

**Farmer-Herder Conflict in Africa:
An Assessment of the Causes and Effects of the Sedentary Farmers-
Fulani Herdsmen Conflict. A Case Study of the Agogo Traditional
Area, Ashanti Region of Ghana.**

by

Emmanuel Agyemang

Supervisor

Arne Olav Øyhus



This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Abstract

Violent conflicts, particularly farmer-herder conflicts have, for a long time, been a common feature of economic livelihood in West Africa (Bleach, 2004). This thesis explores the causes and the effects of farmer-Fulani herdsman conflict, and the mitigation responses towards the conflict. The resource scarcity, eco-survivalism and social capital theories (Hommer-Dixon, 1999; Okoli, 2013; Bourdieu, 1986) serve as the main theoretical point of discussion for this study. Using Agogo in Ghana as a case study, the study empirically examines the reasons behind the movement of the Fulani herdsman to Agogo, the causes of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the herdsman, and the consequences of such relationship. The study also assesses local community and national level responses towards the conflict. Based on a qualitative research strategy; semi-structured interviews and FGDs responses, observational notes as well as various documents were analysed to shed light on the various themes raised.

The study finds that the prevalence of Fulani herdsman in Agogo is because of the presence of ‘special’ pasture, availability of land for leasing, support from influential people, availability of water, absence of tsetse fly (*glossina*) and market opportunity. Further, the causes of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the Fulani herdsman were the destruction of farms and crops, shooting and killing of innocent people, threat and intimidation, rape and sexual harassment, bush burning, water pollution, armed robbery by the nomads, spraying of weeds with weedicides, cattle rustling and killing. Even though the two groups are at the forefront of the conflict, there are many actors involved with competing interests. Consequently, the conflict has generated humanitarian, economic, social, security and natural effects on the socioeconomic development of the community. Finally, the study identified the “Operation Cowleg” as the local community and national level response in dealing with the conflict. However, the policy is not sustainable because; most of the cattle are owned by influential Ghanaians with competing interest in the cattle business in Agogo, issues of bribery and corruption in the operation, as well as the ECOWAS protocol.

Based on the findings, the study recommends the following short, medium and long terms solutions; dialogue and settlement committee, creation of buffer zone, socialisation and integration, distribution and relocation, ranching system, proper land arrangement.

Keywords: resource scarcity, conflict, “Operation Cowleg”, social capital, eco-survivalism

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my lovely Queen and Princess; Janice Bemah Sarpong. For all your love, care, commitment and support throughout the years; I am extremely honoured and owe you the world. Thank you

Declaration by candidate

I, Emmanuel Agyemang, confirm that this work

‘Farmer-Herder Conflict in Africa: An Assessment of the Causes and Effects of the Sedentary Farmers-Fulani Herdsmen Conflict. A Case Study of the Agogo Traditional Area, Ashanti Region of Ghana’.

has not been previously submitted, either in whole or in part for a degree at this University or any other institution of higher learning. To the best of my knowledge the thesis is original and contains no materials previously published or written by any other persons except as acknowledged in the text and reference list.

.....

Kristiansand, 1st June, 2017.

Emmanuel Agyemang

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AANDA	Asante Akyem North District Assembly
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
DDCD	Deputy District Coordinating Director
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FACU	Federal Agricultural Coordinating Unit
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GOM	Government of Mali
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
MP	Member of Parliament
REGSEC	Ashanti Regional Security Council
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TB	Tuberculosis
UE	University of Education, Mampong Campus
UiA	University of Agder
WANEP	West African Network for Peace Building

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Violent conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers have, for a long time, been a common feature of economic livelihood in West Africa with consequences on human and animal lives, properties, peaceful coexistence, and orderliness (Bleach, 2004, p.1; Olaniyan, 2015, p.330; Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.163; Tonah, 2006). Conflicts between farmers and herders have been classified as Low Intensity Conflict resulting from environmental degradation, resource scarcity, population growth and climate change (Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.163). According to Breusers et al. (1998, p.357), conflicts between sedentary farmers and pastoralists is an old phenomenon, however, there is a consensus among observers that farmers-herders' clashes in the coastal countries of West Africa became widespread in the 20th century (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p.47; Tonah 2006, p.154; 2002, p.43).

Before the 20th century, the problem was mainly prevalent in the savanna belts of West Africa i.e. the Guinea, Sudan and Sahel zones (savanna belts), where cattle rearing was predominant; as against crop production, which was carried out only during the short rainy season on a small scale (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p. 47). In view of this, the Fulani herdsmen had access to a vast area of grassland (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p. 47). Indeed, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the migration of the Fulani pastoralists from the Sahel into the forest zones of the coastal states such as Ghana, Benin, Nigeria and Côte D'Ivoire (de Bruijn & van Dijk, 2003, p. 290; Caldwell 1975; Frantz 1990; Swift 1977; Tonah, 2006, p. 23).

According to Ofuoku & Isife (2009, p.47), the withering of pasture during the dry season compelled the Fulani nomads to “move southward to the coastal zone where the rainy season is longer and the soil retains moisture for long, in search of pasture and water”. Elaborating on the movement of the Fulbe to the coastal states, de Bruijn & van Dijk (2003, p.292; 1999, p.46) studies indicated that, during the 1970s and 1980s droughts in the Sahel, the only coping strategy for the Fulbe was to move southwards as the Fulani lost most of their cattle and were suffering from severe impoverishment. Further, Tonah (2005, p.23) stressed that, the Sahelian drought of the 1970s and 1980s, forced a large number of herders to migrate into the fringes of the humid forest zone of West Africa. The rotational movement and settlement of the herders in the humid zone has also been attributed to availability of pasture, large number of wild

animals and the fear of losing animals to diseases, especially trypanosomiasis (Blench, 1994, pp.198-200).

However, this pattern of migration by the herders has created a lot of violent conflicts between the Fulani herdsmen and the sedentary farmers of the areas they settle with adverse effects on human lives, properties and livestock (de Bruijn and van Dijk, 2003, p. 291; Tonah, 2005).

In the Sub-Saharan Africa, cases of farmers-herders conflict are widespread across the sub region. For example, in 2013, about 300 people were reported dead in Nigeria due to farmers-nomads conflict (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014, p.78). Also, a clash in 1989 between herders and farmers at the borders between Senegal and Mauritania resulted in multiple deaths, scores of wounded people, and wanton destruction of properties when reactions spread across borders (Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp.17-18; Salmone, 2010). On December 18, 2009, a conflict between pastoralists and farmers in Udeni-Gida, a town in central Nigeria's Nasarawa State, left 32 people dead, scores of houses burned, and several farms destroyed (IRIN, 2012).

In January 2009, over 40 people were reported dead, both in attack and reprisal attacks in the districts of Isiolo, Marsabit, and Sambur in Kenya. In 2007, in the provinces of Gogo, Perkoura, Zounweogo, and Poni areas of Burkina Faso, clashes between farmers and herders resulted in 18 deaths (Olaniyan, 2015, p.331). According to Edithe Vokouma, director of pastoralist affairs in the Burkina Faso Ministry of Animal Resources, a record of 4,000 clashes were recorded in four years (2008-2012) with 55 deaths; and that the country records an estimate of 600 conflicts per year between itinerant pastoralists and sedentary farmers (IRIN, 2012a). These cases point to the fact that; the conflict is a recurring social problem. Nowadays, with the proliferation of arms in the sub-region due to the political violence in the manor river basin and beyond such Cote d' Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone; and the Fulani nomads practice of moving along with arms, has changed the dimension of the conflict (FACU, 1999, p.6). Therefore, the farmer-herder conflicts are a threat to peace and national stability. It also has implications for ethnic co-existence given that, the Sub-Saharan African Countries are multi-ethnic.

Ghana is not immune to the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani herdsmen and its negative effects. Between 2010 and 2013, there were as many as 60 media reports of clashes between local farmers and Fulani herdsmen in many parts of Ghana (Bukari & Schareika, 2015, p.6). In addition, according to the April 2010 quarterly report of WANEP¹, these conflicts constitute a major security threat, and if unchecked, such conflicts may escalate into armed

¹ WANEP is West African Network for Peace Building

conflicts (cited in Olaniyan, 2015, p.331). Again, on 7th December 2011, conflict between Fulani herdsmen and Konkomba² people in the Gushiegu District of Northern region led to 13 deaths, while 11 people were seriously injured. Also, many houses were burnt, properties destroyed, and many cattle rustled (Abubakari & Longi, 2014, p.103; Olaniyan, 2015, p.335). With specific reference to Agogo in the Ashanti Region, according to REGSEC³ reports, a lot of people have been killed, and many farms and properties have been destroyed since the conflict started (Dadson Committee Report, 2010; Republic of Ghana, 2012a; 2012b, appendix 3, 4, and 5). In February 2016, two farmers were allegedly killed in their farms by Fulani nomads (Daily Guide, 2016). A report from the Agogo Youth Association claimed that forty (40) farmers have been killed by the Fulani nomads since 2000 (Citifmonline.com, 2016). Finally, the statistics of murder cases at Agogo, per Agogo District Police Station data from January 2014 to January 2016 shows that, many people died from attacks through the conflict (Fieldwork, 2017). This study seeks to empirically examine the underlying causes and effects of the conflict between the herders and the farmers, as well as the local community and national level measures as applied to resolve or mitigate the situation in Agogo, Ghana.

1.2. Significance and justification of the study

The farmer-herder conflict in Agogo started in the late 1990s, following the migration and settlement of some herdsmen and their cattle in the area. On the surface, the conflict is between the farmers and the herdsmen, however, there are a lot of actors involved with competing interest. The conflict has substantial negative implications on social, economic and political settings at the local and national levels. Both the farmers and the herdsmen have divergent views concerning the situation. Political and social commentators, as well as journalist have different angles of looking at the conflict. While some explain it from the ethnicity point of view, others view it from the point of resource scarcity. In view of this, there is the need for a scientific study that will unravel and explain the issues surrounding the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo.

