process of catering for the animals involves cutting grass and fetching water for them and within the course of the week, grazing them in the fields after which they are herded them back to the kraals. There were no incidences of crop destruction because of how we managed the animals unlike what the Fulani are doing today (Field interview 2020).

An elder recounted:

Cattle were very expensive when I was young. I remember those involved were a few wealthy individuals who owned a few number. In fact, cattle were very prized assets that owning them was a symbol of status. They were hardly slaughtered and that would only happen on special occasions such as festivals. Due to their fewer numbers, there was only one cattle herder operating in this community (Field interview 2020).

The data showed that the emergence of the Fulani nomads could be traced to about 20 years ago. They mainly migrated from the Asante Akyem Agogo District, and settled with their animals in the outskirts of communities within the study enclave where there were vast stretches of unused grasslands. In the account of a 65-year-old farmer, he noted,

The arrival of the Fulani dates back to almost 20 years ago. I first met one about 15 years ago whom I became friends with because I would normally meet him on my way to the farm or hunting (Field interview 2020).

Another elder also recounted:

I came to meet the Fulani in this community when I first settled here around the mid 90's. They were just handfuls who were mainly settled around the outskirts far from the farms. But over time their numbers have increased proximity with local farmlands and the number of farmers has also increased (Field interview 2020).

The results indicate that cattle rearing used to be the preserve of a few privileged individuals in the society. Because of the relatively smaller population of cattle at that time, it was easy to contain and feed the animals in kraals. This situation tended to generally avoid the incidences of crop destruction. On the other hand, the increase in cattle population has tended to result in open grazing and nomadism resulting in farmer-herder confrontations instigated by crop destruction by cattle.

These results corroborate the findings of Tonah (2006) who noted that, herder settlements and kraals were mainly dotted around the outskirts and far removed from host communities, thus limiting contact with them.

#### **4.2 Land Ownership Rights in the Kwahu East District**

Findings from the study indicate that the lands within the study area are vested within the trust of the Traditional Authority, specifically the Kwahumanhene (Kwhahuman Paramount Chief) who serves as the customary custodian of the lands in the study area. Furthermore, these lands are owned by individuals and families who pass them on as inheritance to the next generation.



According to one respondent, a farmer, *“The lands were given to the elders of this town by the Abene Traditional Authority and we inherited it from our forefathers”* (Field interview 2020).

Another farmer also indicated:

These lands belong to Nananom (chiefs) and they gave the lands to our ancestors to settle and we have come to also inherit it from our fathers. Any activity that goes on in this community must be by the consent of Nananom (chiefs) (Field interview 2020).

Furthermore, the data indicated that issues of land litigations are settled by the elders of the community and landowners. To this, one elder narrated:

We all know who the owners of the land are, and we all know each other’s farm lands, so when there is a problem over the use of a particular land, we consult the owner for an amicable settlement (Field interview 2020)

One cattle herder noted:

The elders settle land disputes by calling all parties involved to find a peaceful settlement to the problem. When this measure fails, the matter may be forwarded to the chief’s palace for settlement. (Field interview 2020)

According to the District Lands Officer,

the lands are controlled and owned by the chiefs and families, that is, the family land and chief’s lands, therefore, one needs to see the appropriate owners (Field interview 2020).

The District Land Officer further went on to indicate that the chief as well as the Physical Planning Department of the District Lands Office exercise legal rights over the lands in the study district.

The results show that the traditional authorities as well as individual families controlled land rights in the study communities. The legal and customary rights over lands were vested in chiefs and family heads and are exercised on behalf of the

community. A further recognition and acknowledgement of the authority of chiefs and local families over lands is expressed in the role they play as arbiters in land disputes.

These results indicated that land ownership in the study communities were mainly based on allodial and usufruct rights. According to (Kasanga & Kotey 2001), rights over land ownership under Ghana's customary laws are in three forms, namely allodial title, usufruct and leasehold. The allodial rights constitutes the highest type of land right under customary law which vests land rights in the traditional authority on behalf of the community. On the other hand, usufruct rights are derived from allodial rights which vests individuals and groups within the community with rights to hold land (Agbosu et al. 2007). It is important to add that usufruct rights can be transferred from generation to generation.

Furthermore, the results from field interviews indicate that the concept of legitimate rights of land ownership is not perceived as equal for both farmers and herders. This has implication for the conflict in the sense that, whereas herders who are foreigners claim rights of access over lands through lease or some form of community arrangements, the indigenous farmer population lay claim to land ownership as a birth right, and an entitlement regardless of arrangements between their leaders and foreign herders. The indigenous farmers view the herders as foreigners who under no circumstance should possess permanent rights over land. These findings are in line with the view of (Barume, 2014) that, in Africa, land rights are largely skewed towards autochthonous. This position is reflected in the view of one herder who lamented:

We are treated with a lot of suspicion and prejudice due to the fact that we are foreigners, and this has affected our ability to own lands. Even if we want to

buy, they won't sell to us because we are seen as strangers without any rights to own lands, yet other people who are not from here have bought their own lands (Field interview 2020).

Another herder noted:

Sometimes, local farmers would attempt to drive us away from our grazing areas which we have legitimately secured through lease with the claim that, the land belongs to their forefathers and we are aliens encroaching on their lands, even when we have paid for the land through lease. Because of this, whenever conflicts breakout, we suffer the most since we are driven away from the lands we have paid for without any compensation just because we are seen as foreigners without equal rights to own land with the indigenous population (Field interview 2020)

According to one farmer:

These lands are for us; our ancestors handed them over to us. The Fulani are foreigners, and consequently, we cannot leave our lands for foreigners to occupy. If we do so, what will we leave behind for our children in future? We would not easily be accepted and given land at where they come from, so, why should we allow them here? I blame our traditional leaders, for they are the ones who have leased our lands to the herders, and now they think they have equal rights with us. That is why they can behave recklessly because they think they have paid and so, money gives those rights over the land (Field interview 2020).

In terms of land security, the data indicates that, indigenous respondents were more confident that their lands were secure compared to the herders who were less so. Most of the herders held the view that whenever there are agitations against the herders they lose the lands, which they have legitimately acquired through lease without any form of compensation. One cattle owner noted that:

Sometimes, the young men try to evict them from the lands claiming they should go back from where they came from." At other times, our lands are

confiscated even though we have lease agreements with the owners. Sometimes, it takes the intervention of the traditional authorities and family heads who lease the lands to us to stop them. However, when it came to the mass evictions, all of us were affected. (Field interview 2020)

A Fulani leader noted:

We are always treated unfairly because we are considered as strangers and foreigners without any land entitlements. Sometimes, people will show up and claim that the land the cattle are grazing on belongs to them, and they try to drive us away or cause harm to our cattle which then results in altercations with the local people. Sometimes, when the matter gets serious, we are driven off the land and we have to leave with our cattle. (Field interview 2020)

Another cattle owner lamented:

Some of us acquired our lands through proper means for grazing our animals. However, whenever a member of the Fulani community misbehaves we are all treated the same without differentiating the innocent from the bad ones, and in the end, we are all driven away from the lands we occupy because of this. It is sad to acquire land today and lose it at any time without any guarantee. All we can do is to pray that nothing happens that will bring conflict. (Field interview 2020)

From the data two main entities were responsible for the security of land holding, namely, the landowners and traditional authorities. In addition, the results established that the Paramount Chief (Omanhene), his Council of Elders, the Odikros, family usufruct holders using customary land and the Customary Land Secretariat (CLS) are the primary actors in land administration within the District. According to one traditional leader:

Whenever litigations arise, they are settled by the landowners and if they are unable to reach a settlement, the matter is brought before us the traditional authorities. Land owners are made to pay the drink price to the chiefs to serve as evidence of ownership. Once the drinks are accepted, it signifies that the

traditional authority acknowledges the individual's ownership and use of the land (Field interview 2020).

