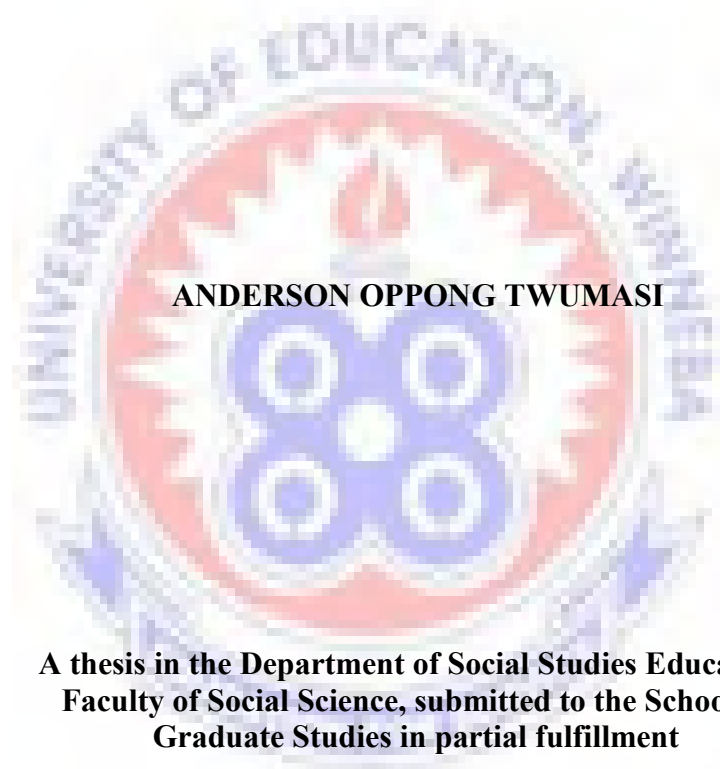


UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

FARMERS AND NOMADS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN ASANTE

AKYEM NORTH DISTRICT



ANDERSON OPPONG TWUMASI

**A thesis in the Department of Social Studies Education,
Faculty of Social Science, submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment**

**of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Philosophy
(Social Studies Education)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, Anderson Oppong Twumasi, declare that this Thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own 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 research work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for the supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Name of Supervisor: Dr Seth Peter Frimpong

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my father, Mr. Daniel Twumasi Fordjour and my mother, Mrs. Veronica Twumasi, for their responsive roles in my life.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Seth Peter Frimpong, a senior lecturer at the Social Studies Education Department, University of Education, Winneba, under whose supervision the work was completed. My sincere appreciation also goes to my sisters, Sheila Twumasi Fordjour, Daniella Twumasi and grandmother, Mary Attah, for their support throughout my education.

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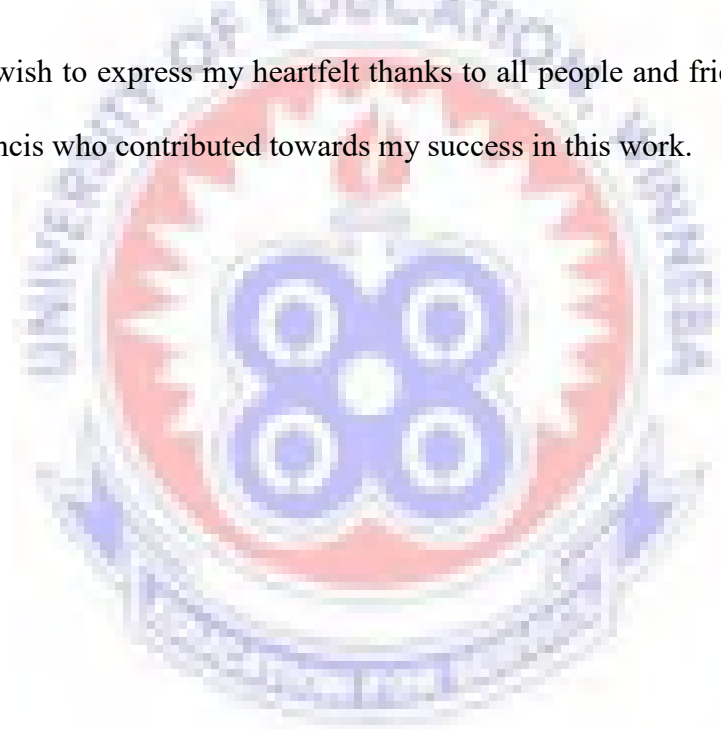


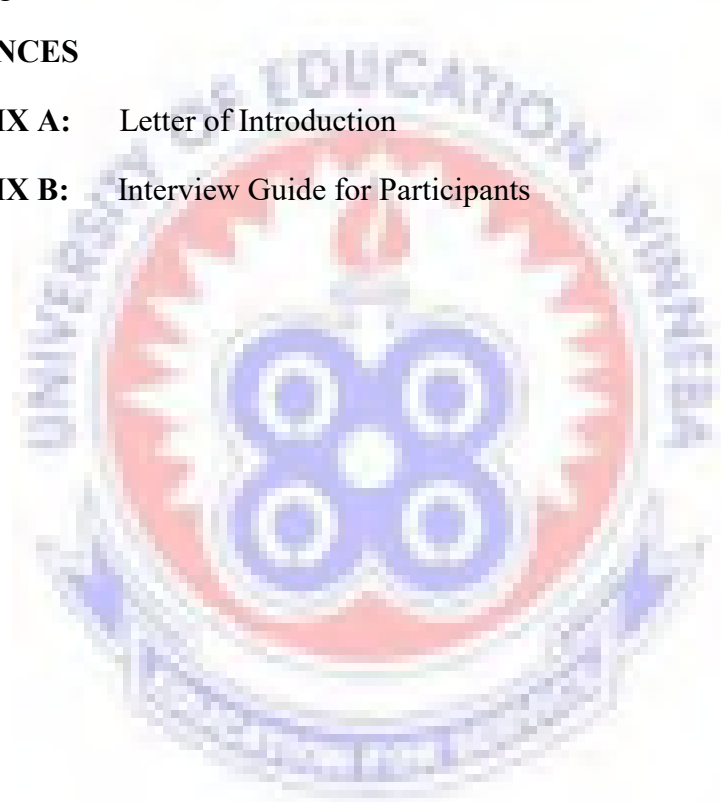
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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ATC	Agogo Traditional Council
DCE	District Chief Executive
DPC	District Police Commander
OCL	Operation Cow Leg
OLS	Operation Livestock Solidarity
PA	Personal Assistant
CSO	Civil Society Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
CBO	Community Based Organization
FBO	Faith Based Organization
JHS	Junior High School
SHS	Senior High School
GETFUND	Ghana Education Trust Fund
IGP	Inspector General of Police



ABSTRACT

The farmer and nomad conflict in the Agogo area seems to be more and more severe which has led to loss of lives and destruction of properties. The severity of the farmer-nomad conflict has precipitated a number of conflict management methods in controlling this protracted conflict in the Agogo area, but to no avail. Therefore, this study sought to examine why the various conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict have not worked and explore the community perspectives concerning how the conflict should be managed. Adopting the qualitative case study design and using the purposive sampling procedure, twelve (12) participants were selected for an interview with strict inclusion criteria. The study revealed adjudication, confrontation and the use of force as the management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Also, the study showed that the various conflict management methods proved ineffective owing to ineffective policing, interference from political players, bribery and corruption and failure on the part of the cattle owners to resort to the ranching system. The study further revealed that the community perspective on how to manage the farmer and nomad conflict in the Agogo area is total evacuation of the nomads from the area, and preferably the ranching system as well as effective policing. Hence, it is recommended that the Government of Ghana and traditional authorities in Agogo State should be firm and fair in the management and implementation of court decisions with regard to the farmer-nomad conflict of Agogo.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Conflicts between farmers and nomads have been a major social challenge that has bedevilled the world. Such conflicts are highly pronounced in developing countries, especially in Africa, as Africa seems to be a continent where there seems to be conflict year in, year out. Farmer-herder conflict happens to be one of such conflicts, as in the riparian states that share the Lake Chad (Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Nigeria) in West and Central Africa are still grappling with farmer-pastoralist conflict over claims and ownership of land and forest resources arising from increase in the number of users, receding lake water and desertification that heated the region since 1980's (Jumba, 2011). Also, in South-West Burkina Faso, conflict between Fulani pastoralists and Dagora, Birifor and Lobi farmers has been a recurring decimal (Tonah, 2000). Ethiopia is also grappling with farmer-herder conflict in Quowet Wareda of Amhara region resulting from increase pressure on land (Daniel, 2003).

Berry (2002) stated that competition over land in Africa is not new, but it has become pervasive, associated with deepening social differentiation among land-users, and has increasing significance in national and international affairs as well as in localized arenas. Roughly, a third of the nomads continue to follow a traditional semi-nomadic, cattle-rearing lifestyle that increasingly brings them into conflict with settled agriculturalists at a time of increased pressure on resources such as pastureland and water. This has become a contemporary issue in Ghana as the conflicts keep recurring in the country. Wehrman (2008) posited that the most violent conflicts over land are those that involve two groups - often two different ethnic groups - fighting over their property.

Afful-Broni (2007) has therefore postulated that conflict is a situation in which there are incompatible goals, thoughts, or emotions within or between individuals or groups which lead to bitterness and opposition. Extrapolating from the above expositions on conflict, it can be understood that conflict cannot be eradicated completely but it can only be managed and reduced. This is to suggest that as inevitable as conflict may be in many ways, it is natural due to the natural tendencies present in almost every human being; and so, irrespective of the establishment of the kinds of conflict management methods, conflict cannot be completely stamped out from human institutions.

Conflicts between farmers and nomads have always been a common feature of economic livelihood in West Africa (Tonah, 2006). Abass (2012) corroborates this when he argues that the vital reason of the conflict between nomads and farmers is economic with land related issues accounting for the majority of the conflicts. The effect of nomadic conflicts ranges from the economic (such as loss of income/resources/yield) to physical loss (such as home/farm destruction, bodily injury or death of family member) and socio-psychological effects [such as emotional exhaustion] (Adisa, 2012). The nomads are typically armed to protect their herds from rustlers, wild animals, and other threats, and in recent years, the ubiquitous AK-47 has replaced the more common machete as the weapon of choice (Mcgregor, 2017).

The grazing appetites of animals for nomads dictate their place of abode. This explains their mobile and nomadic status (Zakari & Umar, 2006). The livelihood of nomads is highly dependent on cattle rearing. This explains why they are often mobile in search of fresh grasses and suitable grazing areas that are disease and tsetse fly free. The social interaction of the nomads with their host communities in Agogo is not

cordial because of their different cultural and religious norms. Limited access to formal education particularly for women and girls also creates a barrier. The issues of different cultures and poor education attainment marginalise the Fulani community resulting in the feeling of insecurity in any local farming community they find themselves.

Farmers and nomads all over the world, and especially in semi-arid areas, have always shifted between relationships of co-operation, competition, and conflict. The farmers and nomads share the same living and farming spaces and rely on each other for the supply of essential services and goods. This demonstrates an important interdependence between the two groups which also translates into close socio-economic and political relations. The two groups, however, still maintain very unique identities and find themselves competing for the limited amount of natural resources that can be found in the district.

By and large, human beings by nature, exhibit differences not only biologically or physically but socially and psychologically; and that differences between individuals and groups are natural. However, the divergent perceptions and manipulations, or exploitations of these differences with reference to access to scarce resources for individual or group advantages are man-made, a condition constituting a premise for conflict. The conflict between the nomads and farmers in Agogo is always prevalent during the dry season when farmers“ burn grasses in preparation to farming and hunting while the nomads burn in order to induce the growth of fresh grasses for their cattle. Grass burning by local farmers and water scarcity during this period impels the nomads to graze in areas where they can still find grasses and water for their cattle.

During the grazing process, they cross the paths of farmers who find fault in the destruction of their crops by these animals and this often results in conflict.

In most instances, the nomads have to move across and graze on farmlands that belong to crop farmers. Thus, nomads and crop farmers are intertwined, sharing land, water, fodder and other resources. Due to this, several conflicts are bound to occur on the relationship between farmers and nomads, foremost of which is the perennial conflict over resource use. Ghana, particularly those in the Afrim Plains, Asante Akyem (Agogo) and some other parts of the country correspondingly seem to be engulfed with the devastating manifestations of farmer-herder conflict. As a matter of fact, conflict between crop farmers and nomads has become particularly acute in the Asante Akyem (Agogo) area.

Cattle rearing and farm businesses have gained popularity in the Agogo area in that the land is very fertile and supports farming activities throughout the whole year. The cattle, reared by nomads are mostly not controlled properly and thereby, are left to destroy many farmlands. This has led to an unending conflict between the nomads and farmers in the Agogo area. Indigenous farmers grow foodstuffs such as tomatoes, plantain and other vegetables. However, farmers had suffered a great deal in the hands of these nomads who show less regard for farmers' yield on their farms and as such, the nomads leave their cattle to destroy the farmers' produce.

Quite prevalently, Asante Akyem Agogo has been battling with the daunting and incessant occurrences of farmers and nomads' conflict, with varied management methods and measures in dealing with the issue, but to no avail. According to Opoku (2012), the conflict between farmers and nomads in the Asante Akyem North District has been in existence since the 1990's and the management of it has been very

difficult. For instance, between 2000 and 2010, it was alleged that 20 farmers were killed by Fulani herdsmen in the area (Baidoo, 2014); not forgetting some Fulani's who have also been killed in these clashes. The Fulani have also accused the farmers of deliberately poisoning their cattle or inflicting machete wound on them (Boateng, 2015). Consequently, the natives, especially the youth in Agogo, the leaders of the farmers' and cattle owners' association, various Members of Parliament, the Asante Akyem Agogo District Chief Executives and various political administrations or parties have all put in measures to manage the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo; but the conflict still continues. It is rather unfortunate to admit that all the various measures and methods put in place to curtail or manage the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo have not yielded any significant results; and according to Wehrman (2008) conflicts between farmers and nomads over land occurring within a nation or state do not merely affect individuals or groups of people, but can be an important threat to a country's stability, especially in developing countries. This requires that the conflict between farmers and nomads in the Asante Akyem-North District in Ashanti Region of Ghana is managed as it is becoming a troubling situation in the area and Ghana at large.

Though nomads are always accused of brutalizing farmers, there has also being an attack on nomads and their cattle and this has heightened the conflict in the Asante Akyem North District of the Ashanti Region. Nonetheless, nomads still live in Agogo as they are at times seen in market places, hospitals, veterinary offices and religious places in the midst of their "enemies" and the nomads also live in the areas where the farmers have their farms far away from their homes.

Studies across the continent document the widespread contestation around land within and between regional and ethnic groups, within and between descent groups or lineages, and between generations and genders as land has become more valuable, more difficult to attain and keep (Boone & Duku, 2012; Colin & Ayouz, 2006; Amanor, 2011). Current conclusions from research are that competition and conflict over land and over the authority to control, use, allocate, and transfer lands are pervasive; they occur between groups differentiated on the bases of origin, region, and ethnicity; they divide kin-based groups (lineage, descent group) and resident groups (villages, wards); and they set generations and genders against each other.

Conflict goes through a number of stages namely; emergence, escalation, and cessation stage before it finally lowers in intensity. As a result, the ability to recognise and manage conflict is likely to avert potential conflict. This is to suggest that the manner of handling a conflict could bring about positive or negative consequences that will affect the lives of the members. Nonetheless, the farmers and nomads conflict can be surmounted through proactive conflict management and peace building programs. This research therefore sought to examine how the conflict between farmers and nomads in the Asante Akyem north district in Ashanti region of Ghana can be managed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Over the years, conflicts between farmers and nomads living in the Asante Akyem North District have disrupted life and properties in the area over crops damaged by cattle or killing/rustling of cattle. Clashes between the farmers and nomads in the Agogo area over the years have also turned bloody and left in their trail a lot of casualties. This has gained popularity in the newspapers, radio and television as it has also resulted in the destruction of farms, lives and properties and rape of married and unmarried women in the area. The print media and electronic media in Ghana have engaged their readers and viewers with screaming captions and documentaries on the harrowing effects of the conflicts between farmers and nomads in Agogo. Indeed, Agogo has earned reputation in farmers and nomads conflict in Ghana.

The conflicts are a threat to peace and national stability. It also has implication for tribal co-existence as Ghana is a multi-ethnic nation. Indeed, nation building shall continue to suffer from strong divisive forces of ethnicity, religion and natural resources conflict, and this reveals the weakening of national cohesion and integration (Maiangwa & Ahmadu, 2007). The development of farmers and nomads conflicts, and in particular, the treatment of nomads by host communities and vice versa has not only got national implications but also implications for the relations between people from Agogo and the Fulani communities in Ghana. This reflects Jumba (2011) assertion that, “farmer-pastoralists conflicts are mostly envisaged as ethnic and easily articulated into ethnic or indigene-settler conflict” (p. 8).

Besides being destructive, the farmers and nomads conflict has lasted for decades. As a result, conflict management and resolution experts and the whole society and the nation have been seeking for ways to resolve and manage the conflict but without any

significant success. Despite several attempts such as operation cow leg, arbitration, mediation, court rulings, evacuation plan for nomads and demonstrations to curb and manage the conflict, farmers and nomads conflict still persist in Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana as the relationship between these two groups keep worsening. Civil society activists and the leaders of the affected groups attempt to solve the issue and Government usually adopts ad-hoc measures which are built around peace enforcement, which have all been unsuccessful. Indeed, as far back as 2003, the issue of farmer and nomads conflict attracted the attention of Parliament when the then Minister for Food and Agriculture proposed an identification exercise for both the owners and their cattle to help identify the illegal ones (Sosuh, 2011) cited in (Boateng, 2015). This confirms Boateng's (2015) findings in his study when he asserts that "even though several strategies were adopted to resolve the conflict, 82 per cent of the farmers in the study area claimed the conflicts were not resolved while 16.5 per cent claimed they were partially resolved. In a similar vein, 88 per cent of the herders remarked that the conflicts had not been resolved" (p.104).

The numerous studies that have been conducted on the causes, effects and measures to solve the conflict in Agogo such as Mensah, Adamtey and Abdulai, (2016), Bukari (2015), Bukari and Schareika (2015), Olaniyan, Francis & Okeke-Uzodike (2015), Boateng (2015), Baidoo (2014), Tonah (2006) and Opoku (2012) among others did not give due recognition to the previous attempts at solving the conflict that have failed. Again, evidence of systematic research on the prevailing dynamics of nomads and farmers' conflict, and on the methods of managing it in the Asante Akyem (Agogo) area is quite scanty despite its obvious consequences. This does not however suggest that scholars have not engaged in the general description of the methods of managing nomads and farmers conflict in the area (Albert, 2004). None of these

studies has undertaken an assessment of the various methods of managing the conflict between the nomads and the farmers in the Asante Akyem (Agogo) area.

Similarly, no research seems to be focused on examining the existing conflict management methods being used and why these methods are not working as the conflict keeps re-escalating but rather keeps on suggesting plethora of ways of solving this canker. This creates an empirical gap which needs to be filled by the current study. This study therefore investigated how the conflict should be managed by examining the conflict management methods adopted to curb farmers and nomads' conflict, assessing factors that affect the effectiveness of the conflict management strategies being used and explore community perspectives concerning how farmers and nomads' conflict in Asante Akyem North should be managed.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine farmers and nomads conflict management in the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti region.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

- a. Examine the conflict management method(s) adopted to curb farmers and nomads' conflict in the Asante Akyem North District.
- b. Assess the factors that affect the effectiveness of the strategies being used to manage farmers and nomads' conflict in Asante Akyem North District.
- c. Explore the community perspectives concerning how farmers and nomads conflicts should be managed in Asante Akyem North District.

1.5 Research Questions

- a. What are the conflict management methods adopted to curb farmers and nomads conflict in Asante Akyem North District?
- b. Which factors affect the effectiveness of farmers and nomads conflict management methods in Asante Akyem North District?
- c. What are the perspectives of community members concerning how farmers and nomads' conflict should be managed in Asante Akyem North District?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The current research should be seen as a further contribution in the field of conflict management methods within Asante Akyem North District, especially as it assesses the conflict management methods being used to control the farmer-herder conflict in the area (Agogo), a traditional farming community with a protracted conflict between the farmers and the nomads, where, though considerable efforts have been made to control the conflict, but without much success; and we know very little about in terms of why the various conflict management methods in the area have not been successful. Expert academic texts such as why the various conflict methods have been failing in the area have so far not been studied. Thus the present work will be valuable to stakeholders of the farmer-herder conflict in the area, consultants and researchers.

The usefulness of this research to stakeholders of the farmer-herder conflict in the area lies in the fact that it will provide insights into why the various conflict management methods in controlling the farmer-herder conflict in the area have been failing and thus deploy some useful adjustments for better farmers and nomads' conflict management in the future, which by and large will create the awareness of national integration and consciousness among citizens in the country.

The study should also make a contribution in terms of the repertoire of knowledge of consultants. The present investigation would seem most beneficial to consultants, especially with the assessment of the unsuccessfulness of the conflict management methods employed to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. This study will not only inform consultants of the appropriate conflict methods to control the prolonged farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, but more importantly, gain a considerable knowledge of the reasons for elongated farmer-herder conflict such as the Agogo farmer-herder conflict; and the reasons for the failure of conflict management methods mostly used to control such conflicts like the Agogo one, which will be necessary for upgrading training facilities and programmes designed to contain the advent and impacts of conflicts in the interest of national peace and development.

The findings of this study would be of immense value in terms of academic research. There is therefore the need for future researchers to account for the unproductiveness of the conflict management methods mostly used to control farmer-herder conflict like the Agogo one, as this study serves as a reference point for future researchers that will venture into this area of research. This way, a good foundation would be laid for further well-informed knowledge of the conflict management methods needed to control a protracted farmer-herder conflict like that of Agogo.

The necessity for research in this area is all the more urgent since the state has been associated with nomads and farmers' conflicts over the years. It would be a significant contribution to knowledge, as one attempts to understand the various methods of managing conflicts between nomads and farmers in Asante Akyem area.

1.7 Scope of the Study/ Delimitation

The study was limited to the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region. This District was chosen because of the constant reported media cases of farmers and nomads conflict in the area. The study was also limited to the leaders and significant others of the town who ensure safety of their inhabitants. Content wise, the study is delimited to farmers and nomads' conflict with emphasis on conflict management in the study area.

The study was limited to nomads and farmers conflict, thereby neglecting other conflicts in the communities. This limitation was inevitable given the available scarce resources at the disposal of the researcher and the amount of data that a single researcher can effectively manage within the time allotted to the master of philosophy programme of the University of Education, Winneba where the thesis would be accepted. However, with patience and perseverance, these limitations were overcome and did not affect the outcome of the study negatively. Instead, they increased and improved the quality of the study since the researcher saw them as challenges and not obstacles.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Nomadism: Nomadism refers to the way of life of nomads.