Further, the choice of the topic and the case study are motivated by the fact that the current scholarly works on farmer/herder conflicts in Ghana focus mainly on the Northern and the Middle Volta Basin of the country (Tonah, 2000; 2002; 2002a; 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2005;

² Konkomba is an ethnic group found in the Northern region of Ghana

³ Regional Security Council for Ashanti Region, a body (made up of all the security agencies) that oversees the entire security in the Region.

2006; 2007, Bare, 2012; Bukari & Schareika, 2015; Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Olaniyan, 2015). In spite of the rising incidences of farmer-herder conflicts, little is known concerning this phenomenon in Agogo, as existing studies have not fully addressed this crucial problem of establishing empirically the causes and the effects. Therefore, there is big gap in the literature about the conflict in Agogo. Herein lays the relevance of the study because it shall constitute a significant addition to the existing literature.

In addition, the bulk of prevailing ideas on the conflict has been largely and unnecessarily journalistic and anecdotal, lacking in intellectual depth, fecundity and rigour. The Agogo conflict has remained scarcely documented by way of organised research. Therefore, there is the need for a systematic investigation that will leverage scholarly and policy insights on the subject, which is the purpose of this study. Finally, hopefully, the research findings will enable stakeholders and policy makers to be more aware of the causes, effects of the conflict, and design the necessary policies to ensure peace and harmony in Agogo.

A qualitative research strategy was applied as the methodological approach to find answers to a number of research questions. This included the use of semi-structured interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), participant observation, text and document analysis. This method was chosen as against quantitative, because the objects of interest (farmers and herdsman) in this study are fundamentally different from the objects of interest in the natural sciences. Also, the main objective of the study is to study and understand a social phenomenon (conflict), which has been captured as the statement of the problem. Considering the objects and the social phenomenon of this study, methodologically, it was prudent to adopt interpretivism which attempts to understand human experiences, values and actions.

1.3. Problem Statement

In Ghana, the conflicts between Fulani herdsman and sedentary farmers have been a major problem not only for the local communities, but also for the government at the national level. The April 2010 quarterly report of WANEP warned of possible escalation of these conflicts into armed conflicts, if measures are not put in place to check (cited in Olaniyan, 2015, p.331).

The Agogo conflict between the sedentary farmers and Fulani herdsman spans more than two decades, following the leasing of farmlands to some cattle owners by the chiefs of Agogo. As a practice and a sign of conviviality, in the West African sub region, host communities have been welcoming and integrating migrants such as mobile livestock keepers and agricultural

settlers for ages (de Bruijn & van Dijk, 2003, pp. 290-291). In Ghana, one of such ways of integration is by allocating a portion of land to the migrants, of which Agogo is no exception. In other words, the migrants and the indigenes of Agogo were living peacefully without any conflict. Moreover, cattle rearing existed in Agogo long time, of which some of the migrants and the indigenes were cattle owners (Field Report, 2017). Therefore, herdsmen were engaged in the practice of tendering of cattle belonging to the indigenes of Agogo. However, with the emergence of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle in Agogo, and the subsequent leasing of land to them in 1997, tension started brewing, leading to the violent conflict. In this regard, the relationships between the Fulani herdsmen and the local people have been very hostile. Thus, armed conflict and social unrest have characterised the interactions between the Fulani nomads and the farmers since 1997 (Field Report, 2017). This seemingly frosty relationship raises questions on the mind of the researcher. What are the reasons behind the conflict relationship? What are the effects of the conflict on the socio-economic development of Agogo?

In 2012, a Kumasi High Court ruled and ordered the REGSEC to drive out all Fulani nomads and their cattle from the Agogo area with immediate effect (Republic of Ghana, 2012a, p.19, appendix 4). However, despite the ruling and the series of protests by the local people demanding the evacuation of the herdsmen and their cattle, the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle are still on the Agogo farmlands. As such, the population of cattle on Agogo lands keep increasing (Olaniyan et al., 2015, p.60; Ghanaweb, 2016). For instance, in the 2012 REGSEC report, the cattle population in Agogo was estimated to be ten thousand (10,000) (Republic of Ghana, 2012b, p.vi, appendix 5). However, as at January 2017, when I did my fieldwork, the cattle population stood at about thirty-one thousand (31,000) per the statistics available to the veterinary doctor for Agogo. This raises some pertinent questions: What factors continue to attract the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo? Why are the herdsmen still in the area despite the High Court ruling?

Furthermore, the available literature attributes climate change, moderate weather, green vegetation, forage as the main factors that attract herders to a particular place (Folami & Folami, 2013, p.105; Stenning, 1959, p.4). Basically, all the districts in the Ashanti Region have the same climate, weather conditions as well as vegetation. Why are the herdsmen not moving to any other district, only to Agogo? Why are they refusing to leave after court ruling and incessant pressure from the indigenes? According to Steve Tonah's conclusion (2005a, pp.96-100), in his study on the Fulani herdsmen in the Middle Volta Basin in Ghana, there is a mutual relations and economic gains between chiefs, land owners, middlemen and the

herdsmen. This attracts the Fulani or make their stay in a particular place more comfortable especially in the Southern part of Ghana. A question to be asked is, are the chiefs and the land owners in Agogo in alliance with the herdsmen? Is it the reason why they are still in the community?

Figure 1: A Picture of a plantain farm destroyed by cattle



Photo: Source (CID, Agogo Police Station, 2017)

For over two decades, the conflict has been on-going, becoming protracted and intractable, with reprisal attacks rampant. The question is; what are the local community and national level mitigation and preventive responses to the conflict? To what extent are these responses effective regarding the conflict in the Agogo? Are there any alternatives measures? This study is an attempt to critically examine the farmer/herder conflict in Agogo.

1.4. Main Objective

The main objective of the study is to examine the conflict relationship between the sedentary farmers and the Fulani herdsmen, and the consequences of such relationship, using Agogo, Ashanti Region of Ghana as a case study. Of importance is also to assess the local community and the national level responses towards the conflict.

1.5. Research questions

The research questions therefore are;

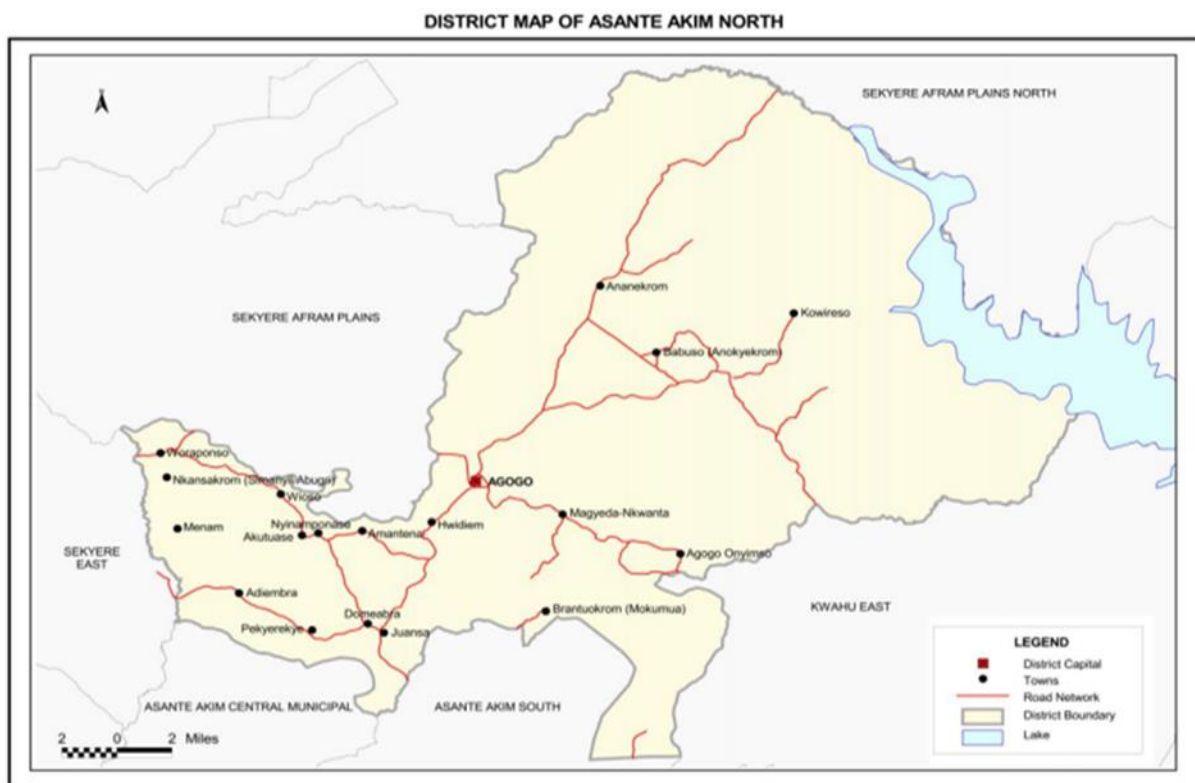
- What are the social, economic, natural and political factors explaining the Fulani herdsmen arrival to Agogo?

- Why a conflict relationship between the locals and the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo?
- What are the social, economic, natural, humanitarian and security consequences of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen?
- What measures are in place at the local community and the national level to mitigate or prevent the humanitarian, social, economic, natural and security consequences.

1.6. Overview of Study Area

Agogo is a town in the Asante Akim North District, one of the new districts in Ghana, created in 2012. It was carved out of the then Asante Akim North Municipal and established by Legislative Instrument 2057 (Republic of Ghana, 2012). The district was inaugurated on 28th June, 2012 with Agogo as its capital (GSS, 2014, p,1).