The results further revealed that land allocation to aliens is done without the participation of the indigenous members of the community. Such allocations are usually characterised by agreements between the land owners or chiefs and the tenants to be. Owing to this, most of the farmers alluded to the fact that they are unaware of arrangements between the herders and traditional authorities. The results also indicated that the indigenes were unhappy with the fact that lands had been leased particularly to the Fulani herders without their knowledge to the extent that they the locals had to hire land from other people.

According to one farmer:

*Lands for building houses are normally allocated based on an arrangement between the chiefs and the prospective land owner whereas farmlands are allocated based on agreements between the landowner and the farmer (Field interview 2020).*

An assembly member also indicated, *"I don't think the chiefs inform any one before leasing out lands"*.

According to a traditional leader,

When lands are allocated by the Paramount Chief, especially to aliens, he doesn't tell us, and some herders take advantage that to claim they have been allocated lands while that may not be the case (Field interview 2020)..

According to a herder:

We secure permission from the chiefs to graze our cattle in some of the areas. This is, normally an arrangement between us and the traditional authorities; however, we can't tell if members of the community are aware of these arrangements. (Field interview 2020)

According to another respondent:

This land does not belong to us, and we cannot do anything on the land without the permission of the traditional authorities. Therefore, we deal with the traditional authorities not the community members in securing permits to graze our animals. The arrangements we have are between us and the traditional authorities, so the community people are not involved (Field interview 2020).

These results, therefore, reveal a failure in the land tenure system that tends to concentrate the rights of land administration in the hands of traditional authorities, public institutions and family heads that appropriate and lease out land according to their own discretion without the informed participation of the community. Runge (1986) pointed out that the lease of lands in the manner that neglects community interest and informed participation amounts to an abuse of resources by traditional common property institutions. Runge's view is supported by Peluso and Lund (2011), who noted that property regime conflicts is not determined by who has rights over property, but it is increasingly characterised by and emanates from arbitrary transfer of communally-held land, and property to third parties or aliens where only chiefs benefit from and appropriate the resultant rents.

#### **4.3 Access to land**

Information provided by the traditional authorities identified the process of land acquisition and the major actors involved in this process. It was indicated that per custom, three stages are involved in land acquisition. At the first stage, persons or groups seeking to gain access to land engage the chiefs, family heads or the traditional custodian and make a formal request for land. At the second stage, the leasee is then taken to inspect the parcel of land requested for. This process is followed by the negotiation of the price (drink money). Upon conclusion of the negotiation stage,

payments are made and the leasee is provided with an allocation note or evidence of allocation in the presence of witnesses to conclude the deal.

#### ***4.3.1 Land Acquisition Arrangements***

The results revealed that land ownership within the study communities could be categorised into two main groups, namely autochthonous or indigenous access to land and migrant herder access to land. Results show the autochthonous access to land was mainly through three primary mediums, namely, inheritance, hiring and lease.

- (i) **Inheritance:** Inheritance involves lands that have been passed on to the land owner by relatives who held usufruct title over the land. These are usually based on the system of inheritance practised in the study communities.
- (ii) **Hiring:** Hiring involves acquiring land for a stipulated period of not less than six months, depending on the type of crops to be cultivated or the intended use to which the land is to be put. The land, following the expiry of the terms of the contract, reverts to the owner in which case the terms of re-hiring can be renegotiated. For instance, the duration for hiring land for maize is six months whereas that for plantain may be on an annual basis.
- (iii) **Lease:** Lease is a common practice in the study area, especially for the herders. This involves allocating land for a period not exceeding 25 years. This type of arrangement characterised the release of land to five Fulani cattle owners who entered into a tenancy contract with the former Paramount Chief, Dasabere Akuamoah Boateng (Report by KEDA, 2015). This contract between the Chief and the Fulani helped to legitimise their stay in the Kwahu East District.

The results showed that out of three land acquisition arrangements stated above, inheritance constituted the commonest means of land ownership by indigenous respondents. Contrary to this, lease and rent agreement constituted the only means by which migrant herder groups could access land either through the traditional authorities where larger land sizes may be involved or family heads in the case of small land size. Discussions from focus group meetings with the herders revealed that access to land through purchase for migrant herders was impossible even if they had money to buy it. They also maintained that access to land through purchase has been worsened by recent clashes and as a result, landowners do not want anything to do with herders. One herder narrated:

When I first brought my cattle to this community, I tried to buy a parcel of land. However, the landowner refused to sell it to me. Yet, a portion of that same parcel of land was sold to a local farmer. We are refused because we are not from here and because of these recent clashes between farmers and herders, land owners became even more skeptical towards us to the time we were evicted from these places (FGD, 2020).

Another participant, a cattle owner noted:

Access to buy land is very difficult for us herders. Because of that, we had to settle for short-term leases of between five to seven years. It is only here that foreigners cannot own their own lands. In other places, this is not the case. I know the Fulani in other places who have bought their own lands (FGD, 2020).

Another respondent, a traditional authority and landowner added:

For the Fulani herders, we only give lands to them on lease. The portions normally allocated to them are the unused parcels on the outskirts of the town for a period of time, usually between five and seven years. When clashes between the farmers started, we decided not to encourage their activities any



longer so we limited the lands leased to them and the community members do not want them here (Field interview 2020).

Results from the study further indicated that lands are allocated to farmers and herders based on oral contracts. The data is indicative that the cost of renting a plot of land for farming ranged between 80 cedis to 100 cedis. The cost of the land is determined by the size and how much it costs to clear it. The lease is also renewable, depending on the type of crops to be planted. Again, the study indicated that all the respondents were smallholder farmers who cultivated between 1 to 5 acres of land, with others having less than an acre. According to one farmer:

Lands are allocated on lease based on the quantity demanded, but the price is determined by how much is charged for clearing every 100 meters. Hence, if it costs 200 cedis to clear then the cost of renting is also pegged at 200 cedis. In other words, as clearing cost increases, rent price also increases. Currently one plot of land is cleared for 100 cedis and, therefore, the rent is also 100 cedis per one (Field interview 2020).

On the other hand, the cost of land for cattle herding is different. This is because herders have to pay more for the lands. This is because of the vastness of land required for grazing. Thus, herders interviewed revealed that most of them had been leased between 10 to 20 acres of land for grazing, depending on the number of animals each cattle owner possesses. The herders however, indicated that as farmlands expand, there were frequent confrontations with the locals who claim ownership of these lands. A herder indicated that they sometimes pay up to 800 cedis per acre and the terms of lease are renewable.

#### **4.4 Causes of farmer –herder conflicts in the Kwahu-East District**

From the data, six major underlying factors have been identified as the causes of the conflicts that have ensued between herders and farmers in the Kwahu East District.

The causes of the conflict included, crop destruction; competition for land; cattle rustling; rape of women; mistrust between herders and hunters; and farming too close to cattle routes.

#### ***4.4.1 Crop Destruction***

The study revealed that the destruction of crops by cattle that enter farms under the cover of darkness and at dawn constitutes the most rampant triggers of these conflicts. Findings emerging from focus group discussions with farmers indicated that some farmers are suspicious that the herders deliberately plunder farm produce to feed the cattle, especially during the dry season.