Nomadic Conflict: In this study nomadic conflict refers to the tension between nomads and host communities in Agogo.

Conflict Management: Farmers and nomads living together peacefully in the community without any violent clashes.

Conflict Management Method: Ways of solving the conflict between nomads and farmers.

Significant others: Individuals in the community whose business or institution are greatly affected as a result of the conflict and are involved in the management of the conflict in the area. This can be teachers, students, nurses, doctors and businessmen/women.

Nomads (Herders or Fulani): People who take care of cattle

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one looks at the background of the study, the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation of the study, limitation of the study and operational definition of terms. Chapter two focuses on the review of related literature, theories used and conceptual framework of the study. Chapter three describes the methodology for the study. This included the research design (approach), population, the sample and sampling technique, research instruments, data collection procedure and method of data analysis, sources of data and ethical consideration. Chapter four discusses the results and findings of the field research. Chapter five gives the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter looked at the literature which are relevant for the study. It reviewed literature based on the following themes: theoretical perspectives, the concept of conflict, reflections of farmer and nomads' conflict, conflict management methods, factors impeding the effectiveness of strategies to curb farmers and nomads' conflict and community perspectives of farmers and nomads' conflict management.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Theories are developed for a logical explanation of what is happening. Theory, according to Shedrack (2004), helps analysts to situate their narration of conflict within some existing theories of conflict. The contemporary society is characterized by different schools of thought, each analysing social phenomenon from its own orientation. Conflict is a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon and the achievement of conflict resolution has to proceed via a multi-pronged approach. In its general usage, the word or term "conflict" is viewed as difference and disagreement, strife and struggle. All conflicts share common qualities. The first is that there is a kind of contact between the parties that are involved; secondly, the parties in conflict perceive conflicting views and finally, one of the parties always wants to redress existing contradictions (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009). Conflict is such that it can be said to be the primary principle underlying the organization of human society which is the most impressive product of conflict management as it has moved from instinctive operation to conscious ordering of human social relationships in the evolution of human society over the millennia.

In trying to situate the phenomenon of farmers-nomads' conflict management in Agogo, a number of theories are immediately relevant. However, for the purpose of this thesis, three theories were adopted to explain nomads-farmers' conflict in Agogo. The theories that were used in explaining this research are: conflict theory, structural-functional theory, and Bercovitch's (1984) conflict management model or approach.

2.1.1 The conflict theory

The conflict perspective or conflict theory was derived from the ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883). The great German theorist and political activist believed that society is a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change driven by conflict. According to Marx, men, in the social production of their existence, inevitably enter into definite relations which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production the totality of which constitutes the economic structure of society.

The fact that the dominant or ruling class (the bourgeoisie) controls the social relations of production, the dominant ideology in capitalist society is that of the ruling class. Ideology and social institutions, in turn, serve to reproduce and perpetuate the economic class structure. According to Marx, the real foundation upon which the superstructure of social, political and intellectual consciousness was built, has been the exploitative economic arrangements of capitalism. Marx believes that any social setting based on exploitative economic arrangement generated within it the seed of its own destruction (Marx, 1971). Implicit in the conflict theory is the assumption that competition over scarce ecological resources engenders violent conflict.

In general, conflict perspective views society as made up of individuals competing for limited resources. Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition, rather than consensus, is characteristic of human relationships. Broader social structures and organizations reflect the competition for resources and the inherent inequality competition entails. Some people and organizations have more resources (that is, power and influence), and use those resources to maintain their positions of power in the society (Marx, 1971). According to the conflict perspective, society is constantly in conflict over resources, and that conflict drives social change. In the conflict perspective, change comes about through conflict between competing interests, not consensus or adaptation. Conflict theory, therefore, gives sociologists a framework for explaining social change.

2.1.2 The structural-functionalist theory

The structural functionalism evolves from the ideas of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). It is concerned with how societies maintain internal stability and survive over time. It sought to explain social cohesion and stability through the concept of “solidarity”. According to Durkheim, in more primitive societies, it is mechanical solidarity; everyone performing similar tasks that held society together, such societies tend to be segmented, having equivalent parts that are held together by shared values, common symbols or systems of exchange. While in modern complex societies, members perform very different tasks, giving rise to a strong interdependency between individuals. Durkheim’s argument that modern complex societies are held together by organic solidarity was based on the metaphor of an organism in which many parts function together for the sustenance of the whole. All social and cultural phenomena are therefore seen as being functional in the sense of working together to achieve the state of equilibrium and are perfectly deemed to have a life of their own.

2.1.3 Bercovitch's (1984) conflict management model or approach

As far as the present study is concerned, a narrow concept of conflict management has been adopted which relates to the farmers-nomads' conflict in Agogo. This conflict is a clear example of conflict management by violence, coercion, bargaining, negotiation, arbitration and adjudication. The aim of conflict management is to prevent destructive consequences of the conflict and to promote positive outcome. Positive outcome means that the benefits ensuing from it are common and are mutually satisfying to both parties.

The current researcher situates the management of the farmers-nomads' conflict in Agogo using Bercovitch's (1984) conflict management methods. Bercovitch (1984) has identified three methods of conflict management: (i) violence and coercion (ii) bargaining and negotiations (iii) the involvement of third party. His typology of conflict management is based on dual approach which makes it possible to give the typology greater generalization so as to be inclusive of other modes of conflict management as well.

According to Bercovitch (1984), violence and coercion can have two sources. One of the two parties in a conflict may have such superiority of strength that it may seek to end the conflict through the use of its superior capacity for violence, or alternatively, in the given equation between the two parties. It can coerce the adversary to withdraw from the conflict by a mere show of its strength.

Bargaining and negotiation is also a traditional method in use. It is a mode in which the parties involved in a conflict themselves take initiative and make efforts to manage a conflict at some stage during its course. The success or failure of this method in the management of conflict depends upon the importance of the issues and

their estimate of the cost of continuing the conflict. However, in the first place what brings the adversaries to the bargaining and negotiation is their respective estimates of their mutual equations. This has been the dividing line in the choice between either of the two traditional modes of conflict management.

The course and form of conflict management with the involvement of a third party depends on the type of conflict. Since conflict is as a result of several factors, the management may focus on either one or more factors like an incompatible situation or attitude or behaviour. The distinction is important. If the focus is upon an incompatible situation, the content of learning needs to be fed into the process which will be different from the one in the case of conflict's manifest aspect, such as violence and aggression.

However, an erroneous impression should not be formed that the traditional modes of conflict management and resolution have become obsolete and therefore defunct. In fact, they are as active as ever and are still being applied in a variety of situations. If at all there is going to be a resolution of the conflict, its management has got to precede it, and therefore, conflict management in the first place is inescapably essential for any conflict resolution.

2.1.4 Relevance and application of the theories

The conflict theory is relevant in proving the fact that competition for access to natural resources between farmers and nomads gives rise to the farmers-nomads' conflict in Agogo. It is important to note that the farmers increasingly compete with nomads for farmland, pastures, water, trees and the use of rangeland in general as observed by Akpaki (2002) and cited in Ofouku and Isife (2009).

It sets the background for the origin of the conflict in terms of access to the means of production and livelihood. The structural-functionalist, on the other hand, emphasizes the conditions necessary for the society (Agogo State) to remain at equilibrium or balance position. It stressed the need for interdependence of both the farmers and nomads on the use of common resources as well as specialized areas.

2.2 The Concept and Nature of Conflict

There are many definitions of the term „conflict“. Nevertheless, a common theme runs through most of these definitions. Etymologically, the term conflict is derived from the Latin verb *confligere* meaning „to clash“, „engage in a fight“. Present conceptions are not particularly at variance with this but appear to have grown wider in meaning. Different authors and scholars hold diverse views about conflicts. With this, it becomes very difficult for one to pursue his or her aims when one clearly is not interested in the interest of the neighbour. This view is supported by Obeng (2015) when he opined that “conflict is an active disagreement between people with opposing opinions and principles” (p. 1). This is clearly to say that a conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing priorities, ideas, beliefs, values or goals. Rahim (2001) confirms this when he asserts that conflict is an interactive process manifested

in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities (thus individual, group, organization).

The word conflict is often used in common speech as a synonym for warfare or aggression, but there is an important distinction to be made between conflict and aggression. Conflict involves a divergent interest or at least the belief that interest or aspirations of two or more parties cannot be achieved simultaneously and aggression involves intent to harm. In agreement with Akpuru-Aja (2007), whether one is aware of it or not, conflicts exist by perception or real. Conflict involves two or more parties in opposition to interests, principles, practices or strategies.

Ziggah (2010) also defines conflict as an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals. Afful- Broni (2007) also describes conflict as a disagreement or incompatibility in wants, values, and aspirations of two or more persons or groups. This definition is further emphasized by Meek, Heit and Page (2005), when they posit that conflict is a disagreement between two or more people or between two or more choices. Supporting the idea that conflict is some form of disagreement, Hart (2002) writes that conflict is a state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people and it is sometimes characterized by physical violence or assault. These definitions suggest that conflict as a condition arises whenever the perceived interests of an individual or a group clashes with those of another individual or a group in such a way that strong emotions are aroused and compromise is not considered to be an option. It could be inferred from the definitions that the common features among the

various views on conflicts include struggles, perception of incompatible goals, and disagreement.

Conflict as a process begins when one party perceives that the other has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect something that he or she cares about. Summarizing the discussion on the definition of conflict, Mayer (2001) cited in Ramani and Zhimin (2010) states that conflict can be viewed as occurring along cognitive (perception), emotional (feeling), and behavioural (action) dimensions. The researcher agrees with all the definitions of conflict stated above. This is because what one may see as conflict situation may or may not be the case to another person because of a variety of factors. Conflict may in sum be explained as struggles, incompatibility, disagreement, and perception within or among individuals or groups over an interest which could have either negative or positive impact on the parties involved.

According to Kerry (2000), when conflicts occur between two people, the conflicting parties characteristically move to opposite sides of the issue. The conflicting parties then strengthen their position by overstating their case, creating further distance between themselves. In escalated conflict, the parties involved become more resolute in defending their position and destroying that of their opponents.

Conflict can be seen as consisting of five stages namely potential for conflict, recognition of conflict, conflict handling styles, conflict behaviour, and conflict outcome. Conflict behaviour, the fourth stage of conflict process is where conflict becomes visible. It is the first time interaction between parties after conflict is felt. This may be in the form of minor disagreements, challenging another's perspective or position, verbal attacks, threats, fighting, bloodshed and all behaviours that are overt

manifestations of peoples" attempts to implement their intentions. Steven (1995) developed a conflict intensity continuum which provides a way of visualising conflict behaviour.

Conflict is viewed as an antagonistic situation or adversarial process between at least, two individuals or collective actors, over means or ends such as resources, power, status, values, goals and relations of interest (Schmid, 2005). This implies that conflict is a confrontation between individuals and a group resulting from opposite or incompatible ends or means. Issues constituting basis for conflict are numerous and multifaceted. This may account for its complexity and the consequent difficulty in arriving at a concise definition for the concept.

Conflict is a universal phenomenon. As a socio-human phenomenon, it is bound to occur in all aspects of life. Like what Zakari and Umar (2006) state, all men encounter conflicts and will continue to do so, both personally and professionally. Conflict reflects a determined action or struggle over a goal which may be overt or subtle, manifest, or imagining (Akpuru-Aja, 2007). The range of outcomes associated with it includes victory, defeat, domination, surrender, neutralization, conversion, coercion, injury or destruction and elimination of the opposite party or, alternatively, the solution, settlement or transformation of the conflict issue. It is the struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the group, or individuals involved are not only to obtain the desired values, but also, to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals.

According to Have and Acland (2010), conflict is natural and inevitable. It is, in fact, a symptom of the need for change, and it can be a creative means by which societies and communities evolve. This means that, conflict itself is not the problem; the

problem is destructive conflict. This is to say that, when conflict is mismanaged, it can harm the relationship between opponents. But when handled in a respectful and positive way, conflict provides an opportunity for growth, ultimately strengthening the bond between two people. However, this is not the case of the happenings in Agogo between the farmers and nomads“ as they keep on fighting though there have been moves to strengthen the bond between the two. Due to this, the interactions between these two groups have therefore become complex (Mensah, Adamtey & Abdulai, 2016).

Conflict has often become more likely due to competition for space. There is a competition for land to promote their interest, with the nomads wanting a space for their cattle, and farmers wanting a space to farm. The end result has been the conflict which keeps on emanating from the two camps. Rahim’s (2002) observation of what must occur for conflict to exist cannot be over emphasized. He posits that “in order for conflict to occur, it has to exceed the threshold level of intensity before the parties experience (or become aware) of any conflict”. This principle of conflict threshold is consistent with Barons’ (1990) who contends that, opposed interests must be recognized by parties for conflict to exist. This is the situation in Agogo as the nomads oppose the activities of the farmers and so do the farmers oppose the activities of the nomads. This indeed has passed the threshold for a conflict to exist as it has led to people being killed, maimed, raped and properties destroyed.

Indeed, as humans, conflict is bound to happen as we have different orientation and background. As noted by Deutsh and Colenan (2000) “conflict exists because people have different needs, ideas, views and values.” It must be noted that conflict by itself is neither good nor bad. However, the manner in which conflict is handled determines

whether it is constructive or destructive. Indeed, the case of the farmers and nomads' conflict in Agogo is destructive as it has led to the death of many lives and destruction of property in the area. This destruction is gradually taking a national dimension as there have been occurrences in some parts of Ghana especially in the Ashanti, Northern, Volta, Eastern and Brong Ahafo Regions.

2.2.1 Nature and levels of conflict

According to Obeng (2015), all conflicts are divided into violent and non-violent conflict. Violent conflicts lead to loss of lives and property. Such conflicts involve the use of arms, cutlass, machetes, axes and other dangerous weapons. People are usually attacked physically, creating fear and panic and insecurity in the area.

Non-violent conflicts are characterized by peaceful demonstrations amidst singing, drumming and dancing, verbal exchanges and withdrawing from one another. In actual sense, non-violent conflicts are not as serious as the violent ones. However, it is important to note that if non-violent conflicts are not handled well, they can become violent or turn into violent conflicts.

There are three levels of conflict. These are intra-personal, inter-personal conflict and intra-organizational conflict. Intra-personal conflict occurs as a result of internal pressures. This is a kind of conflict which takes place within an individual. As human beings, we have several goals or desires and this makes it difficult for us to decide what we want to achieve at certain times given our scarce resources. Such a condition can be frustrating thus, creating a conflict within the individual. Intra- personal conflict, therefore, arises due to pressures from the goals or expectations that the individual has.

Inter-personal conflict occurs between two or more organization members at the same or different level, it covers priorities and ways of doing things. It is a conflict between two or more personalities or individuals. Such individuals could be couples, friends or leaders. Intra-organizational conflict occurs within organization. They arise from incompatibility among various groups within an organization. Individuals are likely to form coalitions to deal with one another in ways designed to attract support for their interest from other group members. Individual and institutional – occur between individual and organization. They are the result of incompatibilities between the expectation which are existent with the goals of institution and the needs of individual within it (Misha, 1994).

The focus of this thesis is interpersonal conflict. It is used to describe the ways in which people interact in terms of affiliation, agreement, or differences of opinion. Conflict triggers strong emotions and can lead to hurt feelings, disappointment and discomfort. When handled in an unhealthy manner, it can cause irreparable rifts, resentment and break-ups. Generally speaking, conflicts manifest in different ways which include mild and non-violent such as avoidance, ridicule and verbal exchanges, insults, character assassination to the violent and destructive ones such as riots, assaults, crisis and war.

According to Yahaya (2008), nomads and farmers’ conflicts are most times violent, destructive and within a short period. For him, these conflicts sometimes take place in the night when farmers are asleep at their homes while the pastoralists move to the farmlands before dawn and harvest times. Khan (2007) states that ethnicity also play a greater role in nomads and farmers conflicts as it often involves the Fulbe (Fulani) who are mostly pastoralists and the native people who are mostly farmers (Akans).

Khan (2007) indicates that nomad and farmer conflict occurs especially during the dry season when the animals move southwards and sometimes at the beginning of the wet season when they are returning. Khan (2007) further notes that, the activities of pastoralists who wander with arms and usually in large groups and who commit intentional crop damage have added a new dimension to the conflicts in recent times. This implies that the nomad and farmer conflict is fought with arms and ammunitions.

2.2.3 Historical evolution of nomads and farmers' conflict

The conflict between farmers and nomads or pastoralists should not be regarded as a recent phenomenon or something peculiar to any state, country or sub region. According to Blench (2003), the conflict between pastoralists and farmers dates back to the earliest written records, and this is mythically symbolised in many and different cultures. For instance, according to the Bible, Cain slew his brother, Abel (Genesis 4:8, New Living Translation, 2015), King Ahab connived with his wife Jezebel, to kill Naboth over a piece of land (1Kings 21:1-16, New Living Translation, 2015) and the Chinese emperors built the great wall to keep out the marauding hordes (Abba & Usman, 2008). Besides, as far back as 1953, Spate identified three perennial motifs with a strong geographical backing which cut across the course of human history. These perennial motifs include conflict between townsmen and farmers, sea power and land power and peasant farmers and nomadic pastoralists. He however regards the third as the most serious and the one that has attracted the attention of some classical historians.

In summary, the conflict between nomads (pastoralists) and farmers cannot be reduced nor limited to any geographical region or even any particular historical phase. It is nevertheless important to note that the conflict has always been endemic in some

regions and communities where the environmental, economic and social conditions have combined to predispose the two groups to a competitive encounter as is the case in Asante Akyem North District.

2.2.4 Reflections on farmers and nomads conflict in Ghana

Nomads are people who move from one place to another in search of pasture for their cattle to graze. They are people who do not settle at one place for more than one or two years (Adeoye, 2017). In recent times, nomads have started settling at places they deem comfortable for their cattle with particular reference to West Africa in countries like Nigeria, Chad, Burkina Faso, and Ghana among others. Nomadic movement and nomads have been defined in various ways, as a “travelling population”, a “migratory group”, an “itinerant group”, a “wandering group” and better still, as members of a tribe who wander from place to place with no fixed homestead (Adeoye, 2017). This suggests that “nomadism” could be applied to any society that is not settled in permanent dwellings. In other words „nomad“ could refer to both mobility and to a pastoral base of subsistence. The term mobility has to comprise both seasonal and daily movement along with who participates in the actual moving.

Most nomads are often referred or regarded as Fulani especially in Ghana. The Fulbe (Fulani) are said to have originated from Senegambia and then spread across some 20 states in West Africa and the Sahel, up to Western Sudan and the Central African Republic (Blench, 2010; McGregor, 2017). Nomads, an estimated twenty five million people, range across twenty-one African countries from Mauritania’s Atlantic coast to the Red Sea coast in Sudan; though their greatest concentration is found in West Africa’s Sahel region. In most societies, nomads are referred to as Fulani’s. The Fulani speak a common language (known as Fulfulde or Pulaar) but, due to their wide

geographical range, they are known by several other names in their host communities, including Fulbe, Fula, Peul, Peulh, and Fellata (Mcgregor, 2017).

Indeed, by the 1920's, nomads settled permanently in the Northern territories and by the 1930's, they had become the largest ethnic group not indigenous to the Gold Coast district with more households in the area than other migrant groups such as Grunshi, Hausa, Wangara, Yoruba and Kilasi (Tonah, 2006). This was because of the pastoral condition in the Gold Coast, the booming cattle trade between the Gold Coast, and the Sahelian countries led to the employment of Fulani herdsmen as carriers by livestock traders and the colonial administration. The establishment of the native administrative farms by the colonial administration throughout the northern territories; and the policy of inviting Fulani herdsmen to take care of the cattle in the area, increased their number in the 1960's and 1970's and forced a number of pastoralists to seek greener pastures along the coastal countries of West Africa (Tonah, 2005). From the works of Botchway (2016), prior to the conflicts in Agogo, the worst ever to have been recorded was in December, 2011, when a night raid of a Fulani village in Zamashegu, a farming community in the Gushegu district of the Northern region happened. Native farmers retaliated against alleged atrocities committed by the Fulani herdsmen. Thirty people were reported dead and several injured.

According to Tonah (2005), "the Fulani entered deeply into the southern portion of Ghana as far as the Afram plains at the eastern edge of the forest zone. The Afram plains area, which is a sparsely populated, low-lying plateau east of the Kwahu ridge was well drained by several rivers including the tributaries of the Afram River" (p. 33-34).

Adeoye (2017) described them as “the unitary group of people with a unitary culture” (p. 128). Thus, they can easily be identified by their way of life. One way of life of the nomads is that, they are regarded as experts in the rearing of cattle. Cattle rearing is seen as a lifelong profession to them. With this, cattle rearing has become synonymous with the name Fulani in Ghana. In fact, how rich and prominent a person is especially among the Fulani’s is seen in the number of cattle the individual owns. This is mostly seen during marriage ceremonies with regard to the number of cattle one can give as bride price. Due to the value of cattle, nomads employ all manner of tactics to take care of them. This largely involves the search for good grazing grounds for pastures and water for the cattle. They also resist any attempt or area that could be hazardous to the health of their animals such as tsetse fly infested environment (Ayeni & Efosa, 2010). This in a way moved herdsmen to the southern and coastal areas where the rainy season is longer and the soil contains moisture for long - a movement called transhumance (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009).

The persistent clashes between farmers and nomads have been a matter of great concern to governments across the region and this has necessitated the adoption of a number of policies aimed at addressing the phenomenon (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). The constant clashes between these groups are often referred to as the “pastoralist question” and it raises controversies around how to deal with such issues even across Africa’s entire Sahel belt (Olaniyan et al., 2015). The task of addressing the pastoralist question has been a recurring issue across West Africa, where there has been a high incidence of violent farmers and nomads conflict in recent times (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

Conflicts between farmers and nomads have dominated the airwaves in Ghana with varying degrees of allegations from rape, destruction of farms, armed robbery, murder and bushfires (Ibrahim, 2010). Opoku (2012) observed that „the use of the media, press conferences and demonstrations (coercion) by the farmers was very effective. The use of the media, for example, set an agenda for the citizens as they kept on hearing the farmers and nomads“ conflict in Agogo. The media stimulated debates and forced the government to intervene. Using the media to bring the issue into the public domain also provoked the opposing actors and relevant institutions to respond. This is what makes Jumba (2011) assert that most developing countries approach to conflict management end up in widely publicized forum to witness inaugurations of committees (administrative or judicial) that compiled compendium of reports meant to advertise their commitment. These reports are mostly a mere dissipation of time, energy and resources because they are less attended to in government archives.