Figure 2: District Map of Asante Akyem North



Source: Ghana Statistical Service, GIS

Geographically, the district is located in the eastern part of the Ashanti Region and lies between latitudes 6° 30' and 7° 30' North and longitudes 0° 15' and 1° 20' West. It is bordered in the north by Sekyere Afram Plains North, east by Kwahu East, south by Asante Akim South and Asante Akim Central Municipal and the Sekyere East and Sekyere Afram Plains in the west. It

covers a land area of 1,126 square kilometers constituting 4.6 percent of the region's land area (24,389 square kilometers) (GSS, 2014, p.1).

Demographically, the population of the Asante Akim North District, according to the 2010 population and housing census, is 68,186 representing 1.4 per cent of the Ashanti region's total population. Males constitute 48.8 per cent and females represent 51.2 per cent. About 53.5 percent of the population resides in the rural areas. The district has slightly more than half (50.6%) of the population below 20 years, which is an indication of a youthful population. The total age dependency ratio for the district is 82.5, with 76.7 in urban areas and 87.8 in rural areas. The population density of the district stands at 61.5 persons per square kilometer (GSS, 2014, p.1).

In terms of religion, most the people in the district are mainly Christians (79.7%) followed by Muslims who constitute 10.2 percent, traditionalists (believe in deities) form 1.2 percent and less than one percent of the population (0.7%) practice other religions. Interestingly, 8.2 per cent of the population has no religion per the census report (GSS, 2014, p.4). The population is very heterogenous, though the Asante are the indigenes⁴. People from ethnic groups such as Ewe, Komkomba, Fulani, Kusasi, Frafra, Mamprusi, Gonja, Dagomba, Mossi, Akyem, Kwahu among others are all represented in Agogo (Field Report, 2017, Table 3).

Politically, there are two parallel structures of authority in Agogo. The first is the Asante Akim North District Assembly, which is the highest political and administrative body. Under Section 10 of the Local Government Act, (Act 462 of 1993), the Assembly exercises deliberative, legislative and executive functions (Republic of Ghana, 1993). The Assembly is made up of the District Chief Executive (DCE), the Coordinating Director, DDC, Presiding Member, Member of Parliament, and Assembly Members (Republic of Ghana, 1992). The DCE is the political head, who is nominated by the President of the Republic of Ghana and approved by two-thirds of Assembly Members present through voting (GSS, 2014, p. 2).

The second structure of authority is the Agogo Traditional Council (ATC), which encapsulates the chieftaincy institution. Among the Asante and for that matter Agogo, the chieftaincy institution is highly centralised. At the apex is the paramount chief (Omanhene/Agogohene), supported by sub chiefs; Krontihene (second in command), Gyaasehene (home affairs),

⁴ Indigenes refers the first people to occupy the area, and as such regarded as the aborigines. In this study, the Asante are referred to as the indigenes, while the other ethnic groups are referred to as settlers based on the Asante perspective and traditions.

Nifahene (right wing), Benkumhene (left wing), Kyidomhene (defense), Sanaahene (finance) Okyeame (linguist). Also, each village or town has a chief who also pays an allegiance to the paramount chief. For instance, Bebomehene is the chief of the Bebome village. In the study area, the chieftaincy institution plays significant roles of land allocation, dispute and conflict resolution, maintenance of law and order, as well as upholding traditional customs.

Regarding education, Agogo has four tertiary institutions; Agogo Presbyterian College of Education, Agogo Presbyterian Nursing Training, Pentecost University College (Agogo campus), Presbyterian University College (Agogo campus). Agogo has two Senior High Schools namely; the Agogo State College and Collins Secondary Commercial School. It also has many basic schools (Junior high schools and primary schools). In health, Agogo Presbyterian hospital is the main health institution, with some clinics.

Economically, agriculture employs about 72.7 percent of the labour force. Industry employs less of the populace due to the fact that the Asante Akim North District is a typical agrarian economy. Industrial activities are on a low scale due to lack of processing machines and storage facilities to meet the demands of the agricultural sector of the district. As a result, farmers dispose off their farm produce at very low prices due to the fear of them going bad. Therefore, there is a need for more modern storage facilities. There are some private entrepreneurs engaged in wood processing, batik making and *gari*⁵ processing (GSS, 2014, p.4).

In terms of banking and finance, Ghana Commercial Bank Limited (GCB), Group Nduom Bank (GN bank), together with four micro-finance institutions, namely Asante Akyem Rural Bank, Afram Rural Bank, Sinapi Aba Savings and Loans, and Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited are the financial institutions in the vicinity. These banks provide loans to the farmers to enable them embark on commercial farming.

Climatically, the Asante-Akim North District experiences wet semi-equatorial climate and temperature is uniformly high all year round with a mean annual temperature of 26°C. There is double rainfall pattern, with annual total rainfall between 125cm and 175cm. The first rainy season starts from May to July, and the second from September to November. The dry *harmattan*⁶ season occurs between December and March, however, is not too severe. This

⁵ Gari is a flour made from cassava

⁶ Harmattan is the hot, dry wind that blows from the northeast or east in the Sahara desert between December and March

period is characterised by relatively high and low temperatures during the day and night respectively (GSS, 2014, p.1).

1.7. Methodology in brief

This study adopted a qualitative research strategy as the methodological approach to find answers to the research questions raised. This choice is influenced by the researcher's quest to engage the people being studied and access their local knowledge on the causes and consequences of the conflict. In addition, to understand the factors that attract the herdsmen to Agogo, and the effectiveness of the local and national level responses as adopted to resolve the conflict. Both primary and secondary data sources were collected over a two-month period, January 2017 to March 2017, from six key areas; Agogo township, Bebome, Bebuso, Nyamebekyere, Abrewapong and Agyanafo villages. Semi-structured interviews, FGDs, participant observations and text and document analysis were used as qualitative tools to collect the data. Finally, qualitative strategy allowed the researcher the opportunity to present his own version of social reality since knowledge under this paradigm is viewed as indeterminate, in addition to the subjective interpretation of the conflict as explained by the respondents (Bryman, 2012, p. 33).

1.8. Thesis Organization

This study is presented in six chapters. The first chapter consists of the introduction to the study, significance and justification, problem statement, objectives, research questions, and an overview of the study area. The second chapter, the literature review and theories, discusses international and national literature on farmer-herder conflict which are of relevance to the study. The theoretical framework presented as a diagram, serves as a map for the entire work in the presentation and analysis of the research findings. The third chapter encompasses the methodology, and justifies the choice of research strategy. This is discussed against the existing debate between qualitative and quantitative research methods. Also, sampling techniques, tools for data collection, ethical issues and the challenges encountered during the fieldwork are also discussed. The fourth chapter embodies the presentation and analysis of field data in the light of the theories presented in the literature review. The fifth chapter discusses the key research findings in view of the study's objectives and recommendations. The final chapter captures the conclusion and suggestions for further studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

This section discusses the theoretical foundation and literature review concerning farmer-herder conflicts. The first part; theoretical debates, discusses the environmental scarcity and eco-survivalism, and social capital theories that underpin this study. It incorporates the views of many scholars who have written about the resource scarcity theory. The next section; literature review, discusses and reviews the various scholarly works on farmer-herder conflict based on the research questions and the objectives of the study.

2. Theoretical debates on farmer-herder conflict

There are a number of theoretical explanations on what causes a violent conflict between two groups. The scope, resources and time available for this study places limitations on any attempt to test all these theoretical perspectives in the thesis. Given the environment and the groups involved; farmers and Fulani herdsman, the study adopted the environmental/resource scarcity and eco-survivalism theories. In addition, the social capital theory was employed as the conflict in Agogo involves many stakeholders with vested interest. The explanatory insights presented by different scholars formed the theoretical foundation for this research in explaining the nature of the conflict in Agogo.

2.1. Environmental scarcity and eco-survivalism theories of conflict

In the study of environment, scarcity and violence, Homer-Dixon (1999, p.133) asserts that large populations in many developing countries are highly dependent on four key environmental resources that are fundamental to their livelihood: fresh water, cropland, forests and fish. Scarcity or shrinking of these resources as a result of misuse, over-use or degradation, population growth, climate change and resource access lead to competition over the scarce ecological resources among groups, and may under certain circumstances trigger off conflicts. In this perspective, resource scarcity is the product of an insufficient supply, too much demand or an unequal distribution of a resource due to political, economic, social and environmental factors. This forces some groups of a society into conditions of deprivation, competition and violence over the limited resources. In effect, resource scarcity raises the competitive stakes and premium that the various societal groups places on available resources, which may engender violent conflicts among groups. Homer-Dixon (1999, pp.73-74) stressed that,

resource scarcity forces groups in a society into resource capture or competition, which in turn causes ecological marginalisation and violent conflicts among groups.

By applying the theory to Agogo, the conflict has been driven by the scarcity of land, and competition between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen to ensure their viability in the area. The scarcity of land is due to the degradation and shrinking ecological space, human and cattle population explosion, and resource depletion. Therefore, the farmers need the land for cultivation, while the herdsmen need the land for grazing and rearing of cattle.

Tonah (2000, p.556) stressed resource scarcity in his study of Fulbe pastoralists and Kassena farmers conflict in Ghana. According to his study, the ultimate causes of the conflict and the deterioration of relations between the two groups lie in the general degradation of resources and the increased competition for access and resources capture.

This trend is well captured by Adogi,

As the population is increasing, definitely there will be as well increase in demand for land, water, forest products and grazing land within the territories inhabited by Fulanis and farmers; these groups are forced to find new ways to cope with different types of conflict at once because of competition over marginal resources (Adogi, 2013: p.7).