According to one farmer:

One day, I went to the farm very early in the morning only to find a herd of about 40 cattle marauding through it. All the crops had been destroyed and about six months of hard work had gone waste in a few minutes. What I realised was that the herders were very armed so I could not confront them for fear that they would shoot and kill me. All I could do was to lodge a complaint with the Odikro (the chief) and the Assembly member for the electoral area. The cattle owner was called and fined 800 cedis but the destruction didn't stop (Field interview 2020).

The Assembly member for one of the communities recounted:

Almost all complaints I received about Fulani herder activities had to do with intrusion into farms and the destruction of crops by their cattle. This has been a big problem to us because when cattle destroy crops, some farmers also retaliate by killing the cattle and this further leads to other reprisal attacks with their resultant killings and burning of whole villages (Field interview 2020).

Another respondent, also a chief noted:

We have cautioned and fined some herders whose animals have damaged farms, however some of the animals enter the farms at night and as a result, it

becomes difficult to identify who is actually responsible. Some farmers then take the matter into their own hands and take revenge by killing the cattle, thereby, leading to violent clashes (Field interview 2020).

One herder during the focus group discussions revealed:

Sometimes, it is not intentional that our cattle destroy farms, for we try not to steer the animals toward areas where we know farms exist. However, in case of accidental crop destruction, we pay the necessary compensation to the farmers involved. Some of the herders are nomads unlike us, who are settlers, and these nomads operate under the cover of darkness at night, and leave in the morning. This, sometimes, becomes very difficult to identify which person's cattle is responsible for the destruction. This makes community members feel that all of us are responsible and vent their anger on us and our animals leading to violent confrontations (Field interview 2020).

The results show that crop destruction constituted a key trigger of the farmer-herder conflicts, whereas, farmers levelled accusations of deliberate crop destruction especially under the cover of darkness, herders on the other hand denied any involvement in deliberate destruction of farmlands. The herders lay the blame at the door steps of foreign nomadic herders whom the resident herders claim are the main perpetrators of destruction of farms. They further indicated that these foreign herders mainly from Niger, Mali, Burkina-Faso e.t.c. do not stay in the community and thus are difficult to trace and made to account for their actions and thus the resident herders tend to be at the receiving end of reprisal attacks since herders are all viewed that same by the community indigenes

The study confirms the findings of Tonah (2006) and Abubakari and Longi (2014), who suggested that the principal instigator of farmer-herder clashes in the Volta Basin and the Northern Region of Ghana was attributed to crop destruction. The current

study also corroborates the findings of Turner et al. (2006), who opined that unsanctioned grazing by farmer's leads to crop destruction.

#### ***4.4.2 Competition for Land***

Competition for land creates a problem because family heads and some chiefs allocate lands without informing the family members who later become aware of the transaction and show up to claim ownership as the true owners.

A cattle owner noted:

I was allocated a tract of land by a family head in the community in which I lived. After only two months of grazing on the land, two members of the family came to drive us away from the place, claiming that they were not aware of any lease arrangements between us and the said family head, noting that they wanted the land to farm. It nearly turned into a violent confrontation, but for the intervention of the family head. To finally resolve the matter, he paid our money back to us and we had to evacuate our animals out of the place (Field interview 2020).

The District Land Officer noted:

Competition over land is the main cause of these conflicts. I say so because, initially when herders arrived they were settled in the outskirts where pasture was abundant with limited contact with the farmers. However, owing to the availability of pasture and water as well as the eviction operations being carried out in the Agogo area, a lot more herders moved into the district, hence increasing the number of cattle in that district. The local communities which are mostly agrarian also keep expanding their farming activities towards the outskirts because they believe they as indigenes have natural right over the land. Therefore, as the boundaries between the farmers and herders become thinner, crop destruction and violent confrontation become the natural outcomes (Field interview 2020).

Shedding more light on the matter, one of the traditional authority in Yaw Tenkorang intimated:

A major source of the rivalry over parcels of land is the fact that the indigenes hold the belief that their entitlement over the land is based on ownership rights handed to them by their forefathers and this gives them the legitimate claim to farm wherever there is land available. Thus, they have more rights to lands than the herders. On the other hand the herders have rented these lands at a fee sometimes feel the actions of the indigeneous farmers such as farming on their concessions as a threat to their investments. They therefore feel they must take measures to protect their investments thereby leading to violent clashes (Field interview 2020).

The above narrations point to the fact that the boundaries between farmers and herders, owing to population increase have become very thin. Whereas cattle owners are able to pay for and secure large tracts of land for grazing, at the expense of crop farming, the farmers believe that as indigenes, they wield natural rights over the land and should have more land than the herders who are largely viewed as strangers. These differences in perception of each other's status degenerate into competition and eventual conflict. This finding is in line with Dary et al.'s (2017) and Ayee et al.'s (2004) studies, which identified competition over land and water as a principal trigger of conflicts. To them, herders are forced to trespass their boundaries in search of pasture due to constraints imposed by depleting grass, emergence of settlements and climatic changes, resulting in reduced rainfall. These conditions, therefore, precipitate more farmers - herder confrontations.

#### **4.4.3. Cattle Rustling and Killing.**

Results from Focus group discussions with herders revealed that their cattle are usually stolen and sold in nearby towns. They also complained that when farmers find cattle on their lands, they immediately shoot the animals or even wound them without

making any attempt to inform its owners for an amicable settlement. Some security officials in the District also confirmed that some few years ago, they received reports of stolen cattle lodged by the herders and some arrests have been made.

A herder at Bebuah intimated:

Several of my animals as well as those of my colleagues have been stolen. We have reported these incidents to the traditional authorities and the police but the culprits have not been caught. Because of this, we have taken steps to protect ourselves and our cattle (FDG, 2020).

Another herder also added that:

I think the stealing and sometimes the killing of the cattle is carried out as a form of reprisal by especially the youth for what they perceive to be the deliberate destruction of their farms by our cattle (FDG, 2020)

A farmer indicated:

Our youths are, sometimes to blame for the conflicts. Formerly, the Fulani herders would come for an amicable settlement whenever there was crop damage by their cattle. However, after sometime some of the youth put the law into their own hands and kill the cattle of the Fulani (Field interview 2020).

The results are indicative that stealing of cattle is a rampant activity in the area and contribute to hostilities between the farmers and herders. It is however unclear who the perpetrators are since no one has been apprehended so far. The herders believe that their cattle are stolen or even killed by aggrieved persons as a revenge for the destruction of their farms. Furthermore, most of the incidences of cattle rustling are believed to be perpetrated by the youth.

The results confirm the findings of Turner et al. (2006) who contented that cattle rustling as a major trigger of conflict in Niger.

#### ***4.4.4. Mistrust between Herders and Hunters.***

Mistrust between herders and hunters are the least explored, and an uncommon issue in literature on the dynamics of the causes of farmer-herder conflicts. The Assembly member for one of the electoral area noted that while the hunters dislike the Fulani for driving the game away and destroying their traps, the Fulani feel threatened by the hunters who wield guns which they feel can be used to harm their cattle. The result is that, in case where cattle are shot by the hunters, the herders mistakenly take revenge on nearby farmers and their communities, while the latter are the real culprits.

#### ***4.4.5. Violence against Women***

The study revealed that most respondents identified rape and other forms of abuse against women as one of the major triggers of the conflict. Farmers raised concerns about the inability of the women to go to their farms or they could only go in the company of a couple of men because of the fear of being raped by the Fulani herders. Reports of rape were corroborated by the District Security officials who admitted that some incidences of rape had been investigated. The District Security officials further indicated that these rape crimes were executed through ambush and with weapons normally by two or more men normally suspected to be Fulani. We have received reports from other areas where a woman was raped by the Fulani herders in the presence of her husband.