Fulani settlement in Ghana dates back to the early 20th century (Oppong, 2002; Tonah, 2005). Their earlier settlements were in the northern savannah ecological zone of Ghana, but now they are also in the transition savannah zones and Volta Basins and the Afraim Plains of Ghana. Fulani herders are today found in many parts of Ghana, tending their own cattle, or employed as caretakers for indigenes (Tonah, 2006). This is the case in Ghana where conflicts between farmers and nomads are being reported in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Volta, Eastern and some parts of the Northern Regions as compared to the traditional nomads and farmers“ conflict that has been happening in Agogo in the Ashanti Region.

The Fulani (pastoralists) are regularly „victims of ethnically-based stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination within the Ghanaian society. They are treated as non-citizens, aliens and foreigners (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). Indeed, the bastardisation of Fulani herdsmen in recent weeks in Ghana, led a popular broadcaster, Omaru Sandal of Citi FM to write a compelling and thought provoking article to defend his kinsmen „the Fulani“.

It is worthy to note that, traditionally, nomads would bring their cattle south during the post-harvest period to feed on crop residues and fertilize the land. Environmental pressures related to climate change and growing competition for limited resources such as water and grazing land are driving herders and their cattle into agricultural areas year round. But as noted earlier, the trend is changing as they have begun to have permanent place. This is what makes Mensah et al. (2016) posit that, conflicts between farmers and pastoralists are noted to be a prominent feature of the economic livelihoods in many parts of West Africa and these conflicts are usually linked to property rights issues. More importantly, the herders are now entering regions they have never travelled through before. This has led to confrontations over damaged crops, typically followed by armed nomads responding to the farmers“ anger with violence, inevitably leading to reprisal attacks on herding camps by farming communities.

For instance, it was reported on Ghanaweb, an online portal, that, nine Fulani herdsmen and some Kwahu farmers, including two brothers have been killed at Dwewbeafe, Aboyan and Mpeamu in the Kwahu East District. Again, it was reported on Peacefm online that four mourners escaped death by the skin of their teeth after being attacked by alleged Fulani herdsmen at Suminakese whilst on board a taxi to a

funeral in the Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region. This indeed calls for immediate concern for Ghanaians. Also, it was reported that, Fulani and natives were killed in Kintampo as a result of destruction of farms by the cattle owned by the Fulani.

Mr Albert Kan-Dapaah, minister of National security remarked that, the loss of lives and property as a result of conflict between farmers and the nomads poses a challenge to agricultural development in the country. Indeed, these conflicts are occasioned by the seasonal weather conditions which force pastoralists to move from the semi-arid areas in search of pastures further south, which result in competition over access to available land for crop cultivation and grazing pastures for the cattle (Monod, 1975 cited in Baidoo, 2014).

Traditional conflict resolution systems involving compensation and mediation have broken down, partly because new waves of herdsmen have no ties to local communities. The Fulani, in turn, accuse their host communities of cattle rustling (theft) and therefore regard punitive violence against these communities as just and appropriate. The Fulani herders complain that they are otherwise faced with the choice of returning to lands that cannot sustain them or abandoning their lifestyle by selling their cattle and moving to the cities. According to Blench (2004), these clashes emerge around destruction of crops by herdsmen, marginalization of pastoralists and land tenure issues. This has made farming in these areas unattractive (Opoku, 2012).

With little protection offered by state security services against the incessant violence, this may lead to many farmers abandoning their plots to seek safety elsewhere, leading to food shortages, depopulation of fertile land, and further damage to an already fragile economy. Some see no future in negotiations: “We are calling on the

state government to evacuate (the herders) from our land because they are not friendly; they are very harmful to us. We are not ready to bargain with them to prolong their stay here.” Others have registered puzzlement that relations with “people who have always been around” (thus, the herders) could have deteriorated so dramatically. Historically, wars have been fought over water, and history is sure to repeat itself if we fail to learn from events of the past (Botchway, 2016). The root cause of the problem is the dwindling availability of water and pasture to nomadic herdsman, whose very existence depends on these (Botchway, 2016).

Conflict has been regarded as disruptive and undesirable, destructive rather than constructive. As far as people exist, conflict cannot be ruled out. It is a fundamental feature of human society and to deplore it is to miss its significance as a force for social change. Ogbu (2002) notes that, it is not the occurrences of conflicts in a group or between groups that matter, instead, what matters is whether conflict can be diverted and managed so that the group or groups can remain intact. Conflict does not only create opportunity for integration, it also helps to establish group identity, clarifies group boundaries and contributes to group cohesion and social understanding.

2.3 Conflict Management Methods to Curb Farmers and Nomads Conflicts

Conflict is an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions. Conflict can be prevented on some occasions and managed on others, but resolved only if the term is taken to mean the satisfaction of apparent demands rather than the total eradication of underlying sentiments, memories, and interests. Only time really resolves conflicts, and even the wounds it heals leave their scars for future reference.

Wehrman (2008) asserted that people, especially those in a position to improve a situation, often ignore conflicts until they cannot be overlooked any longer, as tension and violence rise to a level which threatens major parts of society. Many conflicts linger for years in a state of pre-conflict or early conflict characterized by tense instability and repeated confrontation which each time raise the average level of tension. Intervention should start here, avoiding the crisis that may come and finding a realistic solution for all parties. Of course, this is only possible so long as no party has totally lost face or been entirely destroyed by the other. According to Oyeade (1994), conflicts are inevitable; therefore various conflict writers have highlighted various ways of resolving conflicts situations.

This study explores the strategies used by the various parties in resolution to conflict. According to Tonah (2006), farmers-nomads' conflict begins as a quarrel between a farmer and a nomad, but if not managed well could then escalate into a whole communal or ethnic conflict. With the frequent occurrence of farmers-nomads' conflicts, pragmatic strategies need to be adopted to help resolve them.

According to Gultekin et al. (2011), conflict management is the purposeful intervention of managers to stimulate and encourage beneficial conflict and to resolve, suppress, or prevent harmful conflict. This means that conflict management involves strategies to limit the negative aspects of conflict and highlight the positive effects but not necessarily to eliminate all conflicts. Oyama (2014) has observed that issues of conflict management strategies are growing and increasingly becoming sophisticated both theoretically and practically. He goes further to identify five stages of conflict. These are conflict formation, conflict escalation, conflict endurance, conflict

improvement, and conflict transformation. What this means is that different strategies with different procedures need to be adopted to deal with different situations.

Conflict management is widely understood to be an attempt by actors involved in conflict to reduce the level of hostility and generate some order in their relations. Successful conflict management may lead to (a) a complete resolution of the issues in conflict (a change in behaviour and attitudes), (b) or to an acceptable settlement, ceasefire or partial agreement. Either way, conflict management connotes a mechanism that is concerned with defining (a) a conflict as ended (at least temporarily), and (b) deciding on the distribution of values and resources. To that extent, conflict management is a rational and conscious decisional process whereby parties to a conflict, with or without the aid of outsiders, take steps to transform, deescalate or terminate a conflict in a mutually acceptable way. This is the case with intractable or other conflicts.

The full range of methods and instruments that constitute conflict management is quite wide (Fogg, 1985). It varies from coercive measures, through legal processes to third party intervention and multilateral conferences. To this end, conflict management activities can be put into two broad categories: violent (force, coercion) and non-violent (for example, negotiation, and mediation). Scholars agree that there is no single best approach to manage conflict. Castro and Nielson (2003) have identified five conflict management strategies which are avoidance, negotiation, mediation, arbitration and coercion.

They conclude that avoidance and mediation are common at the early stage of conflict where people try to prevent conflict out rightly from escaping into violent attack.

Rahim (2000) has also identified five specific conflict handling styles:

The first style is *integration*; which indicates high concern for oneself and others with a focus on collaboration, openness and exchange of information. It also includes looking for alternatives and examining differences to reach a solution in a manner which is acceptable to both parties. This is appropriate when the issues are complex and there is availability of time.

The second strategy is *obligation*; this involves minimising the concern for oneself and highlighting the concern for others. Whoever uses this style to resolve conflict plays down on the differences and focuses on the similarities so as to satisfy the concerns of the other party.

The next strategy is *domination*; which is characterized by high and low concerns for oneself and the other party respectively. One goes all out to achieve his objectives thereby ignoring the needs and aspirations of the other party. This style creates a win-lose situation.

Besides, there is also *avoidance*; this strategy involves minimising the concerns for oneself and other parties. It is associated with withdrawal, setting aside, or ignoring the issues.

The last strategy that can be adopted is *compromise*; this reflects moderate concern of oneself as well as the other party. This style emphasizes on give-and-take position or sharing whereby parties give up something to make a mutually satisfied decision.

Kilmann (1970) also identified five strategies of dealing with conflicts. These strategies are: competitive, collaborative, compromising, accommodating and avoiding. These techniques vary in their degree of cooperativeness and assertiveness. Individuals need to understand what is entailed in conflict management and need high

conflict competence to be able to be effective in managing the conflict. Robbins (1974) concentrates on strategies specifically labelled as resolution techniques. He lists eight techniques such as: problem solving, super-ordinate goals, avoidance, smoothing, compromise, authoritative command, alerting the human variable and altering structural variables.

The unavoidable nature of conflict in every human society creates the room for mitigation of conflicts and its management at least, if not completely resolving them when they occur. Those who believe that conflict is difficult to either settle or resolve, thus, coined the concept „conflict management“. Their argument is that, it is more reasonable to conceive of managing or controlling conflict rather than resolving it. Conflict management is thus, the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures, and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict (Shedrack, 2006). Conflict management thus seeks to deal with conflicts in order to avoid violence among conflicting parties (Obeng, 2015). This term is often used synonymously with conflict resolution, conflict regulation, conflict prevention and even conflict transformation. However, conflict management covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at different stages including those efforts made to prevent conflict by being proactive. It encompasses conflict limitation, containment and litigation. In the words of John Burton, this may include conflict prevention (Burton, 1990). The term „conflict management“ is an admission of the reality that conflict is inevitable but not all conflicts can always be resolved; therefore, what practitioners can do is to manage and regulate them.

For Miller and King (2005), conflict management means the interventionist efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, mainly violent ones, of ongoing conflicts. Conflict management when actively conducted is therefore a constant process. In essence, it refers to the measures that limit, mitigate and or contain a conflict without necessarily solving it (Swanstrom & Weissman, 2005). In another development, Imobighe (2003) views conflict management as any form of intervention in a dispute by an actor, who is not a party to it, with the aim of altering the parties' perception of the situation in order to facilitate a solution by inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration or adjudication. As Lund (1997) posits, conflict management refers to the act of transforming the violent conflict into something less harmful or looking for ways to prevent its escalation. However, conflict management should not be seen as a simple, linear or structural process. Those charged with such a task should avoid an intensely chaotic situation. Conflicts are frequently managed directly by the society in which they occur.

According to Raczmany (1998), conflict management involves the use of dialogue to assist opponents or parties, not only to have agreements against hostile images or actions, but also, to comply with earlier agreed resolutions and strategies. Since end of hostilities in a conflict situation does not entail peace for the conflicting parties (Nnoli, 2006), and also bearing in mind that, the most critical period is when a conflict is in the process of being addressed and resolved, considering when mistake could be costly, there is thus, always need to manage conflicts very well. This he calls the adoption of appropriate conflict management strategies. Obeng (2016:p.93) succinctly refers to conflict management as means of "identifying the appropriate strategies to resolve conflicts". Efficient and effective conflict management involves more than particular techniques. The ability to understand and correctly diagnose

conflict is the first step to managing it. Nchi (2013) opined that conflicts can be effectively and efficiently managed when there is a sound and clear policy to respect the feelings of each party.

Africans have peculiar methods of monitoring, preventing, managing and resolving conflicts (Nwolise, 2004). Traditionally, most conflict management practices are ensconced in rituals and other religious observances, customs, spirit medium, witchcraft, secret society activities to mention but a few. Mediators usually derive their authority from religious roles and functions, old age and other distinctive personal qualities. The roles of secret societies with their mythical and ritual powers exercised through masks and masquerades in conflict mediation have also been well documented.

Olaoba (2002) states that almost every African community possesses their own methods of handling disagreements and disputes over natural resources and any other transgressions related conflicts. In essence, resource managements and conflict managements are essentially one in the same process. Both aim to bring consistency, order and accountability to situations of competition and conflicting interests. In fact, the local authorities that manage resources are also the same ones that deal with conflicts. Haro et al. (2005) cite the principal techniques used by communities as negotiation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication. People also frequently use avoidance and coercion with the latter manifested in peer pressure, gossip, ostracism, public humiliation, witchcraft and the fission of kin or residential groups.

Thomas (1971) examines conflict management strategies by focusing on general strategies. These strategies for management are: citizens' advisories, confrontation sessions, sensitivity training, process involvement, educational pluralism,

volunteerism, co-operative studies and failure part of life. Therefore, conflict can be said to be a reality in any social system that provides challenges for the parties involved in a conflict. Ladipo (1997) identified conflict management strategies as forcing, structural changes, avoidance, compromise and smoothing. In a related study, Anthony (1991) identified conflict management strategies as forcing, structural changes, avoidance, compromise and smoothing, suppression, avoiding, compromise, third party intervention, cooperation, domestic process, job rotation as well as confrontation. These are all means through which a conflict can be managed in the society.

Nevertheless, the strategy identified by Meyer (1994) was effective communication which he described as best because it would make the group aware of the kind of communication which could lead to problem solving. Ibukun (1997) identified problem solving, appeal to superior organizational goals, prevention and avoidance, expression of opportunities and resources, use of authority and compromise as management strategies for resolving conflicts in organization. Blake and Monton (1963) identified five conflict resolving strategies viz smoothing, compromising, forcing, withdrawal and problem solving.

Schermerhon, Hunt and Osborn (2000) described the approaches of conflict management as avoidance, smoothing, forcing, and collaboration. To them, by avoidance, individuals simply pretend that the conflict does not really exist, and hope that it will go away. By smoothing, individuals emphasize the common points, and de-emphasize or even suppress any differences in viewpoints among themselves. In terms of forcing, individuals use conflict to promote their goals at the expense of others. As regards collaboration, individuals directly confront conflict with a

favourable attitude, which encourages solving the problem at hand and generating the best possible solution.

According to Chen and Tjosvold (2002), professionals use three major behavioural strategies; avoidance, competition, and compromise; during a fight. Based on these theoretical arguments, literature shows that conflict management can take different forms, and each group of classification may differ from one author to another. In the light of these findings, it can be said that in all of the above-mentioned classifications of conflict management strategies, three major approaches are promoted: competing, compromising and avoiding. However, this study has been based on the five common approaches avoiding, competing, compromising, accommodating and collaborating. It is better if, the conflict management technique reduces the dysfunctional dimension of conflict so as to take advantage of its functionality for the good of all concerned with the conflict. Many conflict management methods have been employed in this study. These include: confrontation, negotiation, adjudication, compromise, competition, accommodating and collaboration.

2.3.1 Confrontation

Some conflict requires confrontation of the parties. This strategy requires the victim to openly attack the person causing the harm to him or her. This is mostly because the victims have used all means to resolve the issue and nothing seems to be done. This is the case of the conflict between farmers and nomads in Agogo. There have been several confrontations between the nomads and the farmers in their quest to manage the conflicts in the area, notably the one that happened on 30th April, 2010.

The confrontation is mostly as a result of the pains the farmers mostly go through especially with the loss of loved ones. It is in this light that Opoku (2012) opined that shooting and killing of innocent citizens especially farmers, destruction of food crops like plantain, maize and water melon by the herdsmen, pollution of water bodies by cattle and herdsmen, raping women in their farm has created fear and panic among inhabitants of the land. Opoku (2012) further opined that since 1990, the Fulani herdsmen have either shot and killed or butchered not less than twelve people in Agogo.

In a study by Opoku (2012) on the causes and management of pastoralist-farmer conflicts in Ghana, twelve percent said they avoided open confrontation with the herdsmen when their farms are destroyed. McGregor (2017) confirms this when he opines that confrontations over damaged crops are typically followed by armed herders responding to the farmers' anger with violence, inevitably leading to reprisal attacks on herding camps by farming communities. The choice of open confrontation was due to the mistrust the farmers had in the herders to abide by the agreement reached (Jumba, 2011). However, the farmers are mostly talking about how they will fight the herdsmen anytime they appear on the media. This is a clear case of the maxim "talk is cheap".

2.3.2 Negotiation

Fisher (2000) define negotiation as "...a structured process of dialogue between conflicting parties about issues in which their opinions differ" (p. 115). According to Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999), negotiation is "the process whereby the parties within the conflict seek to settle or resolve their conflicts" (p. 21). The University for Peace sees negotiation as "communication, usually governed by pre-

established procedures, between representatives of parties involved in a conflict or dispute” (Miller, 2003, p. 25). Thus, negotiation is a direct process of dialogue and discussion taking place between at least, two parties who are faced with a conflict situation or a dispute. Both parties come to the realization that they have a problem, and both are aware that by talking to each other, they can find a solution to the problem. The goal of negotiation, according to Jeong (2010), is “...to reach agreement through joint decision making between two parties” (p. 168).

From the definitions of negotiation offered, it can be seen that communication is critical to the process of conflict management. Thus, it can take place only when there is communication between parties. At later stages of conflict where conflict might have escalated and communication is threatened, or has stopped, negotiation becomes harder. Negotiation typically takes place during the early stages of conflict when the communication between parties is existent and good, or at the de-escalation point when communication has been resolved. According to Obeng (2015), negotiation is a key approach to the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflict that may arise among parties. This by far, could help the management of the farmers and nomads conflict in Agogo. Even during the Rwanda war, this was the management method that was effectively employed. This is confirmed by Anyidoho (2012) in his book *Guns over Kigali* when he opined that “If any tool or mechanism for peace was effectively used in Rwanda during the war, it was that of *negotiation*” (p. 100). The more people are getting involved in the management of the conflict, the more compelling for them to use skilful negotiations.

Nonetheless, in the work of Opoku (2012), six per cent of the people went in for negotiation. This perhaps shows that the people do not want any negotiation in the area. According to Opoku, in most cases, the cattle owners were avoiding the farmers who sought compensation. This is because they were not ready to pay for the loss of the farm produce. That is why there is a need for an expert in negotiation to help in solving this problem. As noted by Obeng (2015) "...negotiation requires skills on the part of the negotiator and careful planning before engaging in negotiation...the process of negotiation involves an open exchange in which both parties work towards a mutually beneficial solution" (p. 91). Indeed, this is to say that, the two parties must form a joint process of finding mutually acceptable solution to a complex conflict.

According to Obeng (2015), negotiation is a useful strategy under the following conditions when:

1. There are two or more parties. Negotiation is primarily an inter-personal or intergroup process
2. There is a conflict of interest between the parties such that what one party wants is not what the other party wants.
3. The parties are willing to negotiate because they believe they can use their influence to obtain a better outcome than by simply taking the side of the other party.
4. They prefer to work together than to fight openly, give in, break off contact, or take the dispute to a higher authority.

2.3.3 Adjudication

According to Obeng (2015), adjudication involves the use of the courts and litigation process. Parties to a dispute may choose instead to take their case to a court of law, before a judge of competent jurisdiction. According to the concise Oxford Dictionary- 10th edition, adjudication is the process of making a formal judgment on a disputed matter. Adjudication is, or at least, expected to be a peaceful means of resolving conflict and disputes. However, its peace is only relative. This means it is because litigation tends to destroy trust, love, respect and other forms of confidence between parties. It increases suspicion and the bitterness of litigation lingers on for a long time after the judgment must have been given. That way the bitterness stays. Nonetheless, the judgment should be further enforced, where necessary, by the law enforcement agencies of the state as it is legally binding on both parties.

Indeed, there have been judgment on this dispute in law court, yet the legal action seems not to be effective. Indeed, in a situation where there is rule of law, when judgment has been delivered; the appropriate agencies are to make sure the judgment is enforced. Opoku (2012) in his findings showed that the majority of the people of Agogo preferred adjudication. Clearly, the people put their trust in the law courts to help them in this menace. The people according to Opoku (2012), in his findings rather attributes it to the lukewarm way in which the government of Ghana and for that matter the Asante Akyem North District Assembly is implementing the court's ruling.

2.3.4 Compromise

In compromise, individuals try to solve the conflict cooperatively. In compromising, conflicting parties may have acceptable solutions that provide a certain degree of satisfaction with a „give-and-take“ attitude (Cheung & Chuah, 1999). This occurs when each party gives up some of their assertions. As a result, no one fully achieves his or her desires (Schermerhorn, Hunt & Osborn, 2000). In this strategy, conflicting parties try to solve the conflict cooperatively. Studies indicate that when individuals discuss their opposing views openly and cooperatively, their relationship and commitment to the organization may be strengthened (Chen & Tjosvold, 2002). In compromise, the individuals concerned ask questions and understand the position of the opposing party (Chen & Tjosvold, 2002). In this strategy, conflict is considered as a mutual problem-solving process. Compromise is often made in the final hours of management negotiations, when time is of the essence. Compromise is also an effective backup style when efforts towards collaboration are not successful (Obeng, 2015). Thus, conflicting parties use conflict to promote mutual goals for mutual benefits (Chen & Tjosvold, 2002). Lukasavich (1994) concludes this discussion by the statement that people are more likely to choose compromise in conflict resolutions. The main benefit of compromising is the quick way of dealing with a conflict. It does not maximise satisfaction, but only a partial satisfaction for each party. It is therefore a win-win situation (Obeng, 2015:p.98).

2.3.5 Competition

Another conflict management style is competition. It is defined by Ziggah (2010) as a highly aggressive, unco-operative approach in which one person tries to win over another. Mankoe (2002) calls competition forcing style. It is a win-lose approach to conflict management. According to Obeng (2016) in competition, an individual wants to satisfy their own interest and are willing to do so at the expense of the other party. Paraphrasing Thomas (1971) cited in Hoy and Miskel (1991) when quick, decisive action is essential as in emergencies, when critical issues require unpopular action as in cost cutting, when issues are vital to the welfare of the organization and conflicting parties are against each other, competition is effective. In an emergency or in situations where you know you are right, it may be appropriate to put your feet down. However, relying solely on competing strategies is dangerous (Obeng 2016:p.97).

As proposed by Kunaviktikul, Nuntasupawat, Srisuphan and Booth (2000), the competing strategy comes from an assertive and confident base from a person who thinks well of himself and his work. In this form of conflict resolution, victory is achieved through force (Schermerhorn et al., 2000). People use this kind of conflict resolution to promote their goals at the expense of others (Chen & Tjosvold, 2002). Forcing or competitive conflict frustrates communication and imposes a solution that undermines problem-solving processes and relationships (Chen & Tjosvold, 2002). In competing, a solution may temporarily be found. However, the conflict may still be unresolved and most likely, repressed (Skjorshammer, 2001; Chen & Tjosvold, 2002).