As noted by Hendrickson (1997, p. 8), resource-related conflicts in Africa is driven by the scarcity⁷ of natural resources. Blench (1996, p. 1) argued that in semi-arid sub-Saharan Africa, areas where resources are short and populations live on the edge, minor deficits in rainfall, land use or pasture generate major conflict. This coincides with the study of resource conflict by Bennett, which states that environmental degradation is playing “an increasingly important role in conflict in the Sahel—a region where natural resources are diminishing, competition over their use is increasingly tense, and violent conflict are becoming more and more frequent” (Bennett, 1991, p.1). Writing on the farmer–herder in Africa, Turner (2004, p.869) recognised that, people in the agro pastoral regions of the West African Sahel, describe farmer–herder conflicts as a struggle over resources and a major source of social conflict and environmental degradation in the region.

The debate by the various scholars indicate clearly that, resource scarcity plays and underpins farmer-herder conflicts in Africa, of which Agogo is not an exception. Besides the competition

⁷. Scarcity refers to limited in supply as against demand.

and struggle over land, the activities of both have resulted in environmental degradation with adverse effect on humans, social, economic and security in Agogo.

Another theoretical explanation to the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo is the theory of eco-survivalism (Okoli, 2013). The crux of this theory is that, the desperate quest of groups to protect and advance their livelihood in a competitive and resource-scarce ecological sphere is likely to precipitate violent conflict (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). The theory draws the relationship between resource scarcity and survival. Further, the theory holds that, the militant posture of the herdsmen and the farmers must be understood in relation to survival (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). To the farmer in Agogo, his/her survival depends on the cultivation and harvesting of crops. Therefore, any damage caused to the crops threatening the livelihood of the farmer. In the same way as the Fulani herdsmen; for the average herdsman, pastoralism is a way of living. In this regard, any threat to his herd amounts to a threat to his survival and destiny. As captured by Abbas (2012, p.331), *“Our herd is our life, because to every nomad, life is worthless without his cattle. What do you expect from us when our source of existence is threatened? The encroachment of grazing field and routes by farmers is a call to war”*.

By applying this theory to Agogo, the aggression among the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen is motivated by a do-or-die struggle for a living in a territory that is competitive, and hostile to each other’s collective means of sustenance. In effect, the move by the locals to expel or eject the Fulani herdsmen from Agogo farmlands has been adjudged as a threat on the livelihood of the latter, resulting in attacks and reprisal attacks.

The environmental scarcity and eco-survivalism theories have been criticised over its reliance on resource scarcity as a cause of farmer -herder conflict in Africa (Peluso & Watts, 2001). However, Homer-Dixon posited that, environmental scarcity is never a sole or sufficient cause of conflict or violence between two groups; it enmeshes with political, economic, and other factors to generate harsh social effects that in turn help produce violence (Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp. 16, 80, 178). On this score, Tonah (2006, p.160) notes that farmer-herder conflicts are not only seen as resources conflict, but also as an ethnic conflict involving the two groups. Since pastoralists and native groups possess distinct values, customs, physical and cultural characteristics; ethnicity plays key role in their conflicts. To compliment this, Olaniyan (2015, p.335) revealed ethnicity in his study on Fulani–Komkomba conflict in Ghana. According to him, resource scarcity is evident as a cause of the conflict. However, the underlining factor remains the issue of ethnicity as the Fulani pastoralists are regarded as strangers in the land.

In view of the above theoretical debates and positions by various scholars, the study seeks to test and ascertain the true nature, causes and effects of the conflict in Agogo.

2.1.1. The social capital theory

The social capital theory has so many variations, and such, has been used by authors differently depending on the context. In this study, social capital refers to a network of people, which enables an individual or a group of people to achieve certain benefits and engage in actions which would otherwise be impossible. By adopting Pierre Bourdieu's analysis (1986), social capital is a person's or a group's aggregate resources linked to a collective network of more or less institutionalised relationships. The network emphasizes the social structure in which the individuals operate. This includes the characteristics, the position, and the potential benefits available to the individuals within the networks (Burt 2000; Granovetter 2005; Lin 2008; Sabatini 2006; Sciarrone 2002). In this sense, the network is sustained as the group provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital. This capital can be both material and symbolic. As such, the basis of the solidarity is the profits, which members accrue from being in the group (Bourdieu, 1986). This more or less institutionalised network may be operating covertly or overtly with a single agent or a small group of agents mandated and charged to represent the group, to speak and act in its name with the aid of this collectively owned capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The theory of social capital is an important analytical tool when studying farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana, specifically, the case of Agogo, following the continuous migration and settlement of the Fulani herdsmen in the area, in spite of the Dadson committee recommendations, the court ruling, and failure to implement the evacuation plan by the REGSEC (appendix 3, 4, and 5). A review of literature concerning the topic in Ghana, particularly, the southern part, indicates a network of mutual relations and economic gains between the "big men" such as chiefs, politicians, land owners, middlemen and the Fulani herdsmen (Olaniyan et al, 2015, p.62; Tonah, 2005a, pp.96-100; 2006, p.16). This study is based on the premise that, the network between the Fulani herdsmen and the "big men" makes the herdsmen stay in Agogo more comfortable, and protects them from the local community and national level mitigations. The social capital, therefore, was employed in explaining the factors behind the migration of the Fulani nomads in Agogo, and the failure of the "Operation Cowleg" been the local community and national level response.

2.2. Literature Review and theoretical framework

2.2.1. Introduction

This section reviews existing literature relevant to farmer-herder conflict. Specifically, it looks briefly into the scholarly works that are published in scientific journals and books relevant to the study. It covers Fulani presence in Ghana, factors behind the herders' migration to Agogo, causes of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the herdsman, the consequences of the conflicts, and the local community and national level responses towards the conflict. These are divided into sub-headings to aid organisation of the material presented.

2.3. Fulani herdsman's presence in Ghana

Migration of Fulani as an ethnic group to Ghana started long before colonialism (Hill, 1970; Tonah, 2005). However, in comparison with many other coastal West African countries, the movement of Fulani herdsman and their nomadic activities is quite a recent phenomenon in Ghana (Tonah, 2005, p.14). According to Tonah (2005, p.14), the Northern part of Ghana was the Fulani's point of call, and they began settling in the area by the early 20th century, even though their number was quite insignificant. With specific to the Lawra-Tumu district census report in Ghana, the population of settled Fulani rose from 100 persons in 1911, to about 302 persons in the 1921 census (Tonah, 2005, p.15). The figure is said to have rose to 784 in the 1931 census; comprising of 400 males and 384 females, an indication that they might have probably moved with their entire families (Tonah, 2005, p.15).

Though documentation on Fulani herdsman presence in Ghana is contestable, it is a fact that by 1920s, the Fulani had permanently settled in the Northern territories (Tonah, 2005, p.15). According to Tonah (2005, p.15), the Fulani were the largest non-centralised ethnic group in the Lawra-Tumu district, with more households in the area than other migrant groups such as the Grunshi, Hausa, Wangara, Yoruba and Kilpalsi, though their population was less than 1% of the total population of the entire district.

2.4. Factors that attracted the Fulani herdsman to Ghana

In his study on the Fulani in Ghana, Tonah (2005) explained that four principal factors were responsible for the migration of the Fulani to the Ghana (Gold Coast). The factors can be described as natural, social, economic and political. Firstly, the availability of pasture, water,

good climate in the Gold Coast. Because of the nomads' transhumance activities across the borders of the country, they easily recognised the pastoral conditions and subsequently moved into the country. Secondly, the thriving expansion of the cattle trade between the Gold Coast and the Sahelian countries. The demand for meat and other cattle products necessitated the need for local rearing of cattle in Ghana. So, deliberately, Fulani herdsmen from neighbouring countries were employed as tenders by livestock traders and the colonial administration. Thirdly, the establishment of the Native Administration Farms by the colonial administration. Throughout the Northern Territories of Ghana, the colonialists set up farms which included cattle rearing. Therefore, the policy of inviting Fulani pastoralists to take care of the cattle in the area increased their number in the region. Finally, the perennial Sahelian drought of the 1960s and 70s forced several pastoralists to seek greener pastures along the coastal countries of West Africa, including Ghana (Tonah, 2005, p.16).

According to Puget (1999, p.45), availability of water and pasture were responsible for the Fulani migration to Ghana. To him, the presence of these conditions pulled a large proportion of nomads seasonally to Ghana during the dry season from Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria and Mali. In short, this pattern of movements across the Sahelian and savanna regions is a major part of the transhumant pattern of Fulani livelihood all over West Africa (Tonah, 2005, p.16).

2.5. Factors behind the Fulani herdsmen migration to the Southern Ghana (Agogo)

According to Folami, & Folami (2013, p.105), good climatic conditions, market opportunity, green vegetation, forage, and hope and aspiration are the pull factors that attract the Fulani herdsmen to a particular place. In his study of the Fulani in Northern Nigeria, Stenning (1959, p.4) notes that the availability of pasture, water and market shaped their migratory routes to a particular place. The attraction of the Fulani to southern Ghana from the savanna areas to the forest zone began in the 1990s (Tonah, 2005, p.16). According to Tonah (2005, pp. 33-34), the Fulani migrated deeply into the southern parts of Ghana as far as the Afram Plains at the eastern edge of the forest zone. The Afram Plains area, which was a sparsely populated, low-lying plateau east of the Kwahu ridge, was well drained by several rivers, including the tributaries of the Afram River (Tonah, 2005, pp. 25-26).

The decentralisation of the country's political system in the 1980s divided the Afram Plains into four administrative districts namely Sekyere East, Asante Akyem North (Agogo), Afram Plains and Kwahu. This process led to the opening of the Afram Plains area as not only for subsistence farming, but also as an area suitable for large-scale farming and other economic

activities. In this regard, the construction of road networks, the provision of electricity, water supply and other social amenities attracted more inhabitants to the area and unlocked the hitherto isolated and wild countryside including the Fulani herdsmen (Tonah, 2005, p.26).