One woman narrated:

My sister and I were attacked by knife wielding Fulani men who ordered us to have sex with them. Luckily for us, our screams attracted the attention of some farmers who were returning from their farms, and therefore, came to our rescue. The two men however ran away into the bush. From that time to now, I am very afraid to go to the farm alone (Field interview 2020).

The Odikro (village chief) of the village also confirmed and supported the account of the women and other few other reported instances. He noted that these activities fuel the fire as the youth; upon hearing, such attempted rape cases by the Fulani herders on the innocent women take matters into their own hands to attack the Fulani herders. As for the actual perpetrators in these cases, we have not caught anyone as at yet (Field interview 2020).

During the focus group discussions with the herders, they denied these allegations. They, however, noted that these actions are mainly perpetrated by certain nomadic Fulani who are not settlers like them, and so were difficult to trace and identify them.

On the issue of violence against women, a herder had this to say:

All of us Fulani are not the same so most of the bad things you see and hear about cannot be blamed on a particular person. There are some who have not acquired land here and do not also live here with us. They are the ones who are responsible for the destruction of farms, rape and all the other bad things you hear about (Field interview 2020).

The results show attempts by assailants believed to be herdsmen attempt to rape local women. These actions tend to spark revenge attacks by the youth which may lead to full blown conflicts. Though the issue of rape is an acknowledged fact there seems to be a blur as to who is actually responsible as no arrests have been made. The herders on the hand deny any involvement but however blame unknown nomadic herders who do not reside in the communities and are therefore difficult to track.



#### ***4.4.6. Farming too close to Cattle Routes***

Focus group discussion with herders revealed that they blame farmers for triggering some of these conflicts by deliberately farming on lands which have been previously grazed by cattle in order to make use of the cattle manure fertilized soil.

According to one herder:

These lands have been acquired on lease and they move their cattle from one place to the other on the same leased land. However, some farmers encroach on the land and make their farms on the portion of the lease that had previously been grazed. This situation, therefore, results in crop destruction since the cattle still use these same routes and pastures (FGD 2020).

On the other hand, a farmer had this to say:

Owing to the practice of shifting cultivation, farmers move their farm lands annually towards uncultivated field in order to allow them to regain their fertility. This means that, they sometimes enter into the herder zones, which in some cases; they have no idea that such lands have been allocated to the herders (FGD 2020).

The narratives suggest that farmers and herders usually collide to the practice of shifting cultivation and the believe the farmers have that they have inalienable rights over lands which entitles them to farm wherever they want regardless of the fact that some portions of land might have been leased to the herdsman. Also some farmers cultivate on or near cattle routes because they do not know such parcels of land have been rented out by their traditional authorities and elders.

Daryet al. (2017) confirms this finding when they highlighted that farming along cattle routes results in conflict. The study further revealed these conflicts involves the use of arms such as A.K 47 assault rifles and other sophisticated weapons. KEDA 2015 report admitted the presence and use of guns, especially among the herders and,

therefore, recommended that the police take action to retrieve such weapons. Security officials in the District confirmed that some arrests had been made over attempts by some herders to traffic weapons into the area. The sources of these weapons have been attributed to cattle owners who supply them to the herders. The herders, on the other hand, admitted that some of them owned guns, but added that these weapons were for self-defense against thieves and wild animals.

The results further showed that most respondents are of the view that the activities of the herders are supported mainly by the chiefs. An Assembly member recounted that, some time ago, there was massive demonstrations by the youth against the Kwahu Krontihene and the linguist of the Paramount Chief. The claim as was that lands were being leased to herders, and this, coupled with the inability of the traditional authorities to take any decisive action against the herders, represented what they viewed as support by traditional authorities for the activities of the herders.

According to one farmer:

I suspect the involvement of the traditional authorities very much. Because the Fulani themselves told us they arrived here with the support of the chiefs and they were willing to substantiate their allegations if the chiefs denied (Field interview 2020).

The traditional authorities however interviewed denied any support for the Fulani herdsmen. One chief noted:

How can we support strangers to fight with our own people? It is even against the oaths we swore to the stool and that can even bring serious consequences on us. We do not even know some of the herders and how they even got here. I personally do not own any cattle, and I also don't know of any chief who owns cattle (Field interview 2020).

A herdsman on the other hand indicated that apart from the lease they secure from the traditional authorities, they had nothing further to do with them. Another herdsman, on, confirmed that they admitted herding cattle on behalf of autochthonous individuals some of whom were chiefs.

The results suggest that the local farmers are suspicious of the traditional authorities' involvement with the activities of the herdsman. These allegations have however been refuted by the chiefs. Some herders however express that the extent of involvement of traditional authorities is limited to granting them access to land.

This confirms findings by Tonah (2005) that traditional authorities play a central role in the farmer-herder discourse.

#### **4.5 Consequences of the Farmer-Herder Conflicts**

This section presents findings and discussions on the consequences of the farmer-herder conflicts. The findings in relation to the effects of the conflicts in the study area are categorised into two broad areas, namely the livelihood and social effects.

##### ***4.5.1 Consequences of Farmer-Herder Conflicts on Livelihoods***

The data showed the effects of the clashes between herders and farmers on people's livelihoods. This situation is attributable to the fact that a contest over limited natural resources has implications for people's survival since they derive their livelihoods from these contested resources. Three major issues were identified to affect livelihoods, namely, reduced crop and animal production, loss of property and loss of lives.

**(i) Reduced Crop and Animal Production**

The results indicated that one of the most significant impacts in the study area has been a decline in production of both crops and animals. According to one farmer during The Focus Group Discussion, they were forced to abandon their farms for a long period of time due to the fear of being killed or harassed by herders who were hiding in the bush. Furthermore, another farmer also indicated that they were compelled to abandon the popular practice of shifting cultivation which aimed to allow the farm regain its fertility for fear of farming too close to cattle routes or herder settlements (FDG, 2020). Additionally, farmers who could farm on a commercial basis were forced to downscale to farm on subsistence basis for fear of losing their investments to crop destruction by the cattle. A farmer in Bebuga recounted that that they had lost all their investments and crops to the cattle destruction. According to one participant in the focus group discussion:

I used to cultivate 3 acres of tomato farm from which I am able to harvest over 30 boxes with an income yield between 9000 ghc and 10000 ghc. However, because of these cattle and our conflicts with the Fulani, I had to reduce production to a small plot of land behind my house which fetches me very little (FDG 2020).

Discussions with the herders, on other hand, revealed that they suffer mostly from cattle rustling and killing. According to one cattle herder, some individuals in the community steal their cattle and sell them in neighboring towns. Also, the recent operation (Cow Leg) in the study area by the security services to evict all Fulani from the area resulted in the killing of a lot of cattle. One herder noted that he had lost close to 10 cattle that were shot by the soldiers. The combined value of these animals was almost 30,000 ghc. Other herders indicated that they had suffered cattle losses due to poisoning from the chemicals (weedicides) sprayed by farmers to clear weeds. Again,

the DCE indicated that within the period of the conflict, commercial activities such as trading came to a halt. He continued, “This has made it very difficult to get farm produce to various market centres in the District because of the insecurity in the area”

## **(ii) Loss of Property**

The results show that both farmers and herders have conceded losses of physical properties. Most farmers indicated that they have had their homes burnt down and their properties looted by rampaging Fulani herdsmen who attack villages out of revenge when their cattle are killed.

According to one Assembly member, some farmers returned from their farms only to meet their houses on fire and their entire valuables, including their motorbikes stolen.