2.3.6 Accommodating

Accommodating, according to Kreps (1990), is referred to as “appeasement”. To him, accommodating is highly co-operative but passive approaches that occur when one gives in to someone else. Thomas (1971) cited in Hoy and Miskel (1991) holds the view that accommodating is effective when one or both conflicting parties finds out that they have made a mistake, realise the issues are more important to others, see the need to build good will for more important matters, minimize losses when defeat is inevitable, when harmony and stability are particularly important and allow subordinates a chance to learn from their mistakes.

2.3.7 Collaboration

Brilhart, Galanes and Adams (2001) define collaboration as negotiating or problem solving approach to conflict, in a co-operative and assertive style that stems from integrative attitude. Be that as it may, Hoy and Miskel (1991) believe that when both sets of concerns are so important that only an integrative solution is acceptable and compromise is unsatisfactory, when the goal is to learn, to integrate insights from individuals with different perspectives, when consensus and commitment are important to break through ill feelings that have hindered relationships, collaboration is effective.

In contrast to collaborating, Refik (2010) pointed out that, collaborative problem-solving frequently opens the door for disagreements among the individuals or groups concerned, which can then lead to incongruities or incompatibilities in the organization. Other studies also report five methods of conflict resolution namely, avoiding, smoothing, forcing, compromising, and confrontation (Skjorshammer 2001).

2.3.8 Avoidance

Avoidance as a conflict management style is a deliberate decision to take no action on a conflict or stay out of the conflict situation (Obeng, 2015). Avoidance, according to Ziggah (2010), is where the participant extends no energy discussing or exploring options. In avoidance, an actual or potential disagreement is ignored or denied (Cheung & Chuah, 1999). People simply pretend that the conflict does not really exist and hope that it will disappear on its own (Schermerhorn, Hunt, & Osborn, 2000). Avoidance means to keep away from discussing an issue or problem explicitly (Skjorshammer 2001).

To add to the discussion, Chen and Tjosvold (2002) conclude that in avoidance, the problem is not openly dealt with and discussed. This is what is at times reported as the farmers tend to stay away from the Fulanis even when they see their cattle destroying their farm lands. This was due to their fear of the Fulani attacking them in the farms. This is what makes some communities not to accept them at all in any form. As noted by Bukari and Scharelka (2005), some communities, for instance, explicitly refuse to accommodate Fulani because of their image as violent, armed robbers and destructive. In Ghana, Tonah (2000) equally examined local state policies and local prejudices against Fulani in Ghana, using data from Paga along the Ghana-Burkina Faso Border. Tonah argues that state and local policies have subtly discriminated against Fulani and tended to exclude them as many Ghanaians and the State itself consider them “aliens” and non-citizens.

Despite their long stay and everyday interaction with local people, they are still deeply and cognitively excluded in community participation and life issues (Bukari & Scharelka, 2015). As stated by the Fulanis, in the work of Bukari and Scharelka (2015), they do not feel belonging to the Ghanaian society, not because they see themselves as non-citizens but because they are continuously set apart. Many of the farmers and their associations claimed that the authorities in the district had been compromised by the herdsmen, thereby undermining their authority to bring the herdsmen and the farmers together to discuss and find a lasting solution.

2.4 Factors Affecting the Conflict Management Methods

A number of factors affect the choice of a response, or an approach, to conflict, and how in particular certain conditions, such as being in an enduring conflict, and all that it implies, impact on the choice of conflict management method or its outcome.

Factors affecting the course of a conflict or the manner of its management are numerous. They involve the manner of interdependence, types of actors, and kinds of issues. For our purposes, these factors are best conceptualized as (a) contextual factors, and (b) behavioural factors. Contextual factors that affect conflict management include i) the character of the local or traditional system, ii) the nature of the conflict, and iii) the internal characteristics of the parties involved. The character of the local or traditional system affects the expectations of traditional or local institutions, and the strategies they may use to break out of a conflict (Miller, 1995). Features such as polarity of the traditional system, patterns of alignments, and distribution of power capabilities are all associated with different approaches to conflict (Gochman, 1993). A bipolar traditional or local environment, for instance, is likely to be more stable than a multipolar system in encouraging a balance between

caution and resolve in responding to conflicts (Waltz, 1979). The termination of intractable conflicts can be explicitly linked to the nature of the traditional environment in which they occur (Goertz & Diehl, 1992).

The nature of a conflict or the characteristics of the issues that are its focus, are clearly crucial in determining how it is managed (Diehl, 1992). Certain issues such as beliefs, core values and territorial integrity have a high saliency, and are apt to encourage decision makers to accept higher levels of costs. This makes it much more difficult to manage such conflicts through traditional diplomatic methods (Snyder & Diesing, 1977). Conflicts over salient issues are likely to be long-lasting and to entail the use of coercive methods as a way of reaching an outcome. Other aspects such as the number of issues in conflict, the rigidity with which they are perceived, whether they relate to tangible interests (for example, resource conflict) or intangible ones (for example, conflict over values) may also affect both the duration as well as method of termination (Deutsch, 1994).

The third contextual dimension that affects conflict management is that of the internal characteristics of the actors involved. This refers to how certain structural properties of local or traditional institutions and states affect their predisposition to engage in coercive or other forms of conflict management. The nature of the polity has attracted the most attention recently (Maoz & Russett, 1992; Ember, Ember & Russett, 1992; Dixon, 1993).

Here the argument is that democratic individuals and states are more inclined to use peaceful methods of conflict management (because of internal norms, liberal experience) whereas non-democratic individuals are more likely to utilize coercive methods of management.

Another factor relates to the power capabilities of individuals, traditional institutions and states. Although there is not much empirical evidence to suggest a strong relationship, power capabilities can be linked to different conflict management behaviour (for example, a conflict between two equally strong parties or people may be prolonged because both have the material and human resources to carry on, and the willingness to tolerate high costs). All these contextual factors affect directly the disposition to engage in different forms of conflict management, and how a conflict will terminate.

The effects of some contextual factors on the origin, character and evolution of a conflict has been documented quite extensively (Stoll, 1993). Some studies have examined more specifically their effect on conflict management. A number of propositions linking for instance the duration, intensity, fatalities and issue prominence to effective mediations (Bercovitch & Langley, 1993) received considerable theoretical and empirical support. Other studies linked the parties' internal characteristics (Gregory, 1994) or power capabilities between them (Bercovitch, 1984) to different forms of conflict management by third parties. Managing conflicts is a broad skill to acquire. However, several other factors have been identified as affecting the effectiveness of conflict management. Among such factors are:

2.4.1 Deadly weapons

An earlier attempt in 2004 to evict the herdsmen proved futile as the Fulani's were heavily armed with AK-47 rifles. This even made the residents to detest the Fulani's (Mensah et al., 2016). The Fulani's are accused of raping women at gun point in their farms (Ibrahim, 2010). In the work of Ibrahim, one respondent Pese Danquah,

Chairman of the Agogo Concerned Citizens Association recounted the ordeal of a raped woman where one nomad had sex with a woman who was going to the nearby village with the husband and child at gun point.

According to the farmers and district officials, there have been reported cases of shoot outs, deaths and rape caused by the herdsmen (Dosu, 2011). The herdsmen and cattle owners, on the other hand, claimed to have lost some of their animals through physical attacks and poisoning by the use of agro-chemicals by the farmers (Mensah, et al., 2016). Even though the Dadson Committee found in the possession of Fulani herdsmen sharp knives and cutlasses they could not establish the use of sophisticated weapons such as AK 47 assault rifles as was alleged by the inhabitants of the Agogo community during the period of its investigations (Ibrahim, 2010).

2.4.2 Disregard to the rule of law

The District Assembly is the political and administrative representative of the national government at the local level. The Kumasi High Court on January 20, 2012 ruled that Fulani herdsmen should be evicted from the area, but the state failed to execute the orders of the court (Graphiconline, 2016). Speaking to Citi News on August 12, 2016, Spokesperson for the residents, Kingsley Obeng, said the activities of Fulani herdsmen have not ceased, adding that the herdsmen are still preventing residents from visiting their farms.

Speaking to Citi News on a report by Mary Ansah in 2016, spokesperson for the residents of Agogo, said the activities of Fulani herdsmen have not ceased, adding that the herdsmen are still preventing residents from visiting their farms since they do not respect the laws of the land.

2.4.3 Politicization of farmer-nomads conflict

Cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen attributed the perennial conflicts between them and farmers to political propaganda employed by politicians who exploit political capital out of these incidences to coin the support of the electorate in these constituencies. A cattle owner in Agogo claimed that the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the area are political (Ibrahim, 2010).

According to an interview with Abdulani Fuseini, a cattle owner at Agogo on November 29, 2013, he opined: “All this talk about Fulani issues is politics. All the issues are based on politics. Expel the Fulani for us, we would vote for you. That is it. Apart from that there is nothing to worry about”. Ibrahim (2010) further stressed this when he asserts that, the strained relationship between the government and the traditional authorities makes it difficult to effectively co-operate and co-ordinate to nip the perennial conflicts between farmers and Fulani in the bud. In his view, the situation is beset with political rivalry in both mainline and traditional politics that makes it difficult to deal with the situation decisively (Ibrahim, 2010).

2.4.4 Communication barrier

Communication is the process of sharing and exchanging information between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict resolution. Communication relates to the presence and sharing of accurate information about a conflict situation, being able to talk about feelings and concerns of parties, speaking about what parties would like to change, and discussing the nature and type of conflict, touching on the positions, interest, needs and fears of parties. Poor communication or the absence of communication about these and other subjects, or a misinterpretation of the needs and feelings of one another by conflict parties, can easily lead to the escalation of conflict

(Obeng 2016:p.112). Communication was essential in the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. The Cuban Missile Crisis was a major confrontation during the Cold War between the United States and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) over the issue of Soviet-supplied missile installations in Cuba. To solve this conflict, the two nuclear powers decided to keep communication channels open, clarify intermediaries (Schelling, 1963). It brought to the fore, the fact that the absence of information over the intentions, movements and plans of both countries created deep anxiety capable of creating a major explosion (Obeng, 2015:p.113).

Even though the Cuban Missile Crisis did not invent the use of communication in conflict and crisis management; it helped to popularize it at the international level. Communication has come to represent a key strategy of conflict management, such as collaboration, negotiation and dialogue; as well as third party interventions like mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication is largely dependent on effective communication (Obeng 2016 :p.113).

What third party interveners do is to bring about an enhanced process of “controlled communication” (Burton, 1990) between parties in any given conflict (Obeng 2016). This keeps the parties seeing each other, interacting with each other and talking to each other about their problem, with a view to generating workable solutions to the issues in the conflict. Once communication is lost, parties risk getting into deeper crisis that cannot be easily resolved. Thus communication is invaluable for conflict prevention in the first instance, and then for conflict resolution (Obeng 2016:p.113).

Communication barrier was also another contributing factor to the conflicts management between farmers and nomads in the Agogo traditional area. The majority of Fulani herdsmen who are mostly from Nigerian, Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali do

not speak the Twi language which is predominantly spoken in the Asante Akyem area. They can hardly speak English or the pidgin language properly. This makes it difficult for smooth interactions between the two groups. The farmers accuse the herdsmen of feigning ignorance of the Twi language even though they can comprehend what is been communicated to them.

2.4.5 Cattle rustling and killing

Cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen contend that cattle rustling contribute in no small measure to the conflicts in the Agogo traditional area. The animals are rustled when they go to graze. According to one cattle owner, the cattle are killed in the forest and the meat is transported to the town market to sell. In addition, cattle owners claim dissatisfied farmers shoot cattle that stray into their farms on sight. Recalling an incident in Agogo, Alhaji Usman Mamma indicated that about seven of his cattle went to drink water by the river side and when the animals strayed into someone's farm, the owner shot the animals on sight even after negotiations have been made for him to pay the necessary compensation.

2.5 Community Perspectives on how the Farmers-Nomads Conflict should be managed

A community refers to a group of people living in a defined locality who, usually share common interests, enduring ties, frequent interactions and a sense of closeness (Ayertey, 2009; Aketewah, 2006). According to Prah (2004), the term "community" connotes a relatively large group of people with common values, interest, consistent face-face interactions, a sense of togetherness among the people and a common past. Migrants and pastoralists are viewed with some degree of suspicion and contempt especially in places not considered their home country (Ibrahim, 2010). This

development has created boundaries of exclusion in which the status of the economic migrants is passed on to their descendants who even though may be integrated in the communities in which they find themselves can never claim to have originated from those communities and may still maintain a distant identity through the use of language and custom (Amanor, 2011).

The activities of pastoralists on the other hand have been perceived as backward and environmentally destructive (Ibrahim, 2010). These notions have been entrenched through the narratives of received wisdom. Received wisdom, according to Leach and Mearns (1996), “is an idea or set of ideas sustained through labeling, commonly represented in the form of a narrative, and grounded in a specific cultural policy paradigm” (p. 29). The Fulani conflict has become a major concern for all in the community and the nation as a whole. As noted by Olaniyan et al. (2015), there is no easy answer to the conflict and the violence. However, a number of solutions have been put into practice to seemingly manage the problem.

2.5.1 Policy of expulsion

The politics of eviction of Fulani herders from Agogo falls within the long tradition of alien eviction in Ghana, which dates back to 1969 via the enactment of the Busia Government's Alien Compliance Order. The order mandated that all foreigners were ordered to leave within fourteen days. The policy of expulsion has been practiced in a number of countries in the West African region such as Nigeria, Mauritania, Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone (Olaniyan et al., 2015). The State expulsions of Fulani pastoralists officially carried out by joint security forces called Operation Cow Leg (OCL) and Operation Livestock Solidarity (OLS) have variously been carried out with the aim of getting out "alien Fulani out of Ghana". Operation

Cow Leg is still being used by the State especially when conflict between pastoral Fulani and local farming communities such as in 1988/1989, 1998/1999, 2010 and 2015 and recently in 2018 increased in intensity. Operation Cow Leg has been carried out several times (Bukari & Scharelka, 2015). This is similar to the West African countries of Mauritania, Niger and Mali's establishment of "Code Pastorale" to fight against the Fulani menace on the continent. The policy of expulsion does not only mean evacuating Fulani herders from the country, it also means declaring them persona non-grata and preventing them from entering and operating in the country at any time into the future. The aim of the policy is to put an end to incessant conflict between indigenous population and the migrant herders. A similar policy of expulsion was used in Atebubu District in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana in 1999 and 2000 to drive away Fulani herders, but according to Steve Tonah, it was fraught with inadequacies (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

In the case of Agogo, the policy has not been a total success. This is due to cattle ownership and the involvement of traditional institutions. In an interview, Kwesi Aning argues that, there is no single Fulani herder in southern part of Ghana that can erect a homestead without the express permission of the local chiefs. It is the local traditional chiefs that often invite the Fulani herders to come and occupy their lands in return for monetary returns (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

Expulsion of pastoralists is obviously not a solution and highly charged, and not only because it violates constitutional rights of citizenship and birth. The case here shows a problem of legitimacy of the state as seen by the people not just the state. In this case the people are seeing the role of the state as one protecting them from the illegitimate, thus, the nomads. Yet the state is deeply involved through the political elite's own

cattle keeping practice (Olaniyan et al., 2015). This is in sharp contrast with Boateng's work when he asserts that, "a total of 64% of the farmers believe that the outright evacuation of the Fulani and their cattle would be the best solution to the age old conflict. They believed that any other effort would only suspend the clash and as result only solution was the outright ejection of the herders. The farmers contended that the herders came from somewhere and therefore should be forced to go back to where they came from". This perhaps was due to the judgement of the Kumasi High Court to flush out all Fulani and their cattle from the Agogo Afram Plains with immediate effect. In the works of Olaniyan et al. (2015) they assert that, their respondents were unanimous in their responses in this regard.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

It can be realized from the discussions that conflict results from contexts of opposing forces, disagreement and struggle. It occurs on a daily basis, and this is characterized by interaction among individuals who have varied opinions and interests. Conflict will perpetually occur in human settlements. They will inevitably have issues to talk about and many of these issues have the potential to breed conflicts as grounds for disagreement or misunderstanding.

Inference from the discussion further suggests that every conflict situation leaves conflict consequences that affect the way stakeholders perceive and act upon subsequent conflict. Such effects can be either positive or negative depending on how conflict is managed. Constructively, conflict can increase productivity, improve quality and quantity and develop better communication methods. When they are managed effectively, conflict can change communities and societies for the better.

However, conflict can have destructive outcomes such as physical and psychological withdrawal of people, aggression and damage to property.

Generally, it is argued that conflict has negative connotations on people and societies at large because of the way it is managed although in some cases of conflict; may have positive effects. Obviously, most of the definitions given to conflict in the literature sourced indicate the negative aspect of conflict. This could be taken to mean that conflict is bad.

The discussion also reveals that conflict in human settlements can occur at intrapersonal, interpersonal, intra-group and intergroup levels, and the identified conflict resolution strategies comprised avoidance, compromise, competition, accommodating, and collaboration.

From the literature review the most identified conflict management strategies include suppression, smoothing, avoiding, compromise, third party intervention, cooperation, domestic process as well as confrontation. However, the effectiveness of conflict management processes, especially with regard to mediation, is constrained by some problems including lack of support. As noted by Olaniyan et al. (2015), the policies that attempt to deal with this appear to feed into discourses of “strangeness” and create oppositional forms of dealing with the problems. This is a clear case of the conflict management that has been employed to solve the farmers and nomads’ conflict in Agogo. It is therefore vital to look at the factors to confirm or refute these findings identified.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This research uses the qualitative paradigm to examine farmers and nomads conflict management in the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region. According to Baumgartner, Strong and Hensley (2002), most qualitative researchers agree that research designs which fall under qualitative approach rely heavily upon extensive observations and in-depth interviews that result in non-numerical data for analysis. This section discusses the methods that were used in gathering data for this research. It dealt with the description of the study area, research design, population, sample and sampling techniques and sources of data, data collection procedure, methods of data analysis, ethical consideration, trustworthiness and dependability of the research.

3.1 Description of the Study Area

The study took place at Agogo, the capital of the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. The Agogo Township is under the kingship of Nana Akuoku Sarpong, the paramount chief of Agogo who is ably supported by other sub chiefs namely the Krontihene, Gyaasehene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Kyidomhene and a host of others. The community is made up of people of diverse religious beliefs namely, the African Traditional Religion, Islamic Religion and Christian Religion.

The community is blessed with three tertiary institutions namely Agogo Presbyterian College of Education, Pentecost University College (Agogo Campus) and Presbyterian University College Agogo Campus. The community also has two senior high schools, namely the Agogo State College and Collins Secondary Commercial School.

The Asante Akyem North District is made up of a total population of 140,694 representing 67,673 males and 73,021 females. The total population of the district represents 2.9% of the total population of the Ashanti Region which is 4,780,380 representing 19.4% of the entire population of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010).

The Asante Akyem North District covers an area of 13,361 square kilometers which is about 5.6% of the total land area of the Ashanti Region. Agogo lies approximately 80 kilometers east of Kumasi; the Ashanti regional capital (Baidoo, 2014). The vegetation of the district is mainly the tropical rainforest and savannah grassland. Traditionally, the people of Agogo and their surrounding area are farmers specializing in crops such as plantain, water melon, groundnut, yam, maize, cocoyam, cassava, tomatoes and so on. They grow these foodstuffs in large quantities and contribute significantly to the agricultural sector in Ghana. Their land seems to be fertile for crop production throughout the year. Due to this, though the majority of the people in the district are Akan, there is also a significant migrant population of other ethnic groups in the area such as Ewes, Ga, Frafra, Moshie, Nzemas, Dagombas, Kusasi and the Fulani who form a minority group.

The fertile land has also made nomads to like the place and they have therefore pitched camps in the plantation with their cattle deep in the Afram Plains. Without proper shepherding of their cattle, as they go out for grazing either day or night, it results in the cattle destroying the plantation of the farmers, denying the farmers the benefit of enjoying from their labour and other related negative consequences.

This has therefore resulted in various confrontations between the two groups, culminating into national politics and this also seems to take ethnic dimensions in recent times in the media especially after reading an article by one famous journalist, Omaru Sanders of Citi FM, a radio station based in Accra. This is becoming a worrying trend as there also seems to be influx of the attacks on nomads from the Brong Ahafo, Northern and Volta Regions of Ghana. With regard to the above, it is therefore important to examine how the farmers and nomads conflict can be managed using the Asante Akyem North District as a case study.

3.2 Research Approach

The researcher employed the qualitative approach because, the nature of the study generated knowledge by examining farmers and nomads conflict management at the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. Qualitative research shares its philosophical underpinning with the naturalistic or interpretive paradigm which describes and explains a person's experiences, behaviours, interactions and social contexts without the use of statistical procedures or quantification (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This truly enabled the researcher to observe the attitudes and behaviours of the participants' body language during the field work. Naturalistic philosophers believe that reality is multiple, interrelated and determined within context (Horsburgh, 2003; Thorne, 2000).

Again, the qualitative approach was selected due to the nature of the study which sought in-depth information concerning the issue under study. The qualitative approach therefore enabled the researcher to interact with participants to get first-hand knowledge and an in-depth study of the issue. This approach culminated in analyzing

the factors that hinder the effective management of the farmers and nomads conflict in the Asante Akyem North District.

3.3 Research Design

The researcher approached the issue qualitatively using the case study design. Specifically, the researcher used the single case study design. Case studies may be positivist or interpretivist in nature, depending on the approach of the researcher, the data collected and the analytical techniques employed. This case study is interpretivist in nature.

It is not easy to describe what a case study is because there is no easy explanation (Solberg, Sølén & Huber, 2006). According to Creswell (2013), “The case study method “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information... and reports a case description and case themes” (p. 97). Seidu (2012) is of the view that “case study involves an intensive investigation on the complex factors that contribute to the individuality of a social unit - a person, family, group, social- institution or community” (p. 56). He emphasizes that the purpose of case study is to understand the life cycle or an important part of the life cycle of the unit through the study of an aspect or a part. He further posits that the greatest strengths of the case study method is that it allows the researcher to concentrate on a specific instance or situation and to identify the various interactive processes at work, and such processes may remain hidden in a large scale survey, but may be crucial to the success or failure of the system or organization.

Another similar definition is that, a case study is an analysis of systems that are studied with a comprehensive view by either one or several methods (Thomas, 1971). Adentwi and Amartei (2010) are also of the view that “case study usually involves studying individual cases, usually in their natural environment and for a long period of time and employing a number of methods of data collection and analysis” (p. 20). They emphasize that case studies attempt to describe a subject’s entire range of behaviours to the relationship of these behaviours to the subject’s history and environment. According to Punch (2005, p. 144) cited in Kusi (2012, p. 50), case study aims to understand the case in-depth, and in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and its context. It also has a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case. A case study provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles (Cohen et al., 2011).

A case study can be defined as an intensive study about a person, a group of people or a unit, which is aimed to generalize over several units. In a case study the focus is based on a special unit (Jacobsen, 2002). In this study, the researcher used a single case study, one case was examined.