According to Tonah (2005, p.26), good weather conditions, pastures, water, a sparse population and available land attracted the Fulani to the Afram Plains, as a result of the opening up of the area for human settlement. Tonah noted that, Fulani nomads started sending cattle into the Afram Plains during the dry season to take advantage of the lush vegetation of the area (Tonah, 2005, p.26). In addition, local stockowners, chiefs and middlemen acquired the services of Fulani herdsmen by inviting them to the area to tend their cattle on their behalf, or in return for monetary values; as the cattle owners acquired large tracts of grazing land from the local landowners (Olaniyan et al, 2015, p.62; Tonah, 2005, p.26). In short, stockowners, chiefs and middlemen have been the traditional trading partners and allies of the Fulani in the Southern Ghana, and have a long history of working with herders (Tonah, 2006, p.16). This “unholy alliance” does not only attract the Fulani, but also create a conducive environment for their settlement in the South (Tonah 2005a, pp. 100-102). This is well captured by Kwesi Aning, a security analyst at Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre in Ghana;

If a Fulani herder has fifty head of cattle, you can be rest assured that twenty of them belonged to indigenous Ghanaians, particularly “big men” and those that are in government (Olaniyan et al, 2015, p.62).

Apart from these herdsmen who migrated from the Northern part to the South, other herdsmen from neighbouring Niger, Benin and Nigeria suddenly invaded the Afram Plains area. These nomadic pastoralists are commonly referred to as “alien herdsmen” (Tonah, 2005, p.26). Unlike the resident Fulani who had settled and taken up residence among the indigenous agricultural population, these “alien Fulani herdsmen” are nomadic pastoralists who live in mobile camps located in the isolated bush areas, avoiding any form of long standing social relations with the natives (Tonah, 2005, p.26-27). It is believed that, it is the activities of these alien herdsmen that have resulted in the destruction of farmers’ food crops and being responsible for the violent confrontations between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the Afram Plains area, especially the Agogo area of the Asante Akyem North district.

2.6. Farmer-herder conflict: causes of the conflict relationship

According to Breusers et al (1998, p.357), conflicts between farmers and herdsmen are not recent phenomena as they already occurred at the time of the biblical patriarchs.

Benjaminsen et al (2009, p.423), also mention biblical patriarchs as the genesis of farmer-herder conflict, for instance, the conflict between Cain and Abel, which led the former to kill the latter. In West Africa, this conflict is not only rampant and widespread, but also on the increase. Although, some scholars disagree with the increase assertion (Hussein et al, 1999, p.399; Hussein, 1998, p.39), it is undeniable that the conflict persist, and it has attracted the attention of researchers and policymakers.

According to Opoku (2014, pp.172-3), the causes of the farmer-herder conflict are; shooting of innocent citizens by herdsman, destruction of food crops, raping of women on their farms, herdsman causing bushfires, pollution of water bodies by herdsman and cattle rustling. These correspond to the findings of Ofuoku & Isife (2009, p.50) from their study in Delta State. As they found out that; destruction of crops, contamination of streams by cattle, over- grazing of fallow land, disregard for traditional authority, sexual harassment of women by nomads, harassment of nomads by host youths, indiscriminate defecation by cattle, theft of cattle, stray cattle, indiscriminate bush burning are the major causes of the farmer-Fulani herdsman conflict.

A field research conducted by Ofem & Inyang (2014, p.516) in Yakurr region of River State, revealed the same factors mentioned by Ofuoku & Isife (2009, p.50). In their survey, both farmers and nomads agreed on the same factors as the causes of the conflict. However, the nomads disagreed regarding the destruction of crops, over-grazing of fallow land, sexual harassment of women by nomads, indiscriminate defecation by cattle on roads as major causes.

According to Ayih (2003, pp.10-15), “population explosion” underlines the conflict. As he argues, Southern and Middle Belt regions were scarcely populated with vast arable land. Rapid growth in population due to high birth rate and immigration, has caused the farmers to scramble for farmland which is becoming scarce by the day. In effect, grazing areas that were hitherto abundant are being taken over by scattered small farms, making grazing in these areas difficult. In addition, Ayih (2003) recognised indigenisation of the nomadic grazing communities; legalisation of farming or grazing rights as another factor that engender land tenure disputes contestations between the farming and herding communities. This argument is supported by Breusers et al (1998, p.361). According to their study, competition over natural resources caused by human population growth, growth in the population of herds and extension of cultivated areas are the causes of the farmer-herder conflicts. This is also captured by Nchi (2013, p.222), as he argued that Fulani pastoralists and sedentary farmers are fighting for pastures and farmlands which are decreasing as the population of humans and cattle increase.

Furthermore, recent developments have revealed the culpability of ethnicity and tribal sentiments underpinning farmer-herder conflicts (Tonah, 2006, p.160; Olaniyan, 2015, p.335).

2.7. Consequences of the farmer-herder conflicts

The consequences of the conflict can be linked to humanitarian, social, economic, and security effects. The humanitarian effects of farmer-herder conflicts are enormous. According to Okoli & Atelhe (2014, p.84), natives-nomads conflict results in loss of life, population displacements, human injury and livelihood crisis. In this regard, the conflict does not only lead to the killing of people, but also people become homeless, displaced and destitute. Elaborating further on the humanitarian effects, Ofem & Inyang (2014, p.517) asserted that apart from the killings by nomads and reprisal attacks by the indigenes, some people become widows, widowers and orphans during the conflicts, while other victims of the conflict are maimed or injured. They also argue that, people become internally displaced as a result of the conflict, especially women, who decide to stop going to the distant farm for fear of attacks by nomads.

Citing the case of the Fulani-Konkomba conflict in Ghana in 2011, investigation reveals thirteen (13) deaths, while eleven (11) people were seriously injured. Also, many houses were burnt and properties destroyed (Abubakari & Longi, 2014, p.103; Olaniyan, 2015, p.335) Finally, Ofuoku & Isife (2009, p.51) also contends that farmer-herder conflicts result in loss of lives, loss of houses and properties, and displacement of farmers. In their view, during such conflict, many people are killed through attacks and reprisal attacks by the nomads and the host communities. Also, some become victims through injuries or maimed. As such, some women farmers and children become widows and orphans respectively.

The social effects of farmers-pastoralists conflict threaten peace and tranquillity among various groups. In their work herder/farmer conflicts, Okoli & Atelhe (2014) asserted that such conflicts create tense and volatile inter-group relations amongst the various people. This manifests in mutual mistrust and animosity which are often misplaced. In view of this, the herdsmen see the natives as enemies of their collective survival and destiny, and vice versa. They continue by arguing that, the conflict creates an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and perpetual tension that threatens peaceful coexistence, security and stability of society (2014, p.85). In addition, Tonah (2006, p.169) contends that nomads-natives conflict leads to threats and intimidation forcing both to leave conflict-prone settlements. In this regard, the tense relationship affects the level of cooperation and economic exchanges between the two groups. However, in the case of Agogo, the tense and volatile relations is not only between the natives

and the nomads, but also the natives and the traditional authority as the youth accuse them of releasing lands to the Fulani herdsmen. They also accuse them of unholy alliance with the nomads.

The economic effects of pastoralists and farmers conflict leads to dire productivity and agricultural consequences. Okoli & Atelhe (2014, p.85) contends that economic implications relate to losses associated with the destruction of homes, farmlands, community assets, and household properties. In their view, for fear of being attacked, many people refuse to go to farm, resulting in low agricultural productivity during harvest season. Further, many farmlands and large volumes of farm crops and produce are destroyed while hundreds of cattle are killed. Elaborating on the economic effects, Ofuoku & Isife (2009, p.53) note that the conflict leads to a reduction in farming output and income of farmers and nomads. They argue that, farmers lose part or whole of their farms and crops through the grazing and the destruction by the cattle, and indiscriminate bush burning. On the other hand, the conflict leads to loss of cows belonging to the nomads through indiscriminate killing. In this regard, the yield of the farmers and the nomads are reduced, which is translated into lower income. Consequently, this negatively affects their savings, credit repayment ability, as well as food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers. Moreover, Tonah (2006, p.169) posited that, the conflict has a negative effect on agricultural productivity as farmers find it difficult to acquire the services of cattle required for ploughing, weeding of fields and transporting of harvested crop. This discourages the farmers and rural agricultural development.

The last consequence related to the implications of the conflict, is the effects on the security of Agogo and the nation. According to CSIS, & Gizewski (1997), the last two decades have witnessed a growing recognition of resource scarcity in national and international security. In the West African sub region, many conflicts, civil wars and transnational border conflicts started as competition and conflict by two groups. The 1993 war between Nigeria and Chad occurred due to the conflict between fishermen of the two countries (Omede, 2006, pp.12-13). Civil wars in Chad and Niger started as a result of competition between Tubu, Arab and Fulbe herders over a well, while the tension between the Tuaregs and the state of Mali, Chad and Niger has been linked to resource conflict (Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.178). In the Senegal valley, resource conflict between farmers, herders and fishermen escalated into border conflict between Senegal and Mauritania, while the struggle for land between groups played a key role in the Rwandan genocide (Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp.17-18).