One farmer added:

I am currently lodging with my sister in one of the neighboring towns because all my belongings have either been burnt or stolen. I am currently working as a taxi driver so when I gather enough money I will return and rebuild (Field interview 2020).

The Fulani herders, on the other hand, recounted that they had also suffered similar losses, and noted that, to them, the cattle are as important as the houses of the farmers there and one cattle killed represents a very big loss. One cattle owner noted, “*I lost 5 cattle to (operation cowleg) yet I am not part of the Fulani who misbehave. I don't even know them, and yet my animals were shot and killed*”.

### **4.1.2. Social Effects**

Apart from the livelihood effects, the conflicts have also had social ramifications. Three main impacts were identified, namely; effects on social relationships between farmers and herders, desertion of towns and villages and loss of lives.

**(i) Social Relationship between Farmers and the Herders**

The data shows that when the Fulani initially come to the study communities, they enjoy a symbiotic and cordial relationship with the indigenous population. The Fulani, when they first arrived, were made to settle at the outskirts of the towns and the villages where there were abundant pasture, and also had limited contact with the local farmers. Particularly beneficial was the situation where farmers, after harvest, offered their land to be grazed by the cattle and in the process deposited their dung to fertilize the soil. Again, the Fulani were a source of meat and milk for the markets as they also obtained foodstuffs from the farmers. That was the nature of relationship that characterised the initial stages of their arrival in the Kwahu East District. One of the traditional leaders noted that the relationship began to deteriorate when the numbership of the Fulani started increasing with the influx of more Fulani from Agogo and neighbouring African countries such as Niger and Burkina Faso. This created competition for natural resources such as water and pasture, and this struggle became particularly intensive during the dry season. According to one farmer:

We used to get on very well with the Fulani. Initially, we had no problems with them and even when their cattle destroyed crops, and it was settled amicably. Now the situation has changed and their presence has brought a lot of chaos and destruction, hence it will be difficult to live side by side with them again (Field interview 2020).

A Fulani respondent also noted:

Everyone views the Fulani as barbaric nomads who kill and maim people. People treat us like unwanted animals and insult us as well as call us all manner of names. But, we are all human beings. We should all know that even brothers, sometimes fight. I remember one day I was asked to step out of a bus by the driver because the passengers were afraid of me (Field interview 2020).

**(ii) Abandonment of Communities**

Observations in some villages within the study area revealed that most of these villages had been overgrown with weeds and deteriorating structures, that showno signs of human habitation. This situationwas explained by an Assemblyman of one the communities that, all the inhabitants had run away from the community to seek refuge elsewhere for fear of their lives. One of the chiefs in the study area recounted that these villages used to be very vibrant and served as a source where foodstuffs such as cassava, groundnut, tomatoes and other crops were obtained for the major markets. However, everyone has left to seek refuge in neighbouring towns and villages.

**(iii) Loss of Lives**

The results also revealed that, apart from the toll on properties, a number of lives had been lost. These were mainly the result of reprisal attacks by the youth on the Fulani and vice-versa. The DCOP pointed to the fact that several lives had been lost as a result of the clashes in the District. One Assemblyman noted that these killings had become rampant due to the use of weapons such as AK 47"s and other weapons used mostly by the Fulani herders. Again, the DCOP added that most of these killings happened at night where the perpetrators hide in bushes and fire on their victims, and those who are lucky enough escape with serious injuries. At other times, killings occur because of protracted gunfights between the farmers and the herders as occurred in neighbouring towns of Dwerebease, Hweehwee, and Oboyan, which resulted in the deaths of nine (9) Fulani and three (3) farmers. The death toll on both sides believed to be over fifty (50). One Chief lamented that not only has the conflicts led to deaths on both sides, but it has also resulted in the death of people who are neither farmers nor herders. He recounted that, somewhere in 2017, a young boy of about 20 years,

was killed by the herders. This conflict has deprived families of their bread winners and has unnecessarily widowed some women too. On the other hand, one Fulani lamented the shooting of his son by some youth because they claimed some Fulani had destroyed their fields, yet his son was not part of them. The findings also indicated that the killings have an implication on livelihoods as smallholder farmers such as women can no longer enter their farmland and also towns are left desolate.

#### **4.6 Role of Traditional Authorities, Security Agencies and Government in Resolving the Conflicts**

Results of the data are indicative that efforts by various identified stakeholders have been generally complementary with collaborations at various levels between the government, traditional authorities and security agencies.

##### ***4.6.1 Local government***

The data indicated that the local government, that is KEDA, has instituted a number of measures to resolve the conflicts. The study showed that three major interventions have been initiated by the District Assembly to deal with the conflicts, namely stakeholder engagements, cattle registration and the establishment of fodder banks. According to the DCE, monthly stakeholder meetings by farmers, herders, traditional authorities, government representative and the media were arranged with the view of finding a holistic and unbiased solution to these conflicts. These stakeholder engagements led to the establishment of the community taskforce in all the conflict prone communities to act as a quick reaction response to any outbreak of hostilities to forestall an escalation. The community task force was further tasked to identify and immediately alert the authorities of any influx of Fulani herders into the area. Furthermore, the police with the assistance of the Assembly had been resourced with



nonlethal devices such as batons, pepper spray or tear gas, and tasers to beef up security operations within the various communities.

Secondly, in conjunction with the Kwahu Traditional Council, registration of cattle and cattle owners was embarked upon. According to the DCE, over 20,000 cattle were registered with over 200 cattle owners. He, however, noted that this was less than the actual number of cattle and cattle owners in the District. This, he added was beneficial in ensuring that cattle owners were accountable for the actions of their herders and cattle. For instance, if an animal engaged in crop destruction it could easily be identified and its owner held responsible. He noted:

When we call for meetings, most of the cattle owners themselves do not show up. They rather allow other people to attend on their behalf, but we are able to find out that they are not the actual cattle owners. Added to this, some of them also under declare the actual number of cattle they have. This kind of uncooperative behaviour has tended to slow down the expected progress a bit because we need the accurate numbers to establish the appropriate fodder banks with the capacity to contain all the herders and their animals (Field interview 2020).

Thirdly, the Assembly established three fodder banks, that is, well established place where agricultural foodstuff used specifically to feed domesticated livestock, such as cattle are kept at Wawase, Forifori, Mem Fremkye and Amankwa, with plans to add more. These fodder banks, according to officials of the Assembly, have the capacity to contain 5,000 cattle and is viewed as a more effective means of controlling the cattle. With the establishment of these fodder banks, all cattle herders are advised to evacuate all their animals to these ranches.

#### **4.6.2. Security Agencies**

From the data, it came out that those expulsions of the Fulani herders were normally used as measures of last resort, that is, when all other measures have proved ineffective. According to the DCE:

In such situations, we have to implement conflict resolution measure. Attimes, we try to negotiate and talk to the cattle herders and farmers to make them co-exist, but these measures do not work and it gets to a time you bring in the military and the police to regulate the activities of the cattle herders. Since I assumed office, we have used expulsion as a measure for almost three years and we have sustained this operation until now so things are better (Field interview, 2020).

The data also showed that the expulsion policy also known as Operation Cow Leg has been employed to resolve conflicts involving herders and farmers since 1988. Under the auspices of the Regional and District Security councils, security forces have been 89obilized to affect this measure. The purpose of this measure has been to forcefully evict all cattle herders and their cattle from the District. According to the DCOP, this operation has been very successful in reducing the violence.