According to Cohen, Manion and Marrison (2007), a case study design enables the researcher to gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of the existing conditions. The choice of the case study design enabled the researcher to make in-depth study of the phenomenon through interactional method such as interview and observation in order to examine farmers and nomads’ conflict management in the Asante Akyem North District of the Ashanti Region. The

researcher therefore had a personal interaction with the participants in order to be sure that the data provided came from the right participants. This was done to avoid any doubt as to whether it was the principal participants whose data have been collected. As a result, the researcher collected data directly from participants through one-on-one interviews and non-participant observations.

Many other researchers who have successfully used the qualitative case study in studying different conflicts have also extolled the benefits of such a design. For instance, Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) used qualitative case study to analyse the conflict resolution in the Nkonya Alavanyo Area of Ghana. According to Adzahlie-Mensah, cases are chosen because one cannot study different conflicts in one study without compromising quality. The issues involved in one conflict are so diverse that a qualitative study would require due diligence which imposes the need for a case study.

3.4 Population of the Study

The study targeted leaders of the various conflict management group/individuals who have been involved in forestalling peace in Agogo. They included the District Chief Executive (DCE) of the Asante Akyem North District, District Police Commander (DPC) of Asante Akyem North District, leading elders of the community, Spokesperson for the nomads, leading member of the cattle owners, Registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council, leading member of the farmers' association, youth leaders from the affected communities and assembly member and an agricultural extension officer. These people were selected based on the following inclusion criteria; (i) The person might have lived in the community for more than three years and or dealt with farmers and nomads conflict management in the area. (ii) The person should be able

to understand the purpose of the study. The interviewees were selected based on the person's involvement in effectively managing the farmers and nomads conflict in the Asante Akyem North District. Again, by virtue of being a leader they were better able to provide effective management strategies to help maintain peace in the area. Also, by their position, they were able to give credible information for the management of the conflict.

All participants were chosen for a particular reason. For instance, the District Chief Executive, District Police Command and the Assemblyman were chosen because they are to ensure peace and safety so that development in the town can progress smoothly without any hindrance. Also, the leading elders of the town/community were chosen because of their passionate involvement in the management of the conflict as they have witnessed the beginning of the conflict.

The leader of the farmers' association group was also chosen because they are mostly affected by the conflict and their views on how this conflict should be managed were needed. The selection of the youth leaders was also to ascertain how best the conflict should be managed from their perspectives as they have also been vociferous on the activities of the nomads in Agogo. The Registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council mostly attends meetings and knows the happenings of the Traditional Council and so his insights on the management of the conflict were of great help. The spokesperson for the nomads and the representative of the cattle owners were of great importance as to how they see the way the conflict should be managed in Agogo. The agricultural extension officer was chosen to also know his insights on how the conflict should be managed as they people are mostly on the field with the farmers and nomads so the grievances of the farmers and nomads are also their concern.

An essential part of qualitative research is getting the insider's point of view. This population was therefore considered based on the involvement of the participants in the management of the conflict in the area. The strategy ensured fair representation of opinions from the various groups/individuals that have been championing for peace in Agogo concerning the farmers and nomads' conflict.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique

The study obtained data from a sample of twelve (12) participants. It included the DCE, DPC, two leading elders of the community, leader of the farmers' association group, two youth leaders of the affected communities, one assemblyman, the Registrar of Agogo Traditional Council, the spokesperson of the nomads, one leading member of the cattle owners association of Agogo and one agricultural extension officer. The selection of the sample was to make an in-depth analysis of the data, as the population in the study area have similar characteristics and act on behalf of the larger group who have been vociferous and playing active roles in bringing peace in Agogo.

Purposive sampling technique was used for the selection of all the participants. Purposive sampling is a "type of non-probability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment about which ones will be the most useful or representative" (Babbie, 2007, p. 184). The use of the purposive sampling procedure requires that people who meet the required characteristics for the purpose of the study are selected and interviewed in depth (Baidoo, 2014). The researcher was able to purposively select the participants through the help of informants.

Table 1: Summary of Participants

Participants	Number of participant
DCE	1
DPS	1
Community Elders	2
Youth leader	2
Assemblyman	1
Spokesperson for nomads	1
Agogo Traditional Council registrar	1
Leader of the Farmers Association	1
Leader of the cattle owners Association	1
Agriculture Extension Officer	1
Total	12

3.6 Source of Data

For the purpose of this study, there were two major sources of data available to help the researcher to complete the study. The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. In the case of primary sources, the researcher collected „fresh“ data from participants who are termed as source of primary data in the work. It was useful to employ the primary source of data such as the interview guides to gather data on the objectives of the research. The primary sources were the original responses and reports which were solicited from the participants.

Secondary sources of data, on the other hand, constituted different written documents. For instance, press releases, newspaper publications, articles, court rulings and other related documents linked to the farmers and nomads conflict in Agogo. In that aspect many publications on the internet and library which detailed nomadism and conflict management were used and taken as literature review and reference for the study.

Indeed, the secondary sources were relevant when making comparisons to gain more in-depth knowledge into the area of study.

3.7 Research Instruments

Multiple data collection techniques, thus, face-to-face interview and observation were used for inquiry. Accordingly, interview guide and observation guide were used as data collection tools for data collection. This was complemented with review of documents such as policy guidelines and activity reports. The use of multiple data collection techniques and tools was to ensure triangulation of data as noted by Punch (2005), and cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data (Berg, 2007).

The interview guide was used as a major instrument and observation guide as supplementary instruments. The participants were interviewed individually using interview guide. The interview guide consisted of four sections, namely “A”, „B“, „C“ and “D”. Section “A”, for instance, covered the background information of both the researcher and participant in which the researcher announces the purpose of the study while assuring the participants that the interview is for academic purpose and so their honest and candid opinions about the issue is important.

Section „B“ focused on the conflict management methods that have been adopted to curb the farmers and nomads conflict in Agogo while Section „C“ focused on the factors affecting the effectiveness of the farmers and nomads conflict management methods in Agogo and Section “D” focused on the community perspectives on how the conflict should be managed in Agogo. The interview guide took the form of conversation in which the researcher solicited data by asking questions relating to his research problem.

3.8 Procedure for Data Collection

As I was thinking through how to get to my participants in Agogo, I remembered one of my Junior High School (JHS) mates who attended the Agogo Nursing School. I therefore contacted her who in turn gave me a friend's number who is a native of Agogo. As I contacted him of the reason of my call, he also gave me someone's number who he thought could give me in depth information about the farmers and nomads conflict management in Agogo. That person was the Chairman of the Agogo Youth Association. From there, I periodically engaged him on telephone calls for a friendly conversation before my arrival. This friendly call was helpful as they gave me all the necessary information and assistance I needed.

When I was ready to go to Agogo, I collected an introductory letter from the department of Social Studies and sought the approval of my supervisor of the interview guide to enable me to undertake the field research. The introductory letter and my student's identity card were helpful as some of them demanded to see it before engaging me in the interview. When I was able to give this out, they happily engaged me in the conversation as they also saw the need for this study.

Before the arrival of the researcher, informants were called to ascertain whether they could be available for the planned visit. After the set date, the researcher made a journey to Agogo upon which the researcher was met at a "spot" by the chairman of the Agogo Youth Association, Secretary of the Agogo Youth Association and spokesperson to the Agogo Farmers' Association. After exchanging pleasantries, the researcher asked to be led to the Police Station to inform them of the prime aim of the visit to the area, of which they did as it was even closer to where we met.

This was done to ensure the safety of the researcher and also to call on the Police Personnel when circumstances turned sour as the area is a conflict zone. This also gave me the opportunity to speak with the District Police Commander of my intention to include him as one of my participants. He gladly welcomed the idea and an appointment was therefore booked at his office the following day.

From the Police Station, we re-convened at the same venue. The tone for the interview was therefore set in motion after five minutes of relaxation. Interestingly, the chairman had already told them of my coming since I was engaging him with regular calls. I therefore did not look like a stranger to them, especially, the secretary and the spokesperson for the farmers' Association when we met for the first time. It must be emphasized that no participant was under the influence of alcohol. They were therefore interviewed one-on-one as they went about doing their daily activities. The secretary to the Agogo Youth Association, after the interview section said he was going to the affected communities to deliver information for the association. I asked to join of which he gladly welcomed the idea.

We embarked upon community visits to the affected villages such as Bebome, Aberewapong, Mankala, Kowreso, Nyamebekyere and other affected villages on his motor cycle for one hour on a deplorable road. This is to say that the affected villages are one hour drive from the main Agogo Township. Upon arrival, we met the assemblyman, whose electoral area covers these villages. This was because they are the villages which are greatly affected by the conflict and this was done to ensure our safety and acceptability. The researcher asked whether the interview section could start of which he gladly did and passionately recounted what they had done to manage

the conflict, why their efforts are not working and the best way to manage the conflict situation in the area.

The researcher was also gladly accepted by the leader of the farmers' association and two leading elders who have been involved in the management of the conflict in this very area and this was so because the assemblyman and the secretary led me to them. The interactions between the two main actors in the conflict (farmers and nomads) were observed. This was to ascertain whether there is a relationship between the farmers and nomads.

After the interview section, we rode back to the Agogo Township where we started the journey. The Personal Assistant (PA) to the DCE, who also happens to be an Alumnus of University of Education, Winneba came to look for the chairman of the Agogo Youth Association. This gave me the opportunity to get someone who could lead me to the DCE without any difficulties. We exchanged contacts and started communicating until a date was agreed for me to come and meet the DCE. Amazingly, he again personally called the DPC of my coming to his office. The Registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council, Spokesperson for the nomads, leading member of the cattle owners association and leading elders who have been involved in the management of the conflict since the commencement of the conflict were all ready for the interview when the researcher introduced himself and made his intentions known to them when I was directed to them by informants.

The researcher adopted the interactionist method of collecting data using one-on-one interview and non-participants' observation. One-on-one interview was conducted with the DCE, DPC, assemblyman, two leaders of the farmers' association, two leading elders of the community, two youth leaders of the affected communities,

spokesperson to the nomads, one leader of the cattle owners association and Registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council to share their views. In using the one-on-one method interview, the researcher adopted structured interview guide. The interview helped the researcher to understand the views of participants with nomads and allowed the researcher to explore in more detail some of the things which were observed by asking for clarification to avoid doubts.

Non-participant's observation was used to observe nomadism and activities of community members in the affected villages. It must be pointed out that, where the nomads live is a very dangerous place far in the Afram Plains where it is difficult to see them except when they are sending their cattle for grazing. They are armed with guns and look scary at first sight. Nonetheless, the visit to the place was very helpful since it provided a first-hand experience of the affected villages and the consequences of the conflict. All these helped the researcher to examine farmers and nomads conflict management in the Asante Akyem North District of Ghana.

In conducting the interview, the researcher's focus was based on the research objectives. This was important to avoid the temptation of concentrating on unnecessary points. For instance, little attention was paid to issues such as experiences of rape victims, farmers whose farms have been destroyed or damaged, relatives of dead families as a result of the farmers and nomads conflict or who killed who, when and how. The purpose was to examine how the farmers and nomads conflict should be managed.

During the data collection, interview sessions started the moment one qualified to be part of the target group. Nonetheless, interviews were conducted in their homes and offices or postponed to a convenient day or time where they could not be immediately

granted as the researcher spent six days (two weekends), arriving on Friday Morning and departing on Monday evening during the data collection stage of the study at Agogo on different weeks. All interviews did not exceed one hour. The researcher did not use any assistants during the interview session though informants aided me in getting to interview some participants.

One-on-one interview was tape recorded with the permission of the participants". The audio-tapes were listened to repeatedly before being transcribed to facilitate analysis. Things observed were recorded in field notes and some of the interview sessions were recorded in the field notes for easy reminder to complement the recorded interview. Field notes were therefore examined critically to ensure accuracy of the transcribed data.

3.9 Data Analysis

The qualitative (interview and observation) data was analysed qualitatively through thematic analysis. Qualitative data analysis is a rigorous process involving working with the data, organizing data into manageable units, categorizing, comparing, synthesizing data, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). It is a rigorous task because qualitative research usually generates voluminous data as the researcher is found with numerous transcripts of verbatim accounts of what transpires in interviews and open-ended questions. According to Creswell (2009), transcription is the process of converting audiotape recordings or field notes into text data. Here, the researcher listened to each tape repeatedly to familiarize himself with the conversations and carefully wrote them down in the words of the participants. The researcher immersed himself in the data by repeatedly pursuing through it so as to help him, reduce the

voluminous data for analysis and clarity. Themes were then generated before the analysis. Kusi (2012) refers to this kind of themes as pre-set themes. These data have to be analysed for the sake of interpretation.

In thematic analysis, the identifiable themes that emerge from interview responses were classified under each research question. In thematic analysis, the major themes and analysis of contents were summarised. Creswell (2009) states that a brief summary and analysis as well as highlighting major themes, is enough when decision has to be made based on the findings of the study. Again, direct quotations were used to support or clarify the qualitative data when necessary. The interpretation of the qualitative data made it possible to make appropriate inferences.

Sarantakos (1993) presents a model of analysis of interview data under qualitative research and described five steps to achieve that, which are transcription, checking and editing, analysis and interpretation, generalization, and verification. This model, which consists of five steps, was employed for data analysis for the research. Having done that, the manuscripts were cleaned and edited by eliminating typographical error and contradictions in the text. The data having been transcribed, the transcripts were checked and edited.

Also, parts of the data that were related were prepared for analysis. Here the findings of the interviews, analysis and interpretation involved data deduction and analysis. At this point, categories were developed and coding of data was completed and trend of data were also identified. The findings of the individual interviews were generalized and differences and similarities identified, which allowed the development of typologies.

In this study, thematic analysis was used for the interview data. Here, responses from respondents were categorized into themes according to research questions. In this regard, data analysis was done by examining closely the responses of each individual interview and the open-ended questions taking into consideration the research problem. Streubert and Carpenter (1999) claim that it is critical to identify how statements and central themes emerge and connect to one another if the final description is to be comprehensive and exhaustive. In interpreting the data, the researcher identified emergent issues as they were reported by participants, how the issues connected or related to each other, and meanings were drawn and discussed from these. The researcher also identified and extracted significant statements, which were quoted to support claims in the analysis.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Resnik (2009) defines ethics in research as the discipline that study standards of conduct, such as philosophy, theology, law, psychology or sociology. Babbie (2004) defines ethical issues as the general agreements, shared by researchers about what is proper and improper in the conduct of scientific inquiry. These include seeking permission, voluntary participation, no harm to participants, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (Strydom, 2002; Punch, 2009). In other words, it is a method, procedure or perspective for deciding on how to act and for analysing complex problems and issues. Ethical issues arise from the kind of problems that social scientists investigate and the methods used to obtain valid and reliable data. Ethical considerations are pertinent to this study because of the nature of the problem, the methods of data collection and the kind of persons serving as research participants.

While carrying out this study, the researcher adhered to ethical procedures suggested by Bryman (2006). Bryman (2006) advises that researchers should ensure that participants are protected from any physical or psychological harm that may arise from research procedures. In line with international best practices in educational research, the researcher addresses the following: informed consent, protection and consent of participants and their responses, permission, protecting privacy and ensuring confidentiality.

3.10.1 Permission

As a way of seeking permission, a letter was obtained from the Head of Department of Social Studies, University of Education, Winneba. This letter was used to obtain permission, approval and support from the Agogo Traditional Council, the District Chief Executive and District Police Commander to proceed with the study. The researcher made his intention known to participants in order to seek and obtain their permission to conduct the research. Once permission was granted, the researcher asked if the interview could immediately start. The researcher booked an appointment with participants especially the DCE and DPC for an interview. This was to allow them to prepare adequately for the interview.

3.10.2 Voluntary participation and informed consent

The study participants need to be furnished with accurate and complete information on the goal(s) and procedures of the investigation so that they fully understand and in turn decide whether to participate or not. This makes informed consent a necessary prerequisite to any research in which human beings are involved as participants. Sarantakos (1993) states that informed consent means that respondents need first and foremost to comprehend and second to agree voluntarily to the nature of the research

and their role within it.

In this study, the researcher clearly spelt out the purpose, the nature of the study and its significance to the participants. To that respect, the participants made rational decisions to participate in the study. No participant was coerced to participate in the study. Again, the researcher introduced himself, explained the purpose of the interview, and set guidelines for how the interview would proceed. The roles of both the interviewer and the interviewee were spelt out.

3.10.3 No harm to participants

In Babbie's opinion (2004), the ethical norms of voluntary participation and no harm to participants have become formalized in the concept of informed consent. Accordingly, participants base their voluntary participation in research studies on the full understanding of the possible risks involved. Harm can either be physical or emotional (Trochim, 2006). Throughout this study, the researcher made an effort to ensure that participants were not harmed psychologically or emotionally. In this regard, the interviews did not last for more than one (1) hour, and it was conducted at the convenience of participants.

3.10.4 Anonymity

Research participants' well-being and interests need to be protected. Participants' identities in the study should be masked or blinded as far as possible (Trochim, 2006). The people who read the research and the researcher should not be able to identify a given response with a given respondent (Babbie, 2004). All the participants were assured of confidentiality. This was done to protect them (Parker, 2005) cited in (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Therefore, to ensure that the principles of anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed, there were no collection of the details of the

personal information on the participants as emphasized by McMurray, Pace and Scott (2004); their names were not revealed in this study. The names of the people who participated in this study were not revealed anywhere instead, alphabetic, numeric or alpha-numeric codes and pseudonyms were used. The recorded responses, written reports, and interview transcripts were silent on the true identities of the participants.

3.10.5 Confidentiality

Confidentiality indicates the handling of information in a confidential manner (Strydom, 2002). This implies that the researcher must jealously guard all the information disclosed by the participant so that only the researcher has access to it. The interviews were held at the participant's offices, farms or residence to allow privacy, non-interruptions and the creation of an atmosphere in which the participant feel comfortably engaged.

The participants were given the relevant instructions verbally and assured of confidentiality since audio-tape recording was used in the interviews of participants. The purpose of the research, the role of the interview(s) and the confidentiality of the selected material were explained to the participants before the commencement of the interview(s). All participants were made aware that the interviews were recorded. Data collected on each audio-tape was saved correctly and each interview was played back to participants to validate the data especially whether they still stood by what they said. It must be noted that, one participant told me not to record our interview on tape. To this end, the researcher is the sole custodian of documents which were used and information collected for this study. A tape recorder was used during the interviews and all information collected was transcribed.

3.10.6 Plagiarism

As a way of preventing plagiarism, all ideas, writings, drawings and other documents or intellectual property of other people were duly referenced, indicating the authors, title of materials, year of publication, and publishers.

3.11 Trustworthiness and Dependability of the Study

In any systematic enquiry into the human condition, it is important to establish the true value of the study. The study must be judged against certain criteria so as to ensure that the findings are a true reflection of the participants or reality (De Vos, 2002). Through criteria such as validity and reliability, the accurateness and completeness of a study can be ascertained. As in qualitative methods, researchers describe certain concepts related to reliability and validity. Guba (1981) proposed “trustworthiness” as a surrogate measure for validity and reliability in naturalistic inquiries. “Trustworthiness” in this context is a belief system that informs the whole way in which the researcher approaches a research study (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Lincoln and Guba (1985), cited in De Vos (2002), call trustworthiness the true value of the study. To ensure that the data for the study is trustworthy, the researcher relied on a tape recording of the interview, field notes and non-participates observations. To ensure validation, the recorded interviews were played to participants for them to authenticate the responses or confirm if they still stand by their responses.

To give credence to the credibility for this study, the researcher ensured dependability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) assert that there could be no credibility without dependability in qualitative research. They suggest that dependability can be established through the establishment of appropriate enquiry decision, review of interviewer bias to resist early closure, establishment of categorical schemes and

exploration of all areas, resistance to practical pressures and findings of both positive and negative data triangulation. In order to ensure the validity and reliability of the research instrument, the interview schedule was designed to reflect on the research objectives and questions. To ensure face validity of the instrument, it was given to colleague masters students for peer review. To ensure content validity of the instruments, it was given to conflict management experts and the research supervisor for scrutiny. This was effective strategy to minimize problems in the actual conduct of the study. This was also done to refine and shape the contents of the instrument to make them more valid and reliable for the study.

Information obtained from the literature review were helpful in the development of questions that elicited responses to the research questions that were formulated to direct the study. This ensured the appropriateness of the questions that the participants were asked. Besides, the interview format helped to develop categories and themes in the findings.

To deal with the issue of bias in the study, the researcher sought clarification for answers that were not clearly stated during the interview. In this way, issues of unclear data were resolved. Care was taken about the duration of the interview to avoid early closure and at the same time to prevent the provision of unreliable data following boredom on the part of respondents as a result of prolonged interview session.

“People are very careful about how they release information about a conflict. It takes time to build trust and confidence and to negotiate access to quality information” (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). In this study, the researcher interacted with the subjects over a period of not less than two weeks in order to develop acquaintance with them.

This was done through casual visits to the participants“ in their homes or workplace and telephone conversations. This enabled the researcher to develop a relationship with them. In this way, the researcher was able to build trust between each participant and himself. This trust made it possible for the participants to readily open up for discussions of all sensitive issues that were covered by the interview for the study by respecting their rights and privacy and being friendly.

Many contend that the use of a single case study decreases the trustworthiness of the analysis since it does not allow for cross comparisons. However, this was not the case because human experiences, opinions, school environment is completely different from one another. The credibility, trustworthiness, meaningfulness and insight generated from this have more to do with the information richness of the one selected and the observations and analytical capabilities than with sample size (Patton, 2002).

3.12 Summary of Chapter Three and Methodological Limitation

This chapter sought to provide the methods through which the findings of the study were arrived at and how the data was analyzed. The study adopted the qualitative case study by focusing on the purposive sampling procedure. In the study, 12 participants were interviewed on the management of farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. The participants of the study were selected based on some inclusion criteria. That is, the person might have lived in the community for more than three years and or dealt with farmers and nomads“ conflict management in the area, should be able to understand the purpose of the study, and should be involved in the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Asante Akyem North District. All the same, by virtue of being a leader, they were better able to provide effective management strategies to help maintain peace in the area; and by their position, they were able to give credible

information for the management of the conflict. The analysis of data was purely qualitative. In using the qualitative approach, I was unable to seek the views of the majority of the indigenes of the Agogo area. This, I consider a limitation to the study in that by virtue of the fact that one is a resident in the Agogo area, is significantly affected by the aftermaths of the farmer-herder conflict in the area.