Though scholars are divided on the security consequences of conflict over resources between two groups (Frerks, 2007, p.15), however, the effects of farmer-herder conflict on security cannot be compromised. Writing on the topic, Okoli & Atelhe (2014, p.85) asserted that denying any person or groups their rights to legitimate settlement and livelihood threatens sustainable peace and development not only in the immediate environment, but also the entire country. This is so because development cannot be attained and sustained under the atmosphere of crisis as humanitarian, economic and social consequences affect productivity. In their view, attendant security and livelihood crises threaten the collective subsistence and survival of the affected populations. Therefore, farmer-herder conflicts threaten human security, as well as national security (p.85)

2.8. The local community and the national level response: the expulsion policy

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

2.8.1. The policy of Expelling migrants in West Africa

The policy of eviction or forcibly expelling immigrants, including Fulani herdsmen to their ‘countries of origin’ has been practiced in a number of West African countries such as Nigeria, Mauritania, Ghana, Senegal, Côte D’Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone (Hagberg 2000, pp.170-171; Oppong 2002, pp.20-27; Olaniyan et al., 2015, p.54; Tonah, 2005, p.164). According to Tonah (2005, p.164), West African countries have resorted to this policy in tackling economic hardships, rising crime rates and high unemployment in the host country or as a response to conflict between migrants and the host communities. In this regard, migrants are classified as “aliens or foreigners” by the host countries. In 1983, the Nigerian government under President Shehu Shagari embarked on nationwide eviction of all foreigners from the country, forcing millions of West Africans to flee to neighbouring countries. It turns out that, most of the migrants were Ghanaians who went to Nigeria to look for greener pastures in the 1970s due to the collapse of the Ghanaian economy (Tonah, 2005, p.164). In 1989, the government of Senegal forcibly expelled Fulani pastoralists following clashes between the herdsmen and the indigenous farmers (Schmitz, 1999, pp. 329-30). The Sierra Leone government repatriated Fulani herdsmen to their country of origin, Guinea, during the 1920s and 30s economic depression and subsequently curtailed their immigration (Kposowa, 2000,

pp.303-4). In 2012, the Fulani herdsmen in some villages in the Plateau State, Nigeria were expelled by the Special Task Force, which was mandated with the maintenance of peace and order in that crisis torn state following clashes with the indigenes (Olaniyan et al., 2015, p.62).

2.8.2. The history of the expulsion policy in Ghana

The policy of expelling migrants in Ghana can be traced to the Aliens Compliance Order. The government under Kofi Abrefa Busia passed a law, the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969 (Antwi Bosiako, 2008; Gould, 1974, Peil, 1971; Tonah, 2005). The law, among other things stipulated that; those without resident permits were to leave the country within 14 days, while mandating all migrants to regularise their stay in the country. In view of this, over 100,000 nationals of several West African countries, many of whom had come to seek economic refuge in post-independent Ghana were expelled from the country (Gould, 1974, p.357; Tonah, 2005, p.164). This is the basis of expulsion policy in Ghana, though it differs from the eviction of Fulani nomads in terms of approach, scale and law. It must be emphasised that, the Ghana as a State has twice embarked on a nation-wide expulsion of Fulani herdsmen from the country.

According to Tonah (2005, p.165), the policy of expelling Fulani nomads was first adopted in 1988/89, after a series of clashes between the nomads and host communities. These clashes began to gain attention in the Ghanaian media during the late 1980s. The media reports hold that, the Fulani herdsmen were responsible for the farmer-herder conflicts and the worsening security situation in many parts in Ghana. Again, concerns were raised about the number of Fulani herdsmen migrating into Ghana. In view of this, it was claimed that, the Fulani nomads from all parts of West Africa “were making Ghana their homeland, permanently occupying traditional lands, and attacking the local people” (Tonah, 2005, p.165). Furthermore, the herdsmen were accused of environmental degradation and deforestation wherever they settled. Besides, the migration of Fulani as well as their herds of cattle from neighbouring countries to Ghana through unapproved routes was heavily blamed for the occurrence and spread of livestock diseases such as rinderpest, foot and mouth disease, and anthrax in parts of the country (Bhasin, 1988; *Daily Graphic*, 16th April, 1988 cited in Tonah, 2005, p.165).

Tonah (2005, p.166) further asserted that, the increasing complaints about the destructive activities of Fulani nomads by the farmers led to strain relations between the two groups characterised by raids and armed conflict. As a result, the Ghanaian government initiated a nation-wide expulsion programme, “Operation Cowleg” and “operation livestock solidarity” in April 1988. “The aim of the programme was to flush out Fulani herdsmen unlawfully occupying lands belonging to local farmers and to check the spread of livestock diseases”

(Tonah, 2005, p.166). Tonah posit that, Fulani pastoralists were issued two weeks' ultimatum to leave the country, after which any herds found with them on Ghanaian soil would be confiscated to the state. Accordingly, joint military and police personnel, in conjunction with officials of the Animal Health and Production Department were set up to carry the task (2005, p.166). The foregoing has been summarised by Olaniyan et al (2015, p.54):

the aim of the policy is to put an end to incessant conflict between the indigenous population and the herders, who are often classified as strangers. Here “stranger” connotes the usual meaning of someone who is unknown, but also carries a stronger sense of unease and fearfulness.

A decade later, the second nation-wide expulsion of the pastoralists was executed in 1999/2000. “The main difference between the two expulsion exercises was that, while the second exercise was decentralised and executed by the various Regional and District Assemblies throughout the country, the first exercise was directed and coordinated by the central government” (Tonah, 2005, p.169). Though the exercise was nation-wide, the momentum was in the forest and middle belts of the country as the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in the forest zone of Ghana has provoked so much controversy (Tonah, 2005, p.169). There was no a single day without a negative reportage on the farmer-pastoralist conflicts in the Ghanaian media. Indeed, the media reports accused the Fulani of allowing their cattle to destroy food crops, damaging the environment, polluting sources of water, raping women, brandishing dangerous weapons and among others (Tonah, 2005, p.169). These reports were not different from the 1980s cumulating to the first expulsion. This is well captured by *Ghanaian Chronicle* of 7th July, 2000:

The main complaint against these Fulani herdsmen was the danger they and their livestock posed to the environment. Their animals devastated farmlands, caused soil erosion through over-grazing and polluted water bodies which sometimes served as sources of drinking water for the host communities.... To make matters worse, the Fulani herdsmen, these days, are adding new dimensions of terror to their already destructive activities. Most of them go about armed with dangerous knives and sometimes even guns, which they use to intimidate those farmers who confront them. There have even been reports of these herdsmen raping some women they encounter in the bushes (cited in Tonah, 2005, p.169).

In view of this, the government in 1999 directed all the Regional Security Councils and Districts to flush out “alien Fulani herdsmen” from their territories under “Operation Cowleg” II. Again, a task force constituting a police and military personnel were set up across the various

districts to carry out the exercise (Tonah, 2005, p.169). Though the total number of Fulani herdsmen and the number of cattle herds seized nationwide during the expulsion exercise are not exactly known. However, Tonah asserted that, in the “West Mamprusi district alone, a total of 2,406 cattle was initially confiscated from the herdsmen. Out of this number only 296 cattle belonged to the “alien herdsmen”. Interestingly, most of the herdsmen arrested had to be released as it turned out that they were hired herdsmen keeping cattle belonging to indigenous farmers” (Tonah, 2005, p.170).

2.8.3. The “Operation Cowleg” in Agogo

In the case of Agogo, several expulsion exercises have been carried out since the conflict begun. Despite the evictions, there are still the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in the area. Again, the conflict still exists, and becomes very tense during the dry season, especially from December to March every year. The last operation was carried out in the January 2016, hence the need to assess this policy which is the local community and the government’s plan of action towards farmer-herder conflict in Ghana. Indeed, both the REGSEC committee and the Kumasi High Court (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.45; Republic of Ghana, 2012a, p.19, appendix 3 and 4) ordered the eviction of all the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from Agogo. Alternatively, confinement (modern methods) of the cattle was suggested to those who are willing to stay. This led to the drafting of an evacuation plan to eject the herdsmen and their cattle by the REGSEC (Republic of Ghana, 2012b, appendix 5).

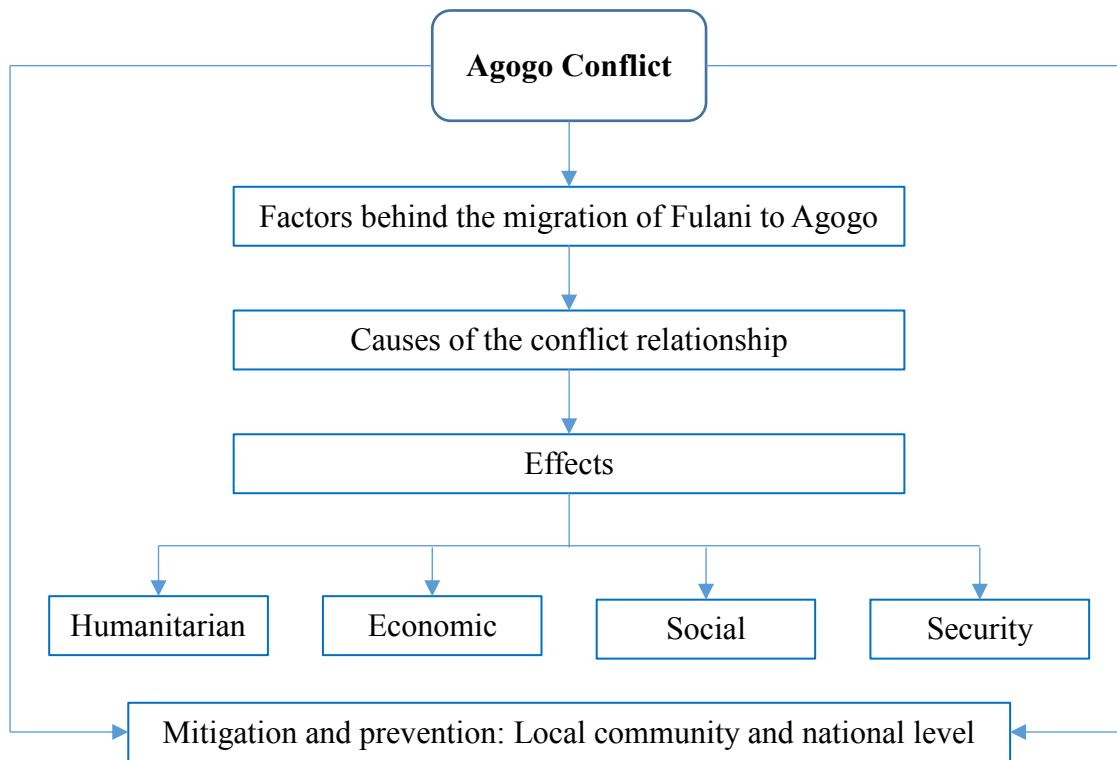
2.9. Theoretical framework and application

This section discusses the most important theoretical findings in relation to some assumptions and issues raised in the literature review. First, it is theorised that environmental or resource scarcity, coupled with eco-survivalism leads to competition and conflict between groups was employed to explain the nature of the conflict as well as the causes between the farmers and herders in Agogo (Homer-Dixon, 1999; Okoli, 2013). The available scholarly literature identified good climatic conditions, market opportunity, green vegetation, forage, land, water, sparsely population, alliance with landowners as the major factors the influence the migration of the Fulani herdsmen to the Southern Ghana. The factors underpinned the sorting and analysis of the social, economic, natural and political reasons behind the arrival of the herdsmen in Agogo. Again, the social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986) argued that, members within a particular network achieve and enjoy certain benefits which would otherwise be impossible.