#### **4.6.3. Traditional Authority**

The traditional authorities have been the primary source of adjudication of conflicts, especially in areas where the presence of the state is limited. One chief noted that the traditional authorities are very influential in resolving petty misunderstandings between the herders and the farmers before it escalates into full blown conflicts. He noted that, for instance, whenever there was crop destruction by cattle, both the farmer and particular herder can resolve the issue amicably by agreeing to an appropriate compensation to be paid. When this measure fails to yield the necessary results, the case may then be brought before the chief and the elders of the community

for adjudication through the traditional court system. In such instances, the guilty parties are fined and ordered to pay the necessary compensations to the affected persons.

According to one chief:

We are the custodians of the land, and we have a responsibility to protect everyone in this community, both indigenes and foreigners, who have come to live with us, as tradition demands. It is our responsibility to ensure peace and settle all disputes, although sometimes people take the law into their own hands and perpetrate violence against each other without bringing the matter before us for settlement first (Field interview 2020).

#### **4.7 Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution Measures**

The data indicates that the conflict between farmers and herders in the Kwahu East District has been brought under control for the past two years. According to the DCE, for the past two years, there have not been any reported incidences of any clashes between the herders and farmers. DCOP also praised the efforts of the security service, indicating that their intervention has been important in preventing most communities from turning into ghost towns. Some farmers, however, shared a contrary opinion but were hopeful that the peace they have had for the past two years could be sustained. One farmer contended:

We suspected some collusion between our chiefs and the herdsmen because some of the chiefs themselves own cattle and these herdsmen work for them and, this to us undermines the credibility of the traditional authorities to mediate such conflicts (Field interview 2020).

From the focus group discussions, a farmer noted that, sometimes, the security forces are bribed by the cattle owners and as result are able to obtain prior notice before evictions operations take place. The result has been that whenever there is a major

operation, the herders leave the area only to return when the security forces leave. Furthermore, a the herder also indicated that, the fodder banks established were too small to contain all their cattle and they also complained about the killing and selling of their cattle by some security forces. This sentiment was shared by other herders during the FGD.

In terms of the sustainability of the peace, most farmers indicated that, if all measures are adhered to, there could be lasting peace. One farmer noted:

We can sustain the peace, especially if the community task force is up and doing. Some of the Fulani herdsmen trickle in slowly, one after the other, with their cattle and before we realise they are many here, and this creates havoc. With the community task force in place, if they alert officials early about the movements of the Fulani, we can keep the situation under control (Field interview 2020).

According to the DCE,

Most of our lands are rocky so it becomes difficult to contain both the farmers and the herders, especially in the dry season. If cattle owners think of cattle production as a business and begin to invest in fodder banks, there would be peace. However, in a situation where they are not willing to invest in the cattle business, we cannot contain them. They believe in roaming around and open grazing but if the herders would avoid open grazing, the Assembly can contain them (Field interview 2020).

Furthermore, the DCOP added that the police require more logistical support to beef up security within the District and, most especially the conflict prone areas.

#### **4.8. Compensation for Losses due to the Conflict**

All respondents, both farmers and herders indicated that they did not receive any form of compensation for the losses suffered through the conflicts. Most of them, however, indicated that they had received some aid from the Member of Parliament for the area.

A farmer noted,

My house and other property got burnt because of the violence with the Fulani herdsmen, but up to date, I have not heard anything from the officials. Had it not been for the intervention of the MP, I would have nothing (Field interview 2020).

The DCE also noted:

The District Assembly has not compensated any one for our losses. Moreover, the Assembly does not have the resources to do so. Rather, what the assembly has done is to provide aid such as shelter and food to the displaced persons. For the herders, they do not pay tax to the Assembly and moreover, their activities rather bring a lot of burden to the Assembly (Field interview 2020).

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has analysed and discussed the the results of the research. Data was collected from three communities namely Bebuga, Yaw Tenkorang and Kwaku-Sarfo. The findings interms of the background of the foray of the herdsmen into the study communities indicated that, the herders are mainly Fulani herders whose settlement can be traced back two decades ago. Clashes between herders and farmers used to be infrequent due to the relatively smaller population of cattle at the time however farmer-herder conflicts have recently been triggered by increase in cattle population there by creating competiton with the farmers for land and available pasture. Furthermore findings of showed that Allodial and usufructs rights constituted the main type of land ownership rigjts where lands are held in trust on behalf of the

community by chiefs and family heads. In addition, land ownership rights were not perceived to be equal for indigeneous farmers and herders. In essence, whereas farmers perceive their superiority over the lands entitling them to cultivate the land wherever they deem fit, herders on the other hand, also, pursue their rights over the lands because they have paid for them. The disregard of the ownership rights of herders because of their status as foreigners tends to fuel the conflicts.

The findings also indicated that in terms of access to land and security of land tenure, farmers had more access and were less averse to the risk of losing land compared to the herders who faced frequent evictions from their lands whenever conflicts emerged. The issue of land tenure insecurity is further compounded for the herders as the nature of agreements for lands are mainly oral contracts. It has been shown that, inheritance was the commonest forms of land ownership amongst other means such as rent, lease and purchase.

From the findings, six major causes of the farmer-herder conflicts were indentified. These were, crop destruction, competition for land, cattle rustling and killing, mistrust between herders and farmers, violence against women and mistrust between farmers and herders. The results indicated various initiatives by stakeholders to end the farmer-herder conflicts. Interventions by the local government included cattle registration, stakeholder engagement and establishment of fodder banks. The security services on the other hand launched operation Cowleg to expel herders and their cattle from the conflict communities. The findings also indicated that following measures to curb the conflicts, there has been cessation of hostilities.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the summary of the study, main findings, conclusions drawn and recommendations as well as suggested areas for further research. The study was designed to investigate the Land ownership rights and conflicts between farmers and herders in the Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana. This research was based on five objectives including: to examine land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District, determine how farmers and herders get access to farmlands, analyse the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of land in Kwahu East District, analyse the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in Kwahu East District and, examine the role being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, Security agencies among others in addressing the conflict

#### 5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The following findings were made based on the results from the research questions.

##### *5.1.2 What are the land ownership rights in the Kwahu East District?*

Findings from the study have shown that the chiefs and family heads serve as trustees of land on behalf of the community. This implies that the allodial and usufruct systems characterize land ownership rights within the study communities.

Secondly, rights of land ownership are unequal for farmers and herders. The study found that, farmers considered themselves indigenes and original owners of the land and were therefore entitled to greater access compared to herders who are mainly considered as foreigners with very little rights. The implication of this perception of

unequal rights to land for the conflict is reflected in the fact that farmers tend to expand their farming activities through mainly shifting cultivation in to concessions of land that have been acquired by the herders through rent. The disregard of the ownership rights of herders on account of their status as aliens regardless of the fact that they have paid for the lands they occupy tends to fuel the conflicts.

### ***5.1.3. How do farmers and herders get access to farmlands?***

The study found that access to land for farmers and herders is unequal. Whereas indigenous access to land was mainly through inheritance, rent or lease, the only viable means of land access for herders was through lease and rent.

In terms of land tenure and security, herder were more prone to the risk of losing their lands especially through evictions. On the other hand, indigeneous farmers were more confident about the security of their land holdings compared with the migrant herders. Furthermore, verbal contracts without documentation characterise agreements over land allocation. This situation has the potential to threaten land security and access, particularly, for the herders who frequently face encroachments and contestations over the lands they acquire from indigenous groups who claim more rights over the lands.

### ***5.1.4. What are the causes of conflicts between farmers and herders over the use of lands in Kwahu East District?***

From the study, six major causes of herders-farmers conflict were identified. These include crop destruction, competition over land, cattle rustling, mistrust between herders and hunters, closeness of farms to grazing routes and violence against women. The findings revealed that, unfavorable climatic changes coupled with incompatible farming and herding practices such as shifting cultivation, use of weedicides, and



bush burning tends to exacerbate the likelihood of hostile confrontation between farmers and herders.