Also, not only is one affected by the ramifications of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, but it mostly likely affects the people who live in close proximity to the Agogo area and its environs as well as the entire population in Ghana since it emerged from the findings of the study that the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area is likely to take a national dimension. Following from this, there was the need for me to have included some authorities like the Defense Minister, the IGP and some state actors who in one way or the other matter when it comes to conflict management. Again, it is pertinent for me to have resorted to some policy documents that have been designed in controlling the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, and determines the efficacy of the policies as enshrined in the various documents. However, giving the timeline with which the research work was to be concluded coupled with the fact that the study had no funding, it would have been a daunting task for me to complete the research task. That notwithstanding, in order that this limitation does not affect significantly the findings of the study and the usefulness of the study, attempts were made to understand the policies as implemented by the state actors through their representatives in the Agogo area.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the management of the farmers and nomads conflict in the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. Focusing on the qualitative approach to research work, the study adopted the case study design, and dwelling on the purposive sampling procedure, 12 participants were interviewed. The findings of the study are presented and discussed in this chapter. Essentially, I collected data from participants who have been involved in the management of the conflict between the farmers and nomads by focusing on a number of themes that emerged from the interview transcripts. Analysis was done in tandem with the research questions set for this study, and the findings of the research questions followed the order in which they (research questions) have been presented in chapter one. The discussions are largely rooted in the theoretical framework of the study. The objectives of the study were conflict management methods adopted to curb conflict, factors affecting the effectiveness of the conflict management methods, and the perspectives of community members concerning how farmers and nomads' conflict should be managed in Asante Akyem North District.

Pseudonyms were used to falsify the identity of participants who were interviewed. With regard to public officials and traditional leaders, their positions rather than their names were used.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the study Participants

The demographic characteristics of the participants centred on the status or role identity of the participants. These attributes include age, educational background, and employment status. All the twelve study participants were all males who held leadership positions in the community and are involved in the management of the farmers-nomads' conflict in Agogo. The findings are presented in Tables 2 to 5.

Table 2: Designation/Position of the Participants

Designation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
District Chief Executive	1	8
District Police Commander	1	8
Community Elders	2	17
Youth leader	2	17
Assemblyman	1	8
Spokesperson for nomads	1	8
Agogo Traditional Council Registrar	1	8
Leader of the Farmers Association	1	8
Leader of the cattle owners association	1	8
Agriculture extension officer	1	8
Total	12	100

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 2 depicts demographic characteristics of the respondents. From the Table, it can be seen that the study included one (1) District Chief Executive (1), one (1) District Police Commander, two (2) community elders, two (2) youth leaders, one assemblyman, one (1) spokesperson for the nomads, one (1) agriculture extension officer, one (1) Traditional leader, one leader of the cattle owners association and one (1) farmers' association representatives. Clearly, as can be seen from Table 1, all the twelve (12) participants for the study are males, indicating that most leadership

positions in the area are occupied by males. This goes to show that like some other jurisdictions, females are not given the space to offer their leadership roles in aid of national development. Participants were asked to indicate the age range and the findings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Age Distribution of the Participants

Age (in years)	Frequency	Percentage %
20-40	6	50
41-60	5	42
61 & above	1	8
Total	12	100

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 3 shows that 6 participants representing 50% were aged between 20 and 40 years. Five (42%) participants were within the age cohort of 41 to 60 years, and 1 (8%) was within the age bracket of 61 – 80 years. This indicates that most of the respondents (92%) were within the age bracket of 20 and 60. A significant number of them were young adults (youth) between 20 and 40 years of age.

Also, given the age range of 21-35 and 36-50 of the participants, it can be argued that all the participants were mature enough to understand clearly the conflict in the Agogo area and the management practices that can be adopted to help deal with this thorny issue in the Agogo area. Moreover, in respect of the position of the participants, it can be said that all the participants were either directly or indirectly involved in the conflict and that their views on the management methods in dealing with the conflict cannot be underestimated.

Table 4: Educational Background of the Participants

Educational characteristics	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Basic (Primary, JSS)	4	33
SHS	2	17
Tertiary	6	50
Total	12	100

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 4 shows the educational background of participants. It is clear from the Table that the majority (6) which represents 50% of the participants had tertiary education comprising university and college education. Four (33%) had basic education, and 2 (17%) of the participants had secondary education. This shows that half (50%) of the participants had low level of education, while half (50%) had high level of education.

It can also be posited that the participants of this study were deemed to provide a very detailed, useful and credible information since each and every one of them had passed through formal education in one way or the other. Their views should be useful in that their level of education could offer them better opportunity to understand issues of conflict and therefore think of a better way in curtailing conflict of this nature.

Table 5: Employment Status of the Participants

Employment status	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Informal	8	67
Formal	4	33
Total	12	100

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 5 displays result of employment status of the participants. It is evident from the table that the majority (8) which represents 67% of the participants engaged in informal sector work such as crop and animal farming as well as trading activities. Four (33%) participants engaged in the formal sector activities. This reveals how

critical land as a resource is for both the crop farmers and cattle farmers (nomads) engaged in the conflict. The fight over land is the primary course of the conflict. This data shows that most of the respondents are self-employed. This has influenced their employment status and their income levels and consequently their over dependence on land.

4.2 Research Question one: What are the conflict management methods adopted to curb farmers and nomads conflict in the Asante Akyem North District?

The aim of this research question was to provide a detailed exposition of the various conflict management methods that have been adopted so far to check the protracted farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, and subsequently, provide a comprehensive account of why the various conflict management methods over the years have proven futile. To manage this conflict, it was prudent to let participants identify and examine the various conflict management methods that have been adopted in the area in their pursuit of peace. The research identified negotiation, adjudication or arbitration, confrontation, and use of force as the conflict management methods adopted to curb farmers and nomads conflict in Asante Akyem North District.

4.2.1 Negotiation

As part of the conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict between the farmers and the herders in the Agogo area, information garnered from the participants confirms that negotiation, which is a process in which parties reach agreement through consensus building, has been used in controlling the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. The extracts below, which capture the responses from the interviewees, confirm the use of the negotiation in dealing with the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area.

Leader of the farmers' Association in Agogo asserted that:

Even our queen mother was trying to sit down with the Fulanis to make sure that all these atrocities such as destruction of lives and properties are avoided... so we were even giving them plantain but to no avail... We therefore decided that, these people are not human beings that we can stay with. However, since we could not have a direct discussion with the Fulanis, we negotiated with their leaders so that they could talk to their workers on how best they can control their animals.

The police commander also reiterated that:

The Police instituted periodic meetings between the farmers and herders to enable the police have first-hand information on the conflict. This was to lead to timely redress of most farmers and herders conflict issues. Though regular meetings with the herdsman and farmers were ad hoc... it was a sure way of managing this conflict but this too did not work. Even after the court judgment, the stakeholders met to plan how to evacuate the animals with the first three months being voluntary and six months' time Police force will be applied and third phase is maximum force, thus shoot to kill the animals.

The cattle owner representative reiterated that:

In as much as there have not been direct meetings with the Fulanis and the farmers on this issue, the leaders have been meeting to help curb this menace for harmonious living. Last year (2017) the leaders of the community (DCE, DSP, farmers, cattle owners and some other personalities) met at Petreansa (a town near Konongo) to deliberate on this issue.

As can be seen from the extracts above, negotiation has been one of the conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Quite clearly, from the leader of the farmers, it can be noticed that the farmers actually initiated the negotiation process in order to end the atrocities of the nomadic people. The queen mother, according to the leader of the farmers' association, tried to negotiate with the Fulanis and also, the farmers tried to give the Fulanis some gifts so that the matter could be put to rest. Indeed, it is very surprising that though the farmers are seen as the natives of Agogo, they rather triggered a peaceful resolution

as they tried to give the nomads gifts so that peace could prevail. This revelation seems to be conspicuously missing from earlier research work on the conflict between the farmers and the nomads.

Also, the police instituted periodic but ad hoc meetings between the farmers and nomads to enable the police have first-hand information on the conflict. This approach was also used because it is a peaceful way of managing the conflict as observed by (Opoku, 2012). The use of negotiation echoes Obeng's (2015) views that negotiation is a key approach to the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts that may arise among parties. Negotiation as a conflict management technique is seen as an open, cooperative or collaborative conflict management approach. Other studies by Refik (2010) and Chen & Tjosvold (2002) indicate that when individuals discuss their opposing views openly and cooperatively or collaboratively, it strengthens relationship and opens the door for commitment.

In fact, the information given by the participants was quit revealing. In an effort to find an amicable solution to the conflict in the area, it was always the farmers that found it expedient to initiate it. The Fulanis did not find it necessary to start the process of negotiation. This actually raises eyebrow when given a second thought because it appears that the Fulanis seem not to be interested in the resolution of the conflict; and therefore they may probably be protected by some high profile personalities, who command authority in and outside the area. Indeed, this issue will be considerably looked at in my subsequent discussions on why the conflict management methods have so far been fruitless in the Agogo area. However, judging from the position of common sense and inferential thinking as I have already intimated in my earlier discussions, some highly influential personalities or hidden

factors may be rallying behind the conflict; hence, the continuity of the conflict in Agogo.

4.2.2 Arbitration or adjudication

Arbitration or adjudication, which Castro and Nielson (2003) identify as one of the conflict management strategies, happens to be one of the conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict between the farmers and the Nomads in the Agogo area. Arbitration or adjudication, which refers to the process of resolving disputes between people or groups by referring them to a third party, either agreed on by them or provided by law, to make a judgement. The extracts below, which is information from the participants considered for this study throw more light on the use of arbitration or adjudication as a conflict resolution method in dealing with the situation in the Agogo area. One of the participants who is a youth leader revealed that *“The two sides especially the farmers, who are mostly indigenes, have gone to court to seek redress on how best the nomads can be contained without their farms being destroyed.”*

The registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council reiterated the court case in 2012 when he asserted that:

The courts ruled in favour for the petitioners for the Fulanis to be sacked from Agogo. The communities thought Nananom were in favor of the Fulani but when it went to court, the Traditional Council gave its blessing to the judgment to be executed.

The youth leader for the Agogo Youth Association asserted that *“the court order was not fully being implemented as given.”* Opanyin Kwadwo Oduro who has being vociferous in seeing to it that there is peace between the nomads and the farmers

asserted that *“they were forced to go to court, looking at the suffering they were receiving from the nomads.”*

Clearly, as shown by the words of the youth leader, the registrar of the Agogo Traditional Council and Opayin Kwadwo Oduro, the court has been the prototypical and principal means for the farmers to put the matter to rest. This is due to the fact that the court is the legally instituted and mandated body, where people who feel they are unfairly treated seek redress. In the case of adjudication, the study showed that the courts have been used extensively by the farmers in managing this conflict. The preference and use of adjudication by the people of Agogo suggests that the indigenous people trust the law courts, but information gathered from the Fulani suggests that they are quite indifferent concerning the law court and that for them, it is not their intention to flout the orders of the court; only that they feel they have nowhere to go as they seem to have taken Ghana as their home. They therefore feel that they are treated as aliens in the country, as some see themselves as Ghanaians and no other national.

This is evident in the spokesperson of the nomads when he asserted:

Look masa, we are now Ghanaians; some of us do not know any country apart from Ghana. Though some of our parents are from Burkina, Mali and the rest; I cannot go there. So where should I leave Ghana and go my brother. As for the court, we don't have anything to say; whatever they will say, I am saying we can't leave Ghana.

Again, the use of the courts by farmers to redress the conflict is indicative of the fact that adjudication is a peaceful and proactive way of managing the conflict. As a matter of fact, this is to be expected in the early stages of conflict as Castro and Nielson (2003) have observed that in the early stages of conflict, people try to prevent conflict out rightly from escaping into violent attack, and therefore may resort to third

parties, who are possibly mandated by law to determine the matter amicably. It can then be argued that the farmers in their estimation felt that the court had the judicial powers to pronounce final judgment on the matter given the fact that their leaders, who should have exercised authority in controlling the activities of the nomads in the Agogo area have failed them.

Notwithstanding the powers of the court as the final arbiter or adjudicator in matters of this nature, the Fulanis in the Agogo area did not respect the orders of the court. Therefore, in my estimation, as I have opined earlier in this discussion, the nomads could be acting under the auspices of some personalities who command authority in and outside the area, who might not be willing to allow the nomads leave as per the orders of the court; but the Fulani feel that they have nowhere and that they also Ghanaians. However, that is not within their purview to decide, rather the law court and so they have no audacity to disrespect the orders of the court. I hold this view because, as Rahim (2000) has noted, in arbitration or adjudication, the third party makes the final determination of the matter, which becomes binding on either of the parties, especially when the third party is constituted or mandated by law, as in the case of the law court in the determination of the matter between the farmers and the herders. However, information garnered from the Fulani seems to suggest that they did not yield to the orders of the court because they have nowhere to go and that they feel comfortable living in the area with their cattle and that for them explains why they flouted orders of the court.

Bukari (2017) however has attributed the continuity of the Agogo conflict to state weakness. According to Bukari (2017), violent farmer-herder conflicts are seen as a consequence of state weakness as seen in the lack of security that has resulted in the

flourishing of illegal arms use, lack of enforcement of property rights laws and the inability to resolve these conflicts. This confirms one of the participants' assertion that "*operation cowleg should be given a permanent station in Agogo to Patrol the area to effectively curb this conflict*". Butler and Gates and Rice and Patrick as cited in Bukari (2017) also looked at state weakness as resulting from the failure of the state to secure its population from violent conflict and to resolve such conflict. Rice and Patrick (2008, p. 3 as cited in Bukari, 2017) define weak states as:

Countries that lack the essential capacity and/or will to fulfill four sets of critical government responsibilities: fostering an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable economic growth; establishing and maintaining legitimate, transparent, and accountable political institutions; securing their populations from violent conflict and controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population.

The Ghanaian Government, as argued by Bukari (2017) does not meet any of the criteria above. According to him, the Ghanaian state has remained very democratic and is pursuing economic development to fulfill the needs of its people and has not had any conflict of any national scale. Nevertheless, the disregard for the court ruling to evacuate the Fulanis from the Agogo area and the unresolved nature of farmer-herder conflict has a very daunting effect on the livelihood of both the farmers and the herders, which rather fit the state into the criteria by Rice and Patrick (2008). Again Boateng (2015) equally finds out that the Fulani never seek arbitration or adjudication. That is, Boateng (2015) tried to find out in his study the various conflict management strategies that are preferred by both the farmers and the herders by using Castro and Nielson's (2003) conflict resolution methods or strategies. He found out that while the Fulanis preferred conflict management methods like avoidance, open confrontation, mediation and negotiation, they never considered arbitration. This is to be expected because possibly, they are fully convinced that they do not have any

substantial case for the court to rule in their favour, and therefore, for them, it will be an exercise in futility. This finding confirms the assertion of Opoku (2012) that the majority of the people of Agogo preferred adjudication because they trust the law courts.

4.2.3 Confrontation

The findings of the study established the use of confrontation by both the farmers and nomads as a way of resolving the conflict in the Agogo area, as revealed by the secretary of the Youth Association in the extract below.

Demonstration has also been used in the management of the conflict in Agogo. This was in 2008, when even the Member of Parliament joined the Youth in protesting against nomadism in the area. We were in our Red with our MP, we went on the street to demonstrate our displeasure of the way the nomads are living with us in our own land. The youth have written several petitions to various dignitaries but to no avail. Our next move will be picketing at Parliament House for them to really see that the people of Agogo are truly suffering. This has led to the arrest of many people.

It unfolds from the extract that the confrontation by the farmers was largely in the form of peaceful protest and demonstration of anger from farmers. In the case of the nomads, confrontation of the farmers is in the form of aggressive and violent reprisal attacks on nomads. This finding confirms McGregor's (2017) findings that confrontations over damaged crops during the nomads and farmers conflict at Agogo are typically followed by armed herders responding to the farmers' anger with violence, inevitably leading to reprisal attacks on herding camps by farming communities. It can be seen that the farmers are really disturbed by the fact that precious lives are lost and properties being destroyed, which as a result, used confrontation. The confrontation as noted during the process of the interview became very severe on both sides: the farmers and the nomads, as lives were lost and

properties destroyed. The findings reveal that confrontation by farmers is mostly as a result of the pains they go through, especially as a result of the loss of their farms, property and loved ones. This finding supports Opoku's (2012) position that some conflicts require confrontation of the parties. This strategy requires the victim to openly attack the person causing the harm to him or her. It means that confrontation between the farmers and nomads always end in aggression and violence. This finding also substantiates Opoku's (2012) assertion that the nomads have been killing innocent citizens, especially farmers in Agogo, raping women, destroying their farm crops and polluting water bodies. This is a recipe for fear and panic among inhabitants of the land.

The confrontations, as Boateng (2015) found were the surest way to end the conflict in the area and were justified by the interviewees in that while the farmers felt that the activities of the herdsmen are threatening their livelihood owing to the destruction of crops by the cattle, the herdsmen also felt that their source of income and place of abode are on the line. This led to the farmers putting some poisonous substances on their crops, which led to the dying of the cattle. This action, according to them, became necessary because they thought the animal after eating the crops would die, which in turn would deter the herdsmen from allowing their cattle to graze in their farms and destroy their crops. However, this approach was like petrol on a flame, as it infuriated the herdsmen to kill and rape the farmers at will. Also, the indigenes in retaliation, took measures to protect their lives and their family by mobilizing the youth to go after the herdsmen, which as a matter of fact, resulted in a blood bath. The nomads also feel that the farmer or better still the indigenes of the Agogo area intentionally kill their cattle under the pretense that the cattle have destroyed their (farmers) crops, as evident in the words of the spokesperson for the nomads.

The farmers at times kill our cattle under the guise that the cattle destroyed their farms especially during Christmas. So they use our animals to celebrate the Christmas. So the Fulanis also burn the farm of the farmers in revenge of their killed cattle.

This counter accusation from both parties heightened the conflict in the area, and therefore got the attention of the entire nation, as various newspapers, radio stations and television stations took the matter up for public discussion. The government therefore thought that the Fulanis were wrecking unnecessary havoc on the indigenes since the cattle were brought by the Fulanis from nowhere to destroy the crops of the farmers; and therefore devised a strategy dubbed “Operation Cow Leg”.

4.2.4 The use of force (Operation Cow Leg)

Also, when all peaceful methods aimed at resolving the conflict in the Agogo area did not yield result, the farmers and the nomads confronted each other, but that even heightened the conflict, which resulted in blood shed and destruction of properties. The participants of the study gave a full and comprehensive account of the use of force in dealing with the conflict in the Agogo area. The extracts below shed more light on the use of force in dealing with the conflict in the Agogo area.

According to the DCE;

There have been security measures in managing the conflict from the national level through to the regional and district levels. The Government approach has largely been the “Operation Cow Leg” in the area. The “Operation Cow Leg” is a combined force of the Police and Military personnel.

The Registrar of the traditional council had this to say:

For this year (2017), it has been successful in the operation...as they have driven away 95% of the nomads and the farmers are able to go to their farms.

Nonetheless, the chairman of the Agogo Youth Association asserted that:

This is a reactionary approach which even causes financial loss to the district but their lives are still in danger. “Operation Cow Leg is an attempt to come and deceive them during the dry season...He sees this as a way to house the security personnel and after six months go away.

Another participant, Yaw Manu, arguing against the presence of the soldiers was of the view that:

More should be done to totally put a stop to this menace. If you kill an animal and do not cut the head, you have not done anything and also if you put an animal on fire and does not burn, you cannot sleep. The Operation Cow Leg, he sees it as a “half-baked solution” which he thinks solves the problem for a period of time.

Indeed, according to the Police Commander;

The Police also patrol the affected areas unannounced to ascertain whether there is anything untoward happening in that area. For instance, we did effective patrols, where they have farms...so that there will be a line where the cattle should go. The police met the two major stakeholders, thus, farmers and nomads, to create a fund where people will be paid for the destruction of their farms or killing of a cow by the farmers. This was a step in the right direction but still did not work. It was not going to be just personal estimation of the value of the destroyed property but evaluators will have gone to check and that will have made people to understand that. He however denied the allegations by farmers and nomads that the Police is demanding money from them.

One Assemblyman reckoned that:

Peace is needed in Agogo and that various groups or individuals must be involved in bringing peace to Agogo. Although the nomads seem to have left, there are some still at Kowreso, Aberewapon, Adokorom and some other villages in Agogo. These places are closer to Afram plains, and that area is not good for farming...they have therefore used that place as their hide out for the soldiers to leave.

As can be seen from the views of the participants above, there was the deployment of security personnel for the management of the conflict. National, regional and district security measures were put in place to manage the conflict. This approach which is a

brainchild of the Government of Ghana has largely been the “Operation Cow Leg”. This is a combined force of the police and military personnel.

The periodic resurfacing of the farmers and nomads conflict in recent years in the face of the existing judgment made the inhabitants to ask if it will ever come to an end. The conflict seems to be intractable in nature and one of the lands related conflicts in the Ashanti Region and several of those in other parts of the country, Ghana. The failure of all these strategies to work is a clear manifestation of a weak institutional capacity in Ghana to manage these conflicts right from the traditional council to formal institutions. Even though the Operation Cow Leg provided an impetus to the policy of expulsion or eviction, it has not been a total success in the case of Agogo. This is attributable to self-seeking interest, cattle ownership and the involvement of traditional and religious institutions and political interests. This revelation corroborates the views of Bukari and Schareika (2015) who assert that Operation Cow Leg has been carried out several times without total success. Nonetheless, a similar policy proved successful in the Atebubu District in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana in 1999 and 2000 although it was fraught with inadequacies as observed by (Olaniyan et al. 2015).

4.2.5 Conclusion

This research question has accounted for the various conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-nomad conflict in the Agogo area. As has been clearly explained in the discussions thus far, right at the onset of the conflict between the two factions- the farmers and the nomads, the farmers who felt threatened by the activities of the nomads, resorted to arbitration or adjudication for the matter to be resolved by a competent court of jurisdiction. However, when the herdsmen defied the orders of the court, the farmers again decided to negotiate with the herdsmen by giving them some gifts but that also did not work. When the farmers realized that both adjudication and negotiation did not yield any results in resolving the conflict, they then decided to organize series of demonstrations as a way of confronting the herdsmen, which the nomads saw as a threat, and therefore decided to also confront the farmers in a violent manner. Therefore, when the clashes between these groups heightened and turned bloody, the state, at that point, decided to step in by deploying policemen and soldiers to the area in order to calm matters, which was captioned as “Operation Cow Leg”. This operation was to ensure that the herdsmen and their cattle exit the town in order to allow the indigenes to go ahead with their farming activities. Nonetheless, this also did not yield any results, and therefore there was the need to determine the reasons why all the conflict management practices aimed at curbing the farmer-herder conflict at the Agogo area have proven futile.

4.3 Research question two (2): What are the factors affecting the effectiveness of the conflict management methods in the Asante Akyem North District?