Therefore, the social capital was employed in explaining the factors behind the migration of the Fulani nomads in Agogo, and the failure of the “Operation Cowleg” been the local community and national level response

Within the international and national literature, the known causes of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the herdsmen are destruction of food crops, shooting of innocent people, threat and intimidation, raping and sexual harassment, bushfires, water pollution, overgrazing, cattle rustling, population explosion and ethnicity. This known causes served as indicators in identifying local understanding and perception about the causes of the conflict, as well as the analysis of the data. The consequences of the farmer-herder conflict are linked to loss of life, population displacements, human injury and livelihood crisis, people become widows, fear and animosity, low agricultural productivity and income, security crisis, threatening of peace and sustainable development. These theories helped in the analysis of the humanitarian, social, economic, and security effects of the conflict in Agogo. Steve Tonah (2005) assessed the “Operation Cowleg” strategy as a local community and national level responses toward farmer-herder conflicts in West Africa, especially Ghana. This study served as the backbone in discussing the expulsion policy as applied in Agogo. It was done with the support of other government documents such as Dadson committee report, High Court ruling, and the evacuation plan.

Figure 3: Theoretical framework for the study



Source: Author's own design

The figure above is a flow chart that illustrates the theoretical framework created from the literature review. It also gives a general impression of how the study was organised and the data analysed. Specifically, the background of Agogo and history of the conflict, factors for the migration of the Fulani herdsman to the area, causes of the conflict relationship and effects, mitigation and preventive responses as available the local community and the national level.

Chapter 3: Methodological Approach

3.0. Introduction

In any project that requires investigation into a social phenomenon, a well-defined, comprehensive and systematic methodology for achieving positive results becomes necessary. In this section, therefore, the research outlines the methods that were employed in obtaining data from respondents to answer research questions formulated. It consists of the philosophical foundation, research strategy, research design, sampling and sampling procedure, methods and tools for data collection and analysis.

3.1. Philosophical Foundation: Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

Before discussing the specific research methods, it is indispensable to situate the methodological approach within its philosophical foundation. In conducting social research, there are two main paradigms; namely epistemology and ontology that influences how social phenomenon is been perceived and how social world must and should be studied (Bryman, 2012, p. 6). Epistemological (*positivism and interpretivism*) consideration “concerns itself with what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge” whilst ontological (*objectivism and constructionism*) consideration concerns itself with the “nature of social entities”, thus to what extend should social problems be considered external or a part of social realities (Bryman, 2012, pp. 27-32). The debate among researchers with regards to epistemology and ontology is whether social reality should be perceived as objective, exclusive and independent of any human influences, hence, must be studied through natural science principles i.e. *positivism/objectivism*; or social problems should be perceived as socially constructed and subject to human interpretations and actions, i.e. *constructivism/interpretivism* (Bryman, 2012, pp. 27-32).

Positivism as an epistemological orientation posits that, knowledge is acceptable when social events are studied and confirmed by applying natural science principles. This school of thought holds that, knowledge is genuine and worthy if it is independent from prejudices and biases based on emotions, social influences and interest (Bryman, 2012, pp. 27-28). Underlining this paradigm is the emphasis on objectivity, which is an ontological consideration and rests on the principle that the study of social entities should not be influenced by social actors including the researcher. Thus, the outcome of any social phenomena should be devoid of any influences from the researcher. The positivist orientation normally adopts a quantitative research strategy,

in which data is quantified and statistically analysed using statistical instrument for example SPSS (Bryman, 2012, p.36).

Contrarily, interpretivism is an epistemological paradigm that holds the view that, the subject matter of the natural sciences is fundamentally different from that of the social sciences; *people and their institutions* (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Further, interpretivism as an epistemological orientation contends that truth or true meaning comes as a result of researchers' engagement in the real world (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). Hence, the principles and processes for the study of human behaviour and social events are not mutually exclusive, but interacts and thus makes it highly influenced by several external factors. Therefore, the social world requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order hence interpretivist approach (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). For example, in the natural science, the principles and processes of preparing and testing water; two atoms of hydrogen plus one atom of oxygen (H₂O) is constant, whether the research is in Norway or in Ghana. However, the same cannot be said of human behaviour as the factors and conditions that influence the migration and settlement of Fulani herdsmen in Agogo are several and interacts. Therefore, the truth or true meaning behind their movement and stay in Agogo can be unraveled by engaging them. In this regard, objects of study in the natural sciences (example; force, atoms, mass) are totally different from that of the social sciences (example; human behavior or institutions).

On this score, Max Weber advocates for *Verstehen*; an interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at its cause and effects (1947, p. 88). Another social scientist and researcher, Arne Olav Øyhus, summarised the argument in the following manner:

Within the social sciences human beings are the objects of study. What typifies these objects is that they are simultaneously thinking subjects with their own ideas, beliefs and behaviours. That man is thus, both an object of knowledge and a subject that knows, have a particular implication for performing social studies in the sense that the researcher directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, communicates with his/her research object. The relationship between the social scientist and the objects of research is therefore of a more qualitatively in nature, than between a natural scientist's and his objects of study (Øyhus, 2004).

Accordingly, the objects of interest, farmers and herdsmen in this study are fundamentally different from the objects of interest in the natural sciences. Also, the main objective of the study is to study and understand a social phenomenon, conflict, which has been captured as the statement of the problem in chapter one. Considering the objects and social phenomenon of

this study, methodologically, it was prudent to adopt interpretivism which attempts to understand human experiences, values and action. This is because interpretivism as against positivism, takes into consideration the very nature of human beings and their behaviour (Bryman, 2012, p. 28).

The ontological orientation to this interpretivist paradigm is constructionism. Constructivism asserts that “social phenomenon and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors” (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). According to Bempah (2011, p.36), human beings are the most “variable of all variables” (*meaning their behaviour at a particular point in time may not be consistent with behaviour at another time*). This implies that knowledge is produced through social interaction and is in a constant state of revision. In this regard, the main focus of this study is to offer an explanation to human behaviour among farmers and Fulani herdsmen at a particular time period, since 1997 at a specific place, Agogo in Ghana. Therefore, the absolute or definitive principles that positivism advocates in the case of the natural sciences may not be applicable in this study (Bryman, 2012, p. 34).

Of importance, a key component of constructionism is that, the researcher has the opportunity to present his own version of social reality because knowledge under this paradigm is viewed as indeterminate, in addition to the subjective interpretation of the conflict as explained by the respondents, thus the farmers and herdsmen (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). This means that, it is the task of the social scientist to access peoples’ knowledge on social problem and interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view (Bryman, 2012, p. 30).

This study, therefore, chose constructionism as against objectivity as the paradigm to study the farmer/herder conflict and contribute to knowledge. This is because the attributes of constructionism are best suited to the social problem or the statement of the problem being studied in Agogo. Again, since knowledge is indeterminate and there are no definitive rules that govern social behaviour, I had the opportunity to discuss, analyse and interpret what I gathered from the fieldwork in accordance with observational notes. The version of social reality that the study presents was gathered together with the one hundred ten (110) respondents including farmers, cattle owners, chiefs and Fulani herdsmen from Agogo and twenty (20) respondents being the police, lecturers, government officials and informants⁸. This means that the findings the researcher presents are an interpretation of a social problem as perceived from the point of view of the respondents and may not be the same of similar situations in other

⁸ Informants here refers to the four (4) people who helped the researcher to get in contact with the targeted population.

places. Also, due to the varying nature of human behaviour, the explanations given to this social phenomenon might not be applicable to other time periods. Therefore, this study does not intend to generalise across time and place, but rather seeks to present a discussion on a farmer-herder conflict within a specific time and place.

To study human behaviour constructively, a qualitative approach in which data is systematically interpreted is mostly used. Hence, this field work used qualitative strategy, which involved key informants, in-depth interviews, participant observation and Focus Group Discussions. This helped the researcher to gain insight into the social interaction of the sample units under study in this research work. This, notwithstanding, does not indicate that qualitative research strategies are superior to quantitative studies in the social sciences.