The study found out that, the conflict among farmers and herders has become more violent due to the use of sophisticated weapons, such as, AK 47 rifles and machine guns. Lastly, the perception that, traditional authorities provide support for the activities of these herdsmen whom many farmers believe are employed by the chiefs, is what usually breaks the camel's back.

***5.1.5. What are the effects of conflicts between farmers and herders in Kwahu East District?***

With respect to the effects of the conflicts, these were categorised into two; livelihoods and social effects. The livelihood effects included reduced crop and animal production.

Apart from the effects on livelihoods, socially, the conflict has adversely affected the formerly interdependent relationship between the two groups. The conflict has also taken a toll on lives and property with the death toll reported to be over 50. Furthermore, the conflicts have resulted in the desertion of towns and villages.

***5.1.6. What roles are being played by various bodies, including the District Assembly, Traditional Authorities, and the security agencies to prevent the conflicts?***

The discussion shows the measures initiated to find lasting solution to this conflict. These initiatives include;

- (i) stakeholders' engagements, which has resulted in the creation of community task forces to prevent the escalation in conflict prone areas,

- (ii) the establishment of five fodder banks to serve as ranches to reduce the incidence of crop destruction and competition over land,
- (iii) cattle registration exercise to ensure proper accountability and responsibility by cattle owners and herders,
- (iv) Evictions to drive away herders from conflict prone zones and traditional means of conflicts adjudication have also been instituted especially in rural communities where the visibility of the state is low.

Interms of effectiveness of meausres to prevent farmer-herder conflicts, the study discovered that, there has been a cessation of hostilities for the past three years. This is indicative of the effectiveness of the measures put in place to abate the conflicts.

However, some criticisms were raised by the farmers, concerning suspected collusion between the traditional authorities, security agencies and herders. Again, herders were critical of insufficient space created by the fodder banks.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The farmer–herder conflict has been ongoing in Ghana for more than a decade. Various studies on the subject matter have usually attributed the emergence of conflicts between farmers and herders to issues of scarcity of available arable lands and water. These two natural resources holds considerable significance for the livelihoods and survival of both farmers and herders to the extent that it mostly forms the background for conflicts. This research has examined the issue of land rights within the context of the farmer-herder conflicts and its implications for the conflicts. In terms of land rights, researcher makes a number of significant contributions to the existing body of knowledge. The researcher has established that rights of land are based on the usufructs and allodia systems where family heads and chiefs act as trustees of land on behalf of the community. Most significant is the fact that group

identity tends to dictate and influence perception and recognition of legitimate land ownership rights. In this regard, not only are the herders considered as foreigners, but also that their status as foreigners is perceived by the indigenes to entitle them to fewer rights over lands they may have legitimately acquired. The researcher suggest that such identity driven rifts have been a major catalyst driving both farmers and herders to use violence to protect natural resources both believe are entitled to. Furthermore, access to land for herders is limited to only the options of rent and lease because they are considered as foreigners whereas farmers have a wider means of accessing land including; inheritance, purchase, rent and lease. In addition, the researcher has established that herders incur higher risks of losing their lands especially during evictions exercises because herders are considered as foreigners with no permanent rights over land and also for the reason that most land contracts are verbal agreements. The inability to recognize the needs of herders as legitimate land owners further promotes the farmer-herder conflicts. In a nutshell the study confirms the protracted conflicts theory which expresses conflicts as situations of prolonged conflicts between groups which different identities over basic needs such as security, recognition and distributive justice. Furthermore, the researcher has demonstrated the human needs theory in the context of this study because at the bottom of the conflicts between the farmer-herder conflicts is the desire for communities to satisfy their need for the scarce natural resources.

Additionally, the researcher has shown that six major triggers of conflicts between farmers and herders could identified in the study communities. These include; competition over land, cattle rustling, mistrust between herders and hunters, closeness of farms to grazing routes and violence against women. It can also be concluded that, unfavorable environmental conditions and farming practices like shifting cultivation,

bush burning and the use of weedicides tend to worsen the already tense relationship between herders and farmers leading to conflicts.

The effects of the farmer-herder conflicts ascertained from the fieldwork include; fall in the quantity of agricultural production as well as loss of lives. The farmer-herder conflicts have soured the previously good relationship between farmers and herders. Lastly, the farmer-herder conflicts have led to the abandonment of whole villages leading to ghost towns and this has implications for economic productivity.

The researcher has identified that efforts to resolve the farmer-herder conflicts include the creation of community taskforce to provide early warning signals; the establishment of five fodder banks to serve as ranches to reduce the incidence of crop destruction and competition over land; cattle registration exercise to ensure proper accountability and responsibility by cattle owners and herders; evictions to drive away herders from conflict prone zones and traditional means of conflicts adjudication have also been instituted especially in rural communities where the visibility of the state is low.

Generally, evidence from the study have proven these measures effective. For the past three years, the measures have led to the cessation of the farmer-herder conflicts specifically in the study communities and the Kwahu East district in general.

From the findings of the study, the major drawback on the effectiveness of measures to remedy the farmer-herder conflicts were found in criticisms raised especially by the farmers, highlighting issues about collusion between the traditional authorities, security agencies and herders. Again, herders were critical of insufficient space created by the fodder banks and the deliberate killing and sale of their animals by security personnel.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based the study, and the conclusions made, the following recommendations are made:

- (i) Early warning indicators of the conflict must be promptly identified and reported by the community taskforce before full-blown conflict occurs. In this regard, community tasks forces must be well resourced to complement the efforts of the security services.
- (ii) The Assembly must concentrate more effort in establishing adequate fodder banks. Again, the practice of ranching must be encouraged amongst cattle owners and herders to prevent the unwanted competition over land.
- (iii) Thirdly, the security agencies must be properly resourced with the necessary logistics and tools to ensure heightened security in the conflict prone zones. This is necessary to prevent a relapse into conflict, a situation that has characterised farmer-herder conflicts in most areas where absence of security presence allows herders to return to communities leading to reoccurrence of hostilities.
- (iv) Finally, most of the atrocities that lead to farmer-herder conflicts have been blamed on foreign migrant herders from neighboring countries. Because of this, stringent measures should be put in place in order to tighten border security. This measure is necessary to stem the influx of foreign herdsmen into the country.

### **5.4 Areas for Further Studies**

This study explored land ownership rights and farmer-herder conflicts in the Kwahu East District. Further studies can explore the differences in the migrant herder groups and their roles in the farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana.

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## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE STUDY

#### INTERVIEW GUIDE: HERDSMEN/CATTLE OWNER

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

#### Bio-data

1. Sex.....
2. Age.....
3. Ethnicity.....
4. Marital status.....
5. Duration of stay in community.....
6. Herder or cattle owner.....

#### Objective 1: Land ownership rights in KED

7. Which entities have legitimate rights to determine land ownership and allocation in your community?
8. How are litigations over land addressed?
9. How secure is land holding in the community?
10. Which entities ensures security of land holding in the community?



11. Do you think lands are allocated with the informed participation of community members especially in the case of land allocation to foreigners?

**Objective 2: Assess to land**

12. Do you own your land?
13. Explain how you acquired your land (purchase, lease, inheritance etc.)
14. Explain the arrangement and agreements involved in the acquisition of land and land rights
15. Do you pay any rents for your land? If so how much and to whom?
16. What is the size of your land?