The aim of this research question was to ascertain the failure of the conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo. Identifying the factors that affect the effectiveness of the conflict management is vital in bringing an end to this thorny issue in Agogo. Participants were asked series of questions on what they think constitute the major factors that have affected the effectiveness of the conflict management methods between the farmers and nomads in Agogo. Many conflict management methods have been employed to curb this menace but to no avail. This question was therefore asked to bring to light the hindrances to the effectiveness of the conflict management methods adopted to curb the conflict between farmers and nomads in Agogo, as clarified in the discussions that follow. The study identified the following as the reasons why these management methods have not succeeded: ineffective policing, the use of deadly weapons, interference, politization and personal interest, bribery and corruption and greediness.

4.3.1 Ineffective policing

It was revealed from the responses by the interviewees that policing in the Agogo area has not been very effective and has occasioned the continual failure to curb the conflict between the farmers and the nomads in the Agogo area. The responses below give reasons for the failure of the conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area.

The Police commander asserted that:

The Police only go on patrol in the afternoon and return to the station. This is because we have only one service vehicle and we cannot station it at one affected community. So, it is very difficult to deploy men to go on patrol especially in the evening. Fueling the car every day and accommodating personnel is costly. The indigenes are also not helping

us. Some town people are traitors. Some rent their houses to the nomads and allow them to marry from their family. They keep on giving the nomads information as to when the Police are coming, where they are coming from and all that... The Fulani's leave their cattle to graze freely, especially at Kowreso. Whenever you receive information, you will get there without meeting anybody.

As noted from the responses above, the conflict between the farmers and the nomads at Agogo lingers on despite the various conflict management methods adopted to control it because policing in the area is very ineffective. This, according to the interviewee, is due to lack of resources in policing the area, which seems to make it difficult for the police to frequently visit the affected communities. It should therefore be noted from this account that the state actually has not been proactive in dealing with the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. The responses from the police officer show that the police have the mandate to patrol the communities but they are constrained by lack of logistics.

Again, it became known from the interview with the police officer that there seems to be some kind of unfaithfulness on the part of both the indigenes and the police. That is, from the response of the police commander, while the people revealed their mistrust for the Police, the police also showed their lack of confidence in the indigenes clearly. The police however think that they are doing a yeoman's job but the people of Agogo accuse the police of aiding the nomads for whatever reason that is best known to them; the police also see the people as rather aiding the activities of the nomads by giving them information about the operations of the Police, especially when they are going to where the nomads are. This makes the nomads the ultimate beneficiaries of the issue though the nomads also accuse the police of overcharging them for their self-gain. There is therefore an apparent mistrust between the security apparatus and the community members which affects the management of the conflict

in Agogo. Nonetheless, judging from the information given by both the indigenes and the nomads, something becomes clear. That is, as the farmers accuse the police of aiding the activities of the nomads for some ulterior motive, the nomads also confirm this by revealing that the police overcharge them for their selfish gain. In view of this, the fact still remains that the Fulanis have obviously become very powerful in the area, possibly due to their ability to usurp the powers of the authorities in the area, and extend it to the nation, as to have the temerity to defy the orders of a competent court of jurisdiction.

From the words of the police officer interviewed, it seems that authorities have not committed many resources to deal with the conflict. This makes the security, social and political institutions and leaders fragile and incompetent. This therefore erodes the peoples' confidence in the government and generates more conflict. The issue of lack of resources for the police was in fact conspicuously missing in the findings of Boateng (2015) but he equally reported the lack of confidence the people have developed for the police. According to him, the recourse to the police or court in the Agogo area regarding the farmer-herder conflict tended to be the most hated mode of conflict resolution and most sparingly used. He further noted that the farmers saw the police as being in bed with the herders while the herders also considered the police as exploitative. The findings by Boateng (2015) as well as the current study have clearly identified the reason for the escalation of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. However, this finding is contrary to Milligan's (2002) assertion that the emergence of the police and local governments, as alternative institutions for conflict management, is probably a more significant change to rural communities than the weakening customary institutions.

4.3.2 The use of deadly weapons by the nomads

Another reason why the conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict has not been successful is the use of deadly weapons by the nomads, as can be seen in the responses below

One farmer reckoned that:

The herdsmen are armed. You cannot organize them as a people. Expensive weapons are carried by the Fulanis, but the civilians have no weapons. The Police arrest farmers for holding guns or stones, even if it is for farming purposes. If for nothing at all, the farm is at one place, but the cattle move around. They cannot do their work at night because of poor visibility...even day time they were attacked. The soldiers sack Fulanis whenever the natives give them alert. But the police will arrest a farmer for having a gun...at times farmers are even searched. That is not the case for Fulanis.

One of the participants, Opayin Yaw Manu, recounted that:

Fulani in the olden days used only stick even when lions and wild animals were rampant...so where from all these expensive arms (guns)?

The chairman of the cattle owners' association also asserted that,

The Fulanis are forced to get guns because some of the farmers use weapons to kill their cattle and sell them in town. This cattle rearing too is expensive for us.

The leader of the farmers' association reiterated that:

All these talk about the intensification of the "operation cow leg" this year is nothing new...They are only doing this because, two security personnel, a soldier and a police were shot by Fulani when on patrol. So, these security personnel are also ready to kill. Just last week, a lady, who is a rice seller, fought a Fulani and collected the gun of a Fulani.

One Agricultural Extension Officer stated that:

The Fulanis when they see you in the farm, can point their own gun or cutlass at you and tell you „Abokyi“ (friend) the cattle are coming to eat...if you resist or talk back to them; they can shoot you for talking. They even tie farmers, and even rape their wives or children before their eyes. One day while I was going for area inspection, one person was killed just because the Fulani was annoyed...He narrates that the Fulani claimed the person (killed) identified the Fulani as one that burnt his farm.

The use of deadly and destructive weapons such as guns, cutlasses and clubs by the nomads affected management of the conflict; and following from the earlier discussion, where the police are not well resourced to deal with the conflict, the management of this conflict becomes impossible. The question that can therefore be posed regarding the possession of these deadly weapons by the Fulanis is; where and how do they get these weapons from? The answer to this question could still be pointing to the police force, and possibly the high ranking officials in the country that may be supporting the activities of the nomads for their selfish gains, to the detriment of the common farmer. This confirms an assertion by Mensah et al. (2016), Dosu (2011) and Ibrahim (2010) that the nomads were accused of shoot outs, deaths and raping women at gun point (Ibrahim, 2010). Regarding the Fulani's disregard of the court order, as this study has shown, this indicates that the Government of Ghana (state) failed to execute the orders of the Kumasi High Court which ruled that Fulani herdsman should be evicted from the area.

4.3.3 Interference

Interference by some unknown powerful people at the local, regional and national level has also been one of the issues that hinder the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. The responses below explain this issue further.

The DCE was of the view that:

The Fulani's have weak kraal. They see the ranching system as very expensive. They see that humans are born free and animals too are born free. But the government is ready to support them with borehole and special grass. Regrettably, they see it as an expensive venture. Herdsmen are not ready to move to a safer place to make way for farming by the farmers.

The spokesperson for the Fulani asserted that:

There is always this talk about Fulanis killing farmers and destroying their farms... "Masa", the farmers also equally kill some of the Fulanis and steal some of the cattle. Where do they also get the guns? One farmer named Yaw is in prison for life because he shot a Fulani. Some are not part but they have included all herdsmen. Consequently, there is a struggle... Now the cattle feed at night though they should be sleeping in the night. They are also not ready to talk. They can kill you when you ask them to lead their cattle away.

One youth leader remarked that:

They thought they had a place for their cattle so they were unwilling to dialogue with the farmers or any group. The farmers too lamented that they have abandoned plans to consider the option of arbitration over the conflict... They were always pleading, but to no avail because of the behavior of the nomads. The Fulani's are not the owners of the cattle. They claim the cattle were not for them. At the time, a District Chief Executive (DCE) of the area was removed from office because he was seriously fighting against the presence of the Fulanis. This makes our leaders lack the political will to flush out the Fulanis from Agogo.

One of the assemblymen also remarked that:

High and powerful people in the Ghanaian society own the cattle... They are just concerned or worried that more cattle are dying, but when a Fulani dies he will bring another one. They have strong and fabulously rich men who protect them. Even when a Fulani is arrested,

the following day, he will be set free. One day, a Fulani was bailed with GHC 8000. They are now bringing in religious elements. The Chief Imam and the larger group went to see the President. Why? For the government to impose it on the people or what?

One leading member of the community revealed that:

The cattle are not for the Fulanis. They are for big gurus in the society because of their self-seeking interest. I tell you they are for people from higher places, business men, politicians, police and soldiers. It is making the conflict to linger on. The Fulani don't have the money to rear the cattle. These people are supporting them...even buying them guns. One assemblyman even led the security personnel in one of their patrols. Some cattle owned by important personalities in the society were protected. The cattle were for chiefs, top police officers and top personalities in Ghana. They are the people whose cattle can only be protected by the soldiers. Soldiers go there to protect Fulani and the cattle... A soldier was fined to pay the bullet money, and he was punished when he fired a shot at a Fulani.

Another elder, Opayin Kwadwo Oduro remarked that:

Allegedly, the chief of Aberewapong owns cattle. For the nomads to have people who will help their cause, the cattle owners influence DCE elections in the area. These cattle owners are very rich. The people who live in town give hint to the Fulani's outside town. This makes the work of the soldiers difficult... This is because there is a disconnect between the soldiers and the people. The people are not part of the security team though they know the hide-out of the nomads.... The nomads have a hide-out where helicopters of the OPERATION COW LEG cannot even see them.

The secretary to the Agogo Youth Association was of the opinion that:

The police are given money (bribe) which is even more than their salary. They are also given cattle to rear...At times the cattle owners even let their herdsmen rear the cattle for them. The affected areas are far from the main Agogo Township.

One farmer stated that:

Chiefs are giving land to the cattle owners privately and some are fully engaged in the cattle business. Cattle rearing is a good business. Also, the police don't support us. They come to us in our farms to ask us some irrelevant questions. Oftentimes, you must identify the cattle when you report a nomad to the Police. This is impossible because they are not in a kraal. How can you get witnesses too? You cannot also know where the Fulani stays; you cannot locate them at one particular place. Nomads believe that cattle should walk free as human beings. This is because they are born free, and so they should walk free. A Fulani person has the authority to command a farmer to leave a place where their cattle feed or drink.

It is evident from the preceding responses that a number of factors impeded the various conflict management methods employed to control the conflict between the farmers and nomads at Agogo. The major hindrances to the conflict included, but not limited to the use of deadly weapons by the nomads and ineffective policing, interference from high profile personalities, leading to the disregard for the rule of law, and personal and political interests. Also, politicization of the conflict and the policy of ranching system contributed significantly to the unresolved nature of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. As I have already pointed out, interference or influence by some high profile personalities (Big men) in and outside the Agogo area precipitated quite a number of issues that actually militated against the management of the conflict in the Agogo area. Thus, the influence or interference was the reason the nomads were able to disregard the orders of the court, one of the step (arbitration) by the farmers to resolve the matter. Moreover, politicization, personal interest, and bribery and corruption made it a daunting task in managing the conflict. Guasset (2005) has equally identified, from his consideration of farmer-herder conflicts in the Grassfields of Cameroon that ultimate causes to have contributed to the perpetuation of the conflict in the area. Like the multiplicity of factors emanating from interference, as I have identified in this study, Gausset (2005) defines ultimate

causes to include: socio-political dimensions of resource access, management and ownership rights, power play in the management and ownership of resources between herders and farmers as well as the question of autochthone rights verses „late-comer“ rights in the use and ownership of resources.

As evident from the foregoing responses, personal and political interests accounted for the influence or interference of the various conflict management methods employed to control the conflict in the area. It is probable that this issue gave the Fulani the impetus to refuse to leave the area as ordered by the court. It emerged from the results that political leaders lacked the political will to flush out the Fulani's from Agogo and that political leaders used the conflict as a political propaganda to exploit political capital and to galvanize support of the electorates in the affected constituencies. This revelation is similarly shared by the Fulani, when during an interview; their spokesperson asserted that *“all these people you hear on radio or see on television claiming to help solve the conflict are all well-known party activists in the area.”* Clearly, as captured in the words of the farmers and the nomads, the farmer-herder seems to have taken a political twist, thereby making the conflict very difficult to manage.

Similarly, there was laxity on the part of traditional and religious leaders to aid in flushing out the nomads because of some self-seeking interest, as it became clear from the interview that some of the chiefs in the area own some of the cattle; and therefore would possibly not be interested in the exit of the nomads, which has been the limiting factor to the conflict management process. It was again revealed from the study that the people have a strong perception that the conflict remains insoluble for some seemingly invisible group of individuals who can influence the corridors of

power both nationally and regionally through to the district level to benefit from the rearing of the cattle. Those individuals either themselves or their agents constantly see to it that the cattle rearing business goes on; and so wish the nomads continue to stay in Agogo. The findings of this study are also consistent with those by Ibrahim (2010) on his work in Agogo who reported that politicians politicized the conflict and employed political propaganda to exploit political capital and to gain support from the electorate in the affected constituencies. It has even led to electorates voting for who can solve the conflict from local elections through to presidential elections. Some people are therefore using this conflict to also gain political popularity in the area. The people have high hopes in this government as they see the government to be the savior in taking radical measures to eradicate this canker.

Again, the position of the traditional authorities seems to be arrogated as the people do not believe in the traditional authorities' efforts to curb the menace. This made it difficult to effectively co-operate and co-ordinate to nip in the bud the perennial conflicts as observed by (Ibrahim, 2010). This finding also vindicates Ibrahim's (2010) assertion that the conflict was beset with political rivalry in both mainline and traditional politics that make it difficult to deal with the situation decisively. This development has led to a strained relationship between the traditional authorities and their subjects.

4.3.5 Bribery and corruption

Quite apart from the fact that some high profile personalities interfered or influenced the conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, leading to the unsuccessfulness of the various conflict management methods for their political and personal gains, the issue of bribery and corruption also played a crucial part in the influence or interference matter. Thus, it was revealed that the police who are supposed to enforce law and order by ensuring that the orders of the court are strictly followed were rather taking bribe from the Fulani, thereby strengthening the activities of the herdsmen. This can be found in the response given by one of the participants: *the police are given money (bribe) which is even more than their salary. They are also given cattle to rear...At times the cattle owners even let their herdsmen rear the cattle for them.* Well, in this regard, I should state that this is just an allegation from a participant since during my interview with him, there was no proof to this very allegation; however, there seems to be some facts in this revelation since the Fulanis have equally revealed that the police charge them exorbitant amount of money for their (the nomads) activities in the area.

I must however opine here that given the operations of the police in the country, there was little that the police could do in protecting the activities of the nomads if not for the influence and interference from some influential people in and outside the area. That is, at the initial stage when the matter was settled at the law court for the nomads to exit the area, it became final and binding on the police force to ensure that the nomads followed the orders of the law court by leaving the area, but since there seem to be some authorities whose powers go beyond the Agogo area and do not want the nomads to leave the area, the nomads continued to live in the area, while their cattle continued to destroy the crops of the farmers. That notwithstanding, the police could

have used their jurisdictional mandate in protecting the lives of the indigenes, but due to some reason, they turned their back on the indigenes by allowing the fulanis to persistently countenance the destruction of the farmers' crops; and afflict them with pain. And as the indigenes or the farmers realized that they seemed to have no support from the state, particularly the police, they decided to put their destinies in their own hands by protecting their properties and their lives; and this really explains the reason why the farmer-herder conflict has continued till now.

However, it became clear from the interview that though the ranching system could have been an antidote to resolving the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, the cattle owners considered the ranching system expensive rather than the crops their animals destroy. Of course, much money would go into the rearing of the cattle if they had resorted to the ranching system, but since they do not want to do it because it is expensive, they boycotted that idea at the expense of the ordinary farmer as noted from the responses of the interviewees.

Since the ranching system was not followed and also once the nomads did not follow the orders of the law court by leaving the place, there was no way the farmer-herder conflict could have been managed in that obviously, there would be no place for the cattle to graze except in the farms of the indigenes. Also, the indigenes could not afford to stop farming since majority of them depend on farming for their survival.

4.3.7 Conclusion

In summary, this research question sought to find out the major causes for the failure of the various conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Quite clearly, it can be seen from the foregoing discussions that a number of factors accounted for the ineffectiveness of the various conflict resolution methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. These are ineffective policing, the use of deadly weapons by the nomads, interference resulting from politicization, personal interest and bribery and corruption. Also, failure on the part of the cattle owners to resort to the ranching system is the major setbacks of the many conflict resolution methods employed to curb the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Consequently, the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area continues because of the Fulani's disregard to court ruling, who continue to live in the area without even recourse to the ranching system.

4.4 Research question three (3): What are the Community Perspectives on how the Conflict should be managed in the Asante Akyem North District?

This research question aimed to examine and determine what the community deems fit to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. The participants shared their candid views on how the conflict between the farmers and nomads should be managed in Agogo, as can be realized in the ensuing responses. The findings of this study highlighted on three key perspectives: which are expulsion, ranching and effective registration for nomads. In addition, there was a suggestion for effectiveness of the security operations according to the community that can help control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area.

4.4.1 The expulsion of the nomads

From the interview, it was noted that almost everybody in the Agogo community considers evacuation of the nomads to be the only solution to the protracted conflict between the farmers and the nomads. Their views are captured in the responses that follow.

One farmer was of the view that:

They should be sacked because of memories. The Agogo people only understand one language. That is total evacuation. Nomads and the farmers cannot co-exist. These nomadic people come and you think they can co-exist with us...They are nomadic. We cannot continue to stay with them. Call a spade a spade.

One of the elders asserted that:

The nomads and the animals should go back. When the invaders quit, land for the indigenes will become free. It is never going to happen for the nomads to stay here...The ranching policy will not work in Agogo... The truth is that you can't confine their hunch cattle.

The DCE also had this to say:

The land is basically for farming. So, the indigenes really want them to leave this place. Some indigenes went for loans for farming, lost their farms and went to jail for that... So, they don't want to see the nomads at all. The MP was advocating for the ranching system, but he is no more. Still the people don't want the nomads here again. Though they don't want them, that is not the case because some of them have built houses, married and all that.

As shown in the preceding extract, the community considers expulsion of the Fulani the only and the surest way to end the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Those who hold this view emphasized that the nomads should be flushed out, sacked and totally evacuated from the Agogo stool land. The expulsion does not only mean evacuating Fulani herders from the country, it also means declaring them persona non-grata and preventing them from entering and operating in the country at any time in the future. The aim of the expulsion is to put an end to the continuous conflict between the indigenous population and the migrant herders. Indeed, the only language the farmers and the community understand now is total evacuation and the Fulani owners are now ready to negotiate with the farmers and the community as to the best practice that must be put in place, as to avoid their evacuation. One major finding is that the people do not agree with the implementation of the ranching system the government is championing. The nomads have become a symbol of hatred as the mention of their name breeds anger and reminiscent of sorrow. This finding confirms the study by Boateng (2015), who found a whopping (64%) of farmers indicating an outright evacuation of the Fulani and their cattle to be the surest way to end the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area.

Thus, the indigenes feel that they are the owners of the land and that the nomads are just aliens who should not be making life difficult for the farmers. However, they suffer all forms of abuse from the activities of the nomads and therefore the only

thing which will make the indigenes to end this brouhaha is the total evacuation of the nomads. This can be found in the words of the DCE: *Some indigenes went for loans for farming, lost their farms and went to jail for that... So, they don't want to see the nomads at all.* Notwithstanding, giving some vital revelation from the informants concerning some latent manipulations of nomads by some high profile personalities, the conflict should not be confronted on the face value but a considerable attention should be given to those who seem to have empowered the Fulani to wield such powers as to make life unbearable for the farmers in the area. The fact of the matter then is if really the unforeseen forces are ready to allow the Fulani and their cattle leave the area, then of course, the conflict can be solved.

Quite apart from the fact that the matter goes beyond the nomads to include some unforeseen forces, making the conflict seem like a permanent one, it seems to take another twist. This has to do with the fact that the Fulani have intermarried with the indigenes, as pointed out by one of the participants: *Still the people don't want the nomads here again. Though they don't want them, that is not the case because some of them have built houses, married and all that.* The point is, once the nomads have succeeded in marrying some of the indigenes, bearing their children, the indigenes will not be willing to let them leave the area. At worst, the indigenes would have to also leave with the nomads, and the question is: will they be able to live a nomadic life? This obviously explains why the police have also blamed the indigenes for sabotaging their effort at combatting this particular conflict. This possibly explains why Akpaki (2002) in his interview with some residents in the affected community in Agogo, the farmers pointed out that it was almost impossible to expel the Fulani and therefore if they could improve their methods, they could co-exist with them.

Therefore, as to whether the nomads should leave the area or not is a matter that should probe a national debate with experts' insight.

4.4.2 Ranching system

Clearly and expectedly, the community considers the ranching system an appropriate panacea to bringing the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area to an end. The views of the respondents are clearly depicted in the following responses.

One farmer remarked that:

Farming is an expensive business... It is very painful for one's farm to be destroyed. Because Agogo is a farming community, most people depend on loans for farming...these go with high interest and after getting these, their farms get destroyed. The herdsmen and cattle owners should know that the free range cattle rearing system is cancelled in Agogo. The ranching system even makes the animal neat for consumption. This will even prevent the cattle from being killed. There should be an order to kill all cattle which are not kept in a ranch.

An Assemblyman was of the view that:

Fulani are not people we can stay with. One cannot stay with someone who does not rear animals in a ranch. In a longer term, the district does not regard cattle. However, if anyone wants to do business, there should be a ranching system. Thus, they need to be confined.

On the part of Agricultural Extension Services:

We introduced what we called ranching system where you grow grass on a wide range of land in a confined area. The cattle owners should buy their own land far from the farming areas for the cattle to feed on it. I wish the cattle owners will agree to adopt the ranching system. The best way is to conserve or prepare an area for cattle...clear demarcation for cattle to graze and farmers to farm.

One elder opined that:

Cattle are very humble animals, it is when you leave them loose that's when they destroy things. There should be accommodation so that the ranching can be done in a more modernized manner. One man has done the kraal system just near Agogo, and the soldiers never went there. The place is a very vast land... The waste product of the cattle can be used as fertilizer because that place will be reserved for farming. The ranching system should be spelt out clearly where the government will work on the ranching system.

The DCE and one cattle owner stated that:

Cattle rearing are a farming business which raises revenue and generates employment if we manage it well. It is a big economic venture that brings money. The government can support the ranching system by helping them to properly make it. It could be a fenced one where there is water. Mexico has a way of doing it. The local farmers will be employed to plant the food of the cattle. This will even help Agogo to raise revenue. If you have over 100,000 cattle and even one is paying GH 10...it is even more than the GETFUND. They don't pay tax but we are always spending on them instead of benefiting.