**Objective 3: Causes of Farmer-Herder Conflict in KED**

17. How did conflicts with the farmers start?
18. What are the underlying causes and triggers of the conflict?
19. Do you think the actions and activities of herdsmen themselves might have promoted these conflicts? If so how?
20. Have you had any hostile confrontation with a farmer? If so describe what happened
21. In the event of confrontation what has been/ will be your response
22. What weapons are used to carry out atrocities?
23. How do you think perpetrators of these conflicts obtain these weapons?
24. Do you think stakeholders such as chiefs and local politicians are involved in providing support for the activities of herdsmen?

**Objective 4: Consequences of the Farmer-Herder conflict on locals and herdsmen in KED**

25. How have the conflicts affected relationships between farmers and herdsmen?
26. Do you think co-habitation between farmers and herdsmen is possible?
27. What has been the impact of the conflict on livelihoods?
28. Do you feel safe to live and work in your community?
29. How has the conflict affected cattle production?
30. What has been the toll of conflict on human lives?
31. How do you protect yourselves from attacks?

**Objective 5: Role of Traditional Authorities, Security Agencies and Government**

32. What measures have been put in place by;
  - a. Assembly
  - b. Security agencies
  - c. Chiefs
33. Do you think such measures are adequate enough to ensure sustainable peace?
34. Has there been any efforts by both sides to reach peace?
35. What factors to you thinks might hinder attempts to reach peace?
36. Do you think enough has been to prevent the emergence of another conflict? If not what measured can be put in place?
37. Has there been any attempts to provide compensation for animal loss as a result of the conflict? If so how?
- 38.

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE: DISTRICT LAND OFFICER**

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

1. What systems of land administration govern the allocation of land in the district?
2. Which entities have legal rights over land administration in the district in terms of land allocation?
3. What roles has the land commission played in the conflict between the farmers and herders
4. From the lands commission point of view what do you think can be done to reduce the conflicts.

## INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FARMERS

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

### Bio-data

39. Sex.....
40. Age.....
41. Ethnicity.....
42. Marital status.....
43. Duration of stay in community.....
44. Types of crops cultivated.....

### Objective 1: Land ownership rights in KED

45. Which entities have legitimate rights to determine land ownership and allocation in your community?
46. How are litigations over land addressed?
47. How secure is land holding in the community?
48. Which entities ensures security of land holding in the community?
49. Do you think lands are allocated with the informed participation of community members especially in the case of land allocation to foreigners?

**Objective 2: Assess to land**

50. Do you own your land?
51. Explain how you acquired your land (purchase, lease, inheritance etc.)
52. Explain the arrangement and agreements involved in the acquisition of land and land rights
53. Do you pay any rents for the your land? If so how much and to whom?
54. What is the size of your land?

**Objective 3: Causes of Farmer-Herder Conflict in KED**

55. How did conflicts with the herdsmen start?
56. What are the underlying causes and triggers of the conflict?
57. Do you think the actions and activities of farmers themselves might have promoted these conflicts?
58. Have you had any hostile confrontation with a herdsman? If so describe what happened
59. In the event of confrontation what has been/ will be your response
60. What weapons are used to carry out atrocities
61. How do you think perpetrators of these conflicts obtain these weapons?
62. Do you think stakeholders such as chiefs and local politicians are involved in providing support for the activities of herdsmen?

**Objective 4: Consequences of the Farmer-Herder conflict on locals and herdsmen in KED**

63. How have the conflicts affected relationships between farmers and herdsmen?

64. Do you think co-habitation between farmers and herdsmen is possible?
65. What has been the impact of the conflict on livelihoods?
66. Do you feel safe to live and work in your community?
67. How has the conflict affected crop production?
68. What has been the toll of conflict on human lives?
69. How do you protect yourselves from attacks?

**Objective 5: Role of Traditional Authorities, Security Agencies and Government**

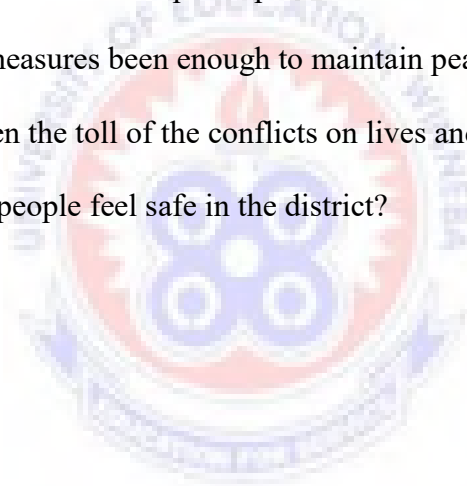
70. What measures have been put in place by;
  - d. Assembly
  - e. Security agencies
  - f. Chiefs
71. Do you think such measures are adequate enough to ensure sustainable peace?
72. Has there been any efforts by both sides to reach peace?
73. What factors do you think might hinder attempts to reach peace?
74. Do you think enough has been done to prevent the emergence of another conflict? If not what measures can be put in place?
75. Has there been any attempts to provide compensation for crop loss as a result of the conflict? If so how?

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE: DISTRICT COMMISSIONER OF POLICE**

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

1. When did the conflicts between farmers and herders in the district start?
2. What are the underlying causes and triggers of the conflicts?
3. What measures have been put in place to ensure security in the district?
4. Have these measures been enough to maintain peace?
5. What has been the toll of the conflicts on lives and property?
6. Do the local people feel safe in the district?



### **INTERVIEW GUIDE: CHIEFS**

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

1. Which entities have legitimate rights to determine land ownership and allocation in your community?
2. Explain the arrangements and agreements involved in the allocation of land?
3. How are litigations over land addressed?
4. Explain how are lands allocated to the herdsmen and farmers?
5. Explain measures put in place by traditional authorities to ensure land holding security?
6. Are community members involved in land allocation decisions especially in the case of land allocation to foreigners?
7. How did the herdsmen migrate to your community?
8. How did conflicts between the farmer and herdsmen start?
9. What are the underlying causes and triggers of the conflict?
10. Do you agree that some of some traditional authority are themselves cattle owners and are seen to support the activities of the herdsmen?
11. How have the conflicts affected relationships between farmers and herdsmen?
12. Do you think co-habitation between farmers and herdsmen is possible?
13. What has been the impact of the conflict on livelihoods?
14. Do the people feel safe to live and work in your community?



15. What measures have the traditional authority put in place to prevent occurrence of conflict?
16. What measures have the assembly and other state apparatus put in place to check the occurrence of conflicts?
17. How effective have these measures been?
18. What additional measures would you suggest should be added to what already exist?



### **INTERVIEW GUIDE: ASSEMBLY MEMBERS/DCE**

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict in the Kwahu East District (KED) in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

1. How many cattle and cattle owners/herdsmen are in operation in the district?
2. How many farm lands have been affected by the activities of herdsmen and their cattle?
3. Are the available lands within the district enough to sustain the activities of both farmers and herdsmen?
4. What are the underlying causes and triggers of the conflicts?
5. What measures have the assembly put in place to prevent conflicts?
6. In your estimation how effective have these measures been?
7. Has the assembly made any efforts to provide compensation for crop or animal loss?
8. How has the conflict affected livelihoods in the district.

## APPENDIX B

### FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. Who are the owners of the lands in this community?
2. How does one obtain land in this community?
3. How did the herders come to settle in this community?
4. What are some of the causes of the farmer-herder conflicts?
5. What are the effects of the farmer-herder conflicts?
6. What measures have been put in place to minimize the conflicts?
7. Are these measures enough?
8. What additional measures can you suggest forestall the future occurrence of these conflicts