The Registrar for the Agogo Traditional Council stated that:

The ranching policy is laudable. A meeting was held with the town folks... and they were informed that there will be total evacuation of the nomads. They did not agree. The people just want the court ruling to be implemented that nomadic herdsman should be flushed out from Agogo Stool land. Those who are not nomads should operate ranching system with suitable drinking water. Health issues will be solved when the cattle are ranches... Veterinary doctors could visit them as they sell them. Indeed, confinement is the best way.

The spokesperson of the nomads asserted that:

Though it is expensive for us to do the ranching system, the government is so committed to help us in this. So we have also together with our leaders are doing everything possible to make it a reality in Agogo.

Thus, as shown in the responses above, the community believes that it is through the ranching system that the farmer-herder conflict can be resolved. Even though majority of the participants who are farmers in the area wish for the total evacuation of the nomads, a section of the indigenes holds the view that the ranching system

would help bring the conflict to a rest. The Fulani also have the conviction that the ranching system will help in the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the area and therefore gave the assurance that they and their leaders are doing everything possible to resort to the ranching system. This for me, is the ideal solution to this protracted conflict in that considering the root cause and the reason for the longevity of the conflict, which as it were, is due to the destruction of crops by the cattle, the ranching system which will now ensure that the cattle are confined in a particular area without having to move around and graze in various farms, becomes automatically the surest panacea in containing the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that the system of ranching was reported by the members of the community in the Agogo area to be the best approach to settle the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area and also information from literature, particularly the findings of Bukari (2017) should guide our thinking and resolve in finding appropriate ways in dealing with the conflict. Thus, Bukari (2017) in shedding similar light on the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area revealed that the aggravation of violent conflicts between farmers and Fulani in the Agogo area since 1997, led to formal agreements between four cattle owners (two Ghanaians and two Fulanis) and the Agogo Traditional Council (ATC) in 2006 to lease out lands (190 acres) to these cattle owners. The terms of the agreement, according to the ATC included the confinement, ranching and restricted movements of cattle in the area. Otherwise, the land was to be reverted to the ATC. After these formal agreements were concluded, the operations of these cattle owners also saw the migration of other nomadic pastoralists to the area. These nomadic pastoralists, who were mostly Fulani, did not have any formal agreements with the ATC, but entered into informal land arrangements with other usufruct landowners and others were squatters. As a result,

competition for space among the different resource users increased considerably. For instance, different herders, farmers and agro-companies moved to the area for land.

Indeed, Bukari's (2017) information is in tandem with the finding from this study becomes very crucial in that while the nation decides to follow the views of the informants in this study by adopting the ranching system, a considerable attention should, as a matter of fact, be given to illegal squatters. Realizing from this finding and the earlier revelation that the farmers or the indigenes demand total evacuation of the nomads, there seems to be contradictory views from the informants. This conflicting views suggest that the farmers are quite dumbfounded and are really confused as what they want exactly probably because they are angered and peeved by the activities of the nomads and therefore want them out of the land at all cost without any further consideration. On the other hand, it is probable that the farmers feel weak and powerless as to ensure the total evacuation of the nomads since the nomads have been able to refuse court order by refusing to leave the area; and for that reason, the farmers feel that the alternative action that guarantee peace in the area will be the ranching system.

4.4.3 Effective and reliable policing

It also emerged from the interviews that effective and reliable policing will help ensure that the unrest between the farmers and the nomads comes to an end. The views of the participants are evident in the ensuing responses.

One assemblyman stated that:

The situation demands that we get patriotic security personnel. The police and soldiers should be ready to deal with any cattle owner and not to be influenced by cattle or money offered to them. Those doing the operation should be well armed to fully combat the conflict.

The Youth leader of the Agogo Youth Association remarked that:

Though the conflict seems to be ending, it has not ended; the question is what happens if the soldiers leave? Will they come back? There should be permanent base for the joint police-military patrol within the farming areas. The security men should know them...if not the people in town, should be part of the patrol. Perhaps, they should wear military uniforms whenever they want to escort the police and soldiers to identify the nomads and their whereabouts.

The Police commander stated that:

We are carrying out the community engagement practices...The people should give credible information. Thus, we are engaging the community to obtain the needed information. Town folks should report fast to the police. The police should be well resourced in terms of vehicles, gadgets like bullet proof and night glasses. This will enhance their patrol duty throughout the night. This is because some leave their night duties and come in the evening. We need to work effectively and efficiently.

One participant was of the view that:

The soldiers should be here for a year or they should pitch camps in the area. The soldiers don't stay..... So, the nomads hide at the back of the Afram Plains. They come back when the security personnel have left. Nananom should also take the land from the nomads to pave way for total evacuation. At Begoro, the nomads left because the people didn't tolerate them. I mean the citizens were bent on killing them.

The spokesperson of the nomads was also of the belief that:

The Police should have a post at the villages. At times the farmers intentionally kill the cattle with the view that the cattle have destroy their farms. All these are not at times wholly true. This makes us to also react leading to the conflict.

Clearly, as depicted in the preceding extracts, the people in Agogo area feel that the police are not reliable and the police also feel that the police force are not well resourced to provide the solution to the farmer-herder conflict in the area; and therefore there was the suggestion that the police should act reliably by desisting from assisting the nomads to the detriment of the ordinary farmer. The nomads also feel that the actions of the farmers sometimes pose a threat to them; and for that matter like the farmers, they advocated for a permanent base for joint police-military patrol in the affected farming communities. This, to the farmers, will ensure that fear is put in the nomads with the presence of the police, which will compel the nomads to avoid any intention of crime and also to identify the hideout of the nomads and possibly cease all kinds of deadly weapons in their possession. This, to the nomads, will ensure that the farmers desist from treacherous acts against them (nomads) and their cattle, which normally incite them to retaliate in a bloodier manner and and thereby render the various management methods of the conflict ineffective and thus marred the long awaited peace and tranquility that everybody expects.

Also, they feel that when the police are well-resourced, as asserted by one of the participants: *The police should be well resourced in terms of vehicles, gadgets like bullet proof, and night glasses*; it will help deal with the activities of the nomads and put some fear in them. This suggestion seems to conflict with the indigenes' lack of confidence in the police, which as a matter of fact has been pointed out by Boateng (2015). He found out that 21.5% and 8.5% liked the involvement of the police and the

court respectively, which according to him, was contrary to the mistrust they had in the police; but they believed that if the police would be up and doing, they would have been the best institution they would have consulted. Indeed, the additional information espoused by Boateng (2015), is in tandem with the current study. He suggested that the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area should not only be focused on resourcing the police as suggested by the respondents, but also the police should endeavour to change their attitude by avoiding taking sides with the Fulanis.

4.4.4 Conclusion

With this research question, I explored how best the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area can be managed. Analysis of the interview reveals that the farmers have resolved that there is no other way to end the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area except total evacuation or expulsion of the Fulani and their cattle from the Agogo area. It was also revealed from the interview that apart from total evacuation of the Fulani and their cattle, the ranching system and effective policing in the Agogo area could also help put the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area to rest.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this final chapter of the thesis, I first present the summary of the study and then summarise the main findings of what emerged from the study relevant to the research questions of this thesis and also discuss the implications of the study and suggest areas for further work.

The aim of this study was to explore how the conflict between the farmers and the nomads in the Agogo area can be managed. In order to achieve this aim, I posed three (3) specific research questions as presented below.

1. What are the conflict management methods adopted to curb farmers and nomads conflict in Asante Akyem north district?
2. Which factors affect the effectiveness of farmers and nomads conflict management methods in Asante Akyem North District?
3. What are the perspectives of community members concerning how farmers and nomads' conflict should be managed in Asante Akyem North District?

With these research questions in mind, I found the qualitative case study design to be the most effective design and methodology for this study. To conduct the study, I employed the purposive sampling procedure by selecting twelve (12) participants for an interview. These participants as a matter of necessity were selected based on the following inclusion criteria: The person might have lived in the community for more than three years and or dealt with farmers and nomads conflict management in the area, should be able to understand the purpose of the study, and should be involved in the effective management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Asante Akyem North

District. All the same, by virtue of being a leader, they were better able to provide effective management strategies to help maintain peace in the area; and by their position, they were able to give credible information for the management of the conflict. The analysis of data was purely qualitative as I dwelled on the pre-set thematic analysis.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

At the start of the thesis, in Chapter 1, I posed three (3) specific research questions which were intended not only to help provide appropriate ways in managing the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area; but also were intended to offer insights into the various conflict management methods adopted to curb the conflict in the area and the ineffectiveness of the conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict in the Agogo area. The answers obtained, through the interviews have been summarised and presented below:

1. The various conflict management methods adopted to control the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area are arbitration or adjudication by a competent court of jurisdiction. However, when the herdsmen disobeyed the orders of the court, the farmers again decided to negotiate with the herdsmen by giving them some gifts but when that also did not yield any results, the farmers resorted to demonstrations, which the nomads retaliated in a rather violent manner. Therefore, when the clashes between these groups heightened and turned bloody, the state, at that point, decided to step in by deploying policemen and soldiers to the area in order to calm matters, which was captioned as “Operation Cow Leg”.
2. Further, with regard to the reason for the ineffectiveness of the various conflict management methods adopted to control the conflict in the Agogo area, the

study established that ineffective policing, the use of deadly weapons by the nomads, interference from political players, personal interest, bribery and corruption among other things derailed efforts at controlling the conflict. Also, failure on the part of the cattle owners to resort to the ranching system was a principal setback to the many conflict resolution methods employed to curb the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Failure of the state to enforce court rulings which allow the nomads and their cattle to continue to live in the area without even recourse to the ranching system is also part of the reasons the conflict persist.

3. On the community perspective on how the conflict should be managed in the Asante Akyem North District, analysis of the interview showed that the farmers have resolved that there is no other way to end the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area except total evacuation or expulsion of the Fulani and their cattle from the Agogo area. It was also revealed from the interviews that apart from the total evacuation of the Fulani and their cattle, the ranching system and effective policing in the Agogo area could also help put the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area to rest.

5.2 Conclusions

It was noted from the findings that various conflict management methods like arbitration, negotiation, demonstration, confrontation and expulsion have been used in controlling the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, but all these methods did not work. The implication that arises from this finding is that the conflict between the farmers and the nomads in the Agogo area seems to defy all possible solutions and this probably explains the longevity of the conflict in the area. Therefore, dwelling on the conclusion drawn from research question one that the destruction of properties seems to be taking a toll on the farmers and the indigenes in the Agogo area, it could be postulated that the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area may become more and more intense since it seems to defy all possible solutions; and the livelihood of the farmers will continue to be in danger.

In view of this, I advance the argument that the conflict between the farmers and the nomads in the Agogo could only be dealt with if there is the political will since the migration of the Fulani herdsmen is surrounded by political, economic, and social factors, as there are middlemen, politicians, chiefs, security officers with vested interest in the cattle business in Agogo. These do not only attract the Fulani herdsmen, but also make their stay in Agogo more comfortable, and this clearly explains why the various conflict management methods in the Agogo area have all failed. I say this because once the Fulani have been able to defy the orders of the court by not withdrawing from the Agogo area, it means that there is nothing that they cannot do in the area, as evidence has shown in research question one the atrocities that they have caused and yet nothing has been done to them as to that effect. The farmers and nomads conflict in Agogo rages on because the conflict management methods that have so far been employed have proven ineffective.

Further, the study has shown that the various conflict management methods adopted to curb the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area ranges on because the conflict management methods that have so far been employed have proven ineffective. This is because of ineffective policing in the area, the use of deadly weapon by the nomads, interference from some “Big men”, and failure to resort to the ranching system. This means that apart from the fact that the state is not committed to putting the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area to rest, the Fulani seem to be empowered unreasonably by some “Big men” to go ahead with their criminal activities with impunity.

Finally, on the community perspective in the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, the study showed that the community believes that the expulsion of the Fulani’s is the only way that will put the conflict to rest. This implies that the farmers see the Fulani as strangers who seem to make life a living hell for them, and for that matter, if the conflict cannot be settled, then the Fulani are the ones to leave.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the key findings and the conclusions drawn from the study, the following recommendations are made.

1. I put forward that in future, if there is a ruling on any matter regarding farmer-herder conflict as is the focus of this study, the law enforcement agencies, particularly the police should try as much as possible to ensure that the orders of the court are adhered to; and that for some reason, if the orders of the court are not carried out, the judiciary must ensure that its rulings are enforced.
2. It is also recommended to the Ghana Police Service that no Police officer should be stationed there for more than five years. This will help curb the familiarity of the Police and the people to avert the issue of bribery and corruption.
3. The farmers and the indigenes of the conflict zone should be educated by experts on the economic benefits of cattle in order to build coexistence between the farmers and the herdsman and their cattle. This requires the involvement of all stakeholders such as the Government of Ghana, traditional rulers, local institutions, local CSOs (NGOs, CBOs and FBOs) and actors in the conflict. They should carry out periodic sensitization of stakeholders, including farmers and nomads alike, on the need for farmer-nomad conflict management through awareness creation, education, prevention, amelioration, mutual co-existence and peace. This would help to forestall needless provocations and opportunistic violence. More so, there is a need for the provision of mobile education by National Commission of Civic Education which could assist in social enlightenment and general behavioural pattern of the nomads.

4. Besides, the recurring violent attacks need to be addressed from a local-level perspective by the local government and opinion leaders (bottom-up peace approach) rather than the top-down approach from the national perspective through Operation Cow Leg. Measures such as the deployment of state security through the use of Operation Cow Leg (OCL) by the National Security and the formation of national based committees to investigate and resolve violent attacks have apparently failed to curb the violence. Instead, decentralizing conflict management and resolution at the local level as well as integrating local administrations, farmer associations, cattle owners, nomads, local groups and traditional institutions into conflict resolution will help. This is because people at the local level know the issues of common cooperation and cross-cutting ties between them and the pastoralists which can be enhanced and encouraged. Therefore, it is important to emphasise these cross-cutting ties; everyday peace building mechanisms and co-existence among them with the aid of local-based organizations/commissions/institutions that are key in the management of the farmers and nomads conflict.
5. The Government of Ghana and traditional authorities in Agogo State should be firm and fair in the management and implementation of court decisions with regard to the farmer-nomad conflict of Agogo. The politicisation of farmer and nomad conflicts in particular is thwarting efforts at forging cooperation and resolution of the conflict. This politicisation by local actors, government officials, local politicians, cattle owners and community members has deepened the conflict. De-politicising of the farmer-nomad conflict would require the involvement of local institutions, local CSOs (NGOs, CBOs and FBOs) and actors in conflict resolution and peace building since trust of local

and national government in resolving the conflict is low. These local institutions and actors can serve as neutral brokers in negotiating peaceful co-existence.

6. If in the future, the farmer-herder conflict is dealt with completely, policy makers and other stakeholders should ensure that no undue references or any act that will bring to the memory of the actors in the conflict the various atrocities committed against each other since the conflict has been characterized by brutalities and destruction of properties. If the conflict is duly solved, the matter should completely be buried in order to avoid any act of revenge, and possibly shift the focus of the conflict from land issue. I also put forward that policy makers in the area should ensure that after the matter has been settled with the Fulani herdsmen who are already occupants of the Agogo area, no other Fulani herdsmen should come to the area without recourse to the appropriate procedure already instituted with their old folks.

5.4 Problems and Challenges of the Study

Human thoughts and behaviours are complex in nature. In this research, some problems impeded the research since the researcher was dealing with human beings. The researcher encountered a number of difficulties during the conduct of this study. The researcher conducted this study in only the Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region. Failure to study farmers and nomads conflict in the entire country reduces the generalizability of the findings. Hence, the results of this study were limited to the views of study participants in the study area.

Another challenge was that it was difficult to collect data from some of the participants. The researcher had to make several follow-ups before retrieving the completed data. This was an additional cost to the researcher. This also delayed the work. There was also a challenge of unwillingness on the part of some of the participants to provide the information for fear of the outcome of the research. However, the participants were assured of their confidentiality. They were also briefed on the purpose of the research and that the results were to be used for research only. In this regard, they willingly provided the information.

Difficulties in various dimensions were encountered in the course of the study, mostly during the fieldwork. A relatively long distance from the University of Education, Winneba to the various communities in Asante Akyem North District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana coupled with bad network of roads to the affected communities, constituted serious problems which contributed to the unnecessary prolongation of the study. Besides, reaching some of the chosen communities was not easy as means of transportation was quite difficult to get, and when available, the fare charged was quite exorbitant. Rickety cars, tricycles or motorcycles were the only available options due to the poor network of roads in the area. This was indeed at the risk of the researcher.

Another limitation was the initial attitude of the people towards the researcher. In the field, there was general mistrust about the motive of the researcher in most of the communities visited and even by some government officials. The people misconstrued the intention of the researcher and had the erroneous assumption that the researcher was a spy or intelligent officer, gathering information for the security agency to use against them. Others mistook me as a police officer or soldier or other

security agent. Some thought they had been interviewed many times on this issue but nothing essential seemed to come out of it and saw this as a bother. Consequently, it was difficult to get the needed cooperation from stakeholders for interviews in some cases, especially government functionaries, security operatives and some community and Fulani leaders. Nevertheless, an informant aided the researcher and volunteered to assist the researcher throughout the period of the fieldwork, and even travelled with him to other communities apart from his home community.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

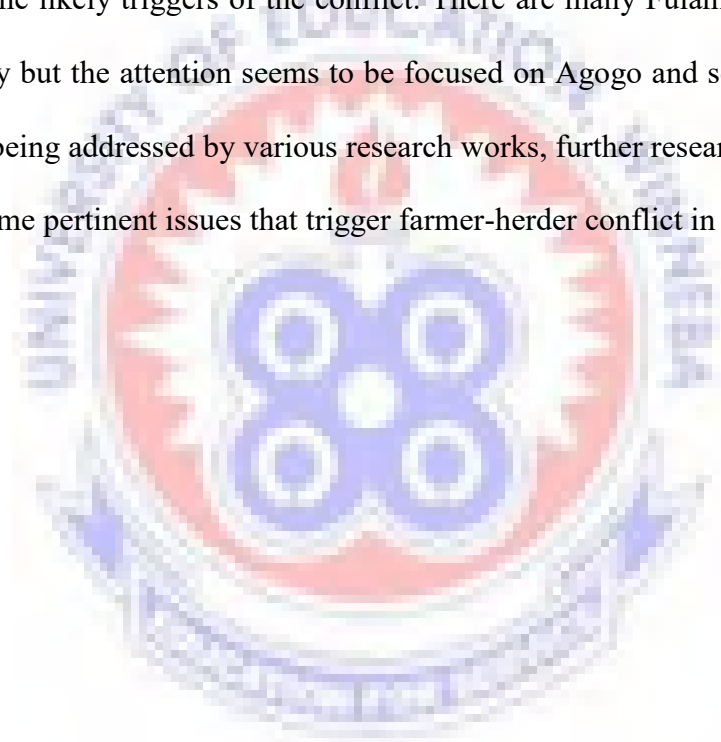
The present study sought to examine the conflict resolution methods adopted to control the conflict between nomads and farmers of Agogo. It explored the community perspective on the conflict management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Clearly, there are important aspects of this study I could not address owing to unavoidable limitations, including time, and scope of the research. Hence further work in the future could prove helpful in extending the insights gained through the present work.

First, this study focused considerably on the management of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area, future studies can look at the debilitating effects of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area. Clearly, as shown in this study and some other studies Oppong (2015) and Bukari (2017), there has been a significant destruction of lives and properties. Thus, the possibilities for further exploration of the daunting effects of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area could help throw up new insights on conflict management practices in other parts of Ghana.

Another area where further work might be needed to more comprehensively understand the farmer-herder conflict is the use and sources of illicit arms in the farmer-nomad conflict in Agogo, and elsewhere in Ghana and their overall

implications for security in Ghana. Thus, this study has shown that the Fulani herdsmen make use of deadly weapons in defending and attacking the farmers and whoever they consider a threat to them. Therefore, investigating into where and how they get these weapons could provide very useful information about farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo area and elsewhere.

Finally, the present study explored the farmer-herder conflict management in the Agogo area; further studies can be done in other possible farmer-herder conflict prone zones on the likely triggers of the conflict. There are many Fulani herdsmen all over the country but the attention seems to be focused on Agogo and so, as the conflict in Agogo is being addressed by various research works, further research work could also address some pertinent issues that trigger farmer-herder conflict in other jurisdictions.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Letter of Introduction



23rd January, 2018

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: MR. ANDERSON OPPONG TWUMASI

We write to introduce Mr. Anderson Oppong Twumasi to your outfit. He is an M.Phil Social Studies education student with index number 8160140005 from the Department of Social Studies Education, University of Education, Winneba.

As part of the requirement for the award of master of philosophy degree, he is undertaking a research on the topic *Farmers and Nomads Conflict Management in Asante Akyem North District*.

We wish to assure you that any information provided would be treated confidential.

Thank you.

Your s faithfully,


Lucy Effeh Attom (Ph. D.)
Ag. Head of Department

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide for Participants

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES

This Interview is designed to solicit opinion(s) on the incidence of farmers and nomads conflict management in Asante Akyem North District. I have chosen these research methods to gain knowledge and insight into the conflict management methods adopted to curb nomadic conflict in Asante Akyem north district, factors affecting the effectiveness of farmer herder conflict management strategies and the perspectives of community members concerning how farmer nomad conflict should be managed in Asante Akyem north district. You are kindly requested to provide answers to enable the researcher contribute to knowledge in the field of study. Kindly be assured that your response(s) would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, please feel free to do so.

SECTION A: Background information, please-tick the appropriate box

1. Gender: Male Female
2. Age: under 20-40 41-60 61 over
3. Indicate your highest educational level: JHS SHS Diploma Degree
4. Which sector of the economy are you working? formal Informal
5. For how long have you being involved in the management of this conflict?
 below 3years 6-10 years 11 years and over

SECTION B: VIEWS ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT METHODS

ADOPTED TO CURB FARMERS AND NOMADS CONFLICT

1. What is the nature of the conflict in this community?
2. What are some of the efforts being made to manage this conflict in this community?
3. How can you describe the efforts that have been made so far?
4. Are you satisfied with these methods? If yes why and if no why not?
5. What other methods do you think will best resolve this conflict?

SECTION C: FACTORS AFFECTING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FARMERS AND NOMADS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

6. Which people have been involved in the management of the conflict so far?
7. Which of these groups or people are dominant in bringing peace to the area when there is conflict?
8. How best do you want such group or committee to embark on their activities or responsibilities?
9. Are you satisfied with their efforts so far? Why or why not?
10. How can you describe their efforts in response to the management of the conflict?
11. What do you think is making it difficult for the conflict to be resolved?
12. What do you think are the other reasons why you think management of this conflict has become difficult?

SECTION D: PERSPECTIVES OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS CONCERNING HOW FARMERS AND NOMADS CONFLICT SHOULD BE MANAGED

13. Do you foresee an end to this conflict? If yes why and if no why not?
14. What do you think is the best way to manage this conflict?
15. Any general comments on the farmers and nomads conflict management in this community?