3.2. Research strategy

A research strategy simply means a “*general orientation to the conduct of a social research*” (Bryman 2012, p. 35). The purpose of this field research, as stated in the objectives, is to observe at first hand, the causes and the effects of the conflict on the socio-economic development of the Agogo, sample the views and perceptions of the people on the questions raised above. For this reason, the research requires the use of a qualitative approach. A qualitative research strategy emphasizes collection and analysis of words rather than numbers, generation of theories rather than testing, and interpretation and description rather than experimentation (Bryman, 2012, p.36). Qualitative research is increasingly being used by social scientists because of the growing recognition that “it is insufficient to rely on quantitative survey and statistics to understand human affairs. It has become important to attempt to delve deeper into the subjective qualities that govern human behaviour” (Holiday, 2002, p.7). This study is not an exception. Finally, the researcher’s choice to use qualitative methodology is because, the issues surrounding Agogo conflict are very complex, dynamic, on-going and involves many actors and factions who have different colours of opinions and ideas about the origin of the conflict, its future, its impacts on the socio-economic development and how to resolve the conflict.

3.3. Research Design

A research design refers to a “*framework for the collection of data and analysis of the subsequent data*” (Bryman 2012, p. 46). In this research, Agogo is the study area and a case

study design was adopted to find answers to the research questions. By choosing this research design, the purpose is to “subject my respondents into an intensive examination” and access their knowledge on the causes and the effects of the conflict, factors that attract the herdsmen and the mitigation responses adopted to resolve the conflict (Bryman, 2012, p.71). Finally, a case study design is especially good for examining the “why,” “how” and “what” questions which are particularly typical of this study (Yin, 2013a; Yin, 2013b, p.328). In selecting the focus communities for the study, a critical case approach was employed. A critical case approach involves the selection of cases that are likely to “*yield the most information and have the greatest impact on the development of knowledge*” (Patton, 2001: p. 236). As such, the selection of Bebome, Bebuso, Abrewapong, Agyanafo and Nyamebekyere villages together with Agogo township was because, these villages were part of the areas mentioned specifically in the court ruling (court ruling, 2012, p.19, appendix 4).

3.4. Sample size, sampling and sampling procedure

In this study, a sample size of one hundred and thirty respondents was used. The composition of the sample size includes: ninety (90) farmers, fifteen (15) Fulani herdsmen, five (5) cattle owners, three (3) police officers, four (4) lecturers, two (2) chiefs, four (4) ‘informants’, a former MP, a veterinary doctor, an immigration officer, the DCD, a member from accident and emergency unit at Agogo Presbyterian Hospital, representative from Asante Akyem Rural Bank and a journalist. The justification for this sample size was that, at this point, the researcher was certain that the size was enough to support convincing conclusions. Again, no new information and additional data was found at this point as the data reached saturation.

The purposive and snowball sampling procedures were employed. According to Bryman (2012, p. 418), purposive sampling technique is used where subjects are selected based on their relationship with the research questions (Bryman, 2012, p.418). This study is no exception in this regard. As such, purposive sampling technique was used to establish contact with the farmers, police officers, lecturers, chiefs, the former MP, the veterinary doctor, the immigration officer, the DCC and the journalist on the research questions. These respondents are very much associated with the issues raised. The snowball was used to get in touch with cattle owners and the Fulani herdsmen to sample their views on the conflict. Here, the researcher relied on the informants, who lead the researcher to the location of these people and made necessary arrangements.

3.4.1. Sampling frame

This is a summary list of the respondents who were engaged in discussions during the field work.

Primary respondents: These are the people who are directly affected, at the forefront of the conflict and as such, are the main objects of study.

- Farmers
- Herdsmen
- Cattle owners
- Chiefs (krontihene and Bebomehene)

Secondary respondents (officials): These respondents are not directly affected; however, their opinions were necessary to ensure validity and reliability of the data. As such, their submissions were more objective, devoid of emotions and biases.

- Lecturers from tertiary institutions
- Police officers (Divisional Police Commander at Konongo; District Police Commander at Agogo; a Detective Sergeant from the CID at Agogo)
- The Deputy District Coordinating Director, Agogo
- The immigration officer, Agogo/Konongo
- The veterinary doctor, Agogo
- The former member of Parliament (MP)
- A member from accident and emergency unit at Agogo Presbyterian Hospital,
- A representative from Asante Akyem Rural Bank
- A senior journalist and research fellow (Hello FM, Kumasi)

3.5. Data collection methods

3.5.1 Sources of data

The reliability and validity of information for the study demanded that both primary and secondary sources of data were used. For primary data, the study relied on semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation as these are the common data collection methods in qualitative research (Mack et al, 2005, p.2). The secondary data for the study was sourced from various literature published in reports, journals and books, newspapers, and various committee reports available at the Agogo Police Station and REGSEC.

3.6. Primary Data Collection

3.6.1. Semi - structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used for farmers, cattle owners, herdsmen, the police, veterinary doctor, immigration officer, lecturers, former MP, journalist, DCC, chiefs and leaders of Agogo to solicit for their views. According to Bryman (2012, p. 471) “*interview is probably the most widely used method in qualitative research*”. With this method, my respondents had a “*great deal of leeway in replying due to the flexibility of interview method*” (Bryman 2012, p. 471). Again, the researcher had the opportunity to probe further, asking follow up questions, and seeking clarifications on things said by the interviewees that are of importance to the study. The interview was guided by an interview guide, that covered fairly the topics that the researcher investigated. Under this method, one hundred and seven (107) respondents voluntarily responded with the assistance of informants. Statistically, seventy (70) farmers, twelve (12) herdsmen, five (5) cattle owners, three (3) police officers, four (4) lecturers, two (2) chiefs, four (4) informants, a former MP, a veterinary doctor, an immigration officer, the DCC, a member from accident and emergency unit at APH⁹, representative from AARB¹⁰ and a journalist.

Figure 4: A picture of the researcher and a herdsman during an interview



Source: Author (Fieldwork, January 2017)

⁹ Agogo Presbyterian hospital

¹⁰ Asante Akyem Rural Bank

3.6.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussions were used to identify the perception and experiences of the farmers and the herdsmen about the conflict. The purpose was to interact with groups and to identify the joint construction of meaning made by the people regarding the research questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 502). Here, FGD was held for the farmers on one hand, and the herdsmen on another hand. The researcher served as the moderator in these discussions and tried to make sure that no one person dominated the discussion. With this method, my informants were very instrumental in gathering the people. With the herdsmen, a middleman and a cattle owner gathered them, and explained to them the rationale behind the discussion. At Bebome village, the chief gathered the people after being led to the village by my informant and explained to the people the essence of the meeting. At Bebuso village, upon reaching the village, my informant gathered the people and explained to them the importance of the discussion. At Abrewapong village, my informant with the help of the Okyeame (the linguist) mobilised and explained to the people the agenda for the meeting. At Nyamebekyere village, the informant gathered and explained to the people the reason behind the discussion. Five (5) focus group discussions were held; one for the herdsmen and four for the farmers. The four were held at Bebome, Bebuso, Abrewapong and Nyamebekyere respectively. Each discussion was made up of five (5) respondents, with overall respondents of twenty (20). With the herdsmen, it was held at nearby village of Abrewapong with (3) herdsmen. It must be emphasised that, both males and females were together in the case of the farmers.

Figure 5: A picture during the FGD at village



Source: Author (Fieldwork, January 2017)

3.6.3. Participant Observation

Finally, to ensure the most accurate understanding of the causes and effects of the conflict on Agogo, the use of participant observation was employed. Participant observation or ethnography allowed the researcher to engaged the people of Agogo for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations and asking questions (Bryman, 2012, p.432). This provided me the opportunity to observe many situations from both sides. Also, various complaints made at the police station, as well as out of court settlement were observed. For example, in the picture above (at Bebome, figure 6), I asked the man with a gun at his shoulders the essence of carrying it to farm after observing it.

3.7. Secondary Data Collection

Analysis of secondary sources was used to complement the primary data. The secondary data involved an intensive research from books, journals, magazines, newspaper reports, articles, internet materials and unpublished works related to the study. Specifically, the study reviewed literature on the farmer-herder conflict with respect to the causes, effects, mitigation and preventive policies, as well as factors that attract the nomads to Agogo. The review of scholarly works served as both theoretical and empirical base for the analysis of data collected. Other data were sourced from the Agogo Police Station (CID)including;

- Dadson Commission report in 2010 after disturbances in Agogo concerning the conflict
- 2012 Kumasi High Court ruling concerning the activities of the Fulani herdsmen
- 2012 Evacuation plan to eject the cattle and Fulani herdsmen by REGSEC
- Copy of the lease/indenture between the paramount chief and some cattle owners (Alhaji Karim Grusah and Alhaji Ali Mamudu)
- Statistic of murder in Agogo from January 2014-January 2016
- Reported cases on the conflict from January 2009-April 2010
- List of cattle owners and herdsmen at Agogo as at 2012
- Pictures, Briefs, protests and medical reports

3.8. Data Analysis

Currently, there exists a possibility for current qualitative research to test rather than to deduce theories (Bryman, 2012). According to Silverman (1993, p.24), a depiction of qualitative

research strategy as one that only produces theory is “*out of tune with the greater sophistication of contemporary field research design, born out of greater concern with issues of reliability and validity*”. Therefore, the study analysed the conflict in the light of the theories raised in the literature review and theoretical debates. Through the analysis, theories were deduced in last chapter. The research adopted thematic, narrative and qualitative content analysis.

According to Bryman (2012, p. 578), thematic analysis is one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis, and involves the search for recurrent themes that are of significance to the research question. A theme represents a category of indicators built on coded transcripts and notes, identified through data, that relates the research question and provides the study with a theoretical understanding of data (Bryman, 2012, p. 580). The themes in this study included; situation of Agogo before 1997, factors that attract the nomads, causes of the conflict relationship, effects of the conflict, mitigation and prevention. Under this, data gathered from semi-structured interviews and focused groups discussions were transcribed verbatim into English, together with observational notes. Further, the data was “sifted and sorted”, classified into meaningful set and recurring themes (Bond, 2006, p.43). The essence is to code, identify theory related material, as well as recurring themes (Bryman, 2012, p.577). Finally, the interconnections from the themes and theories were analysed in relation with the existing literature and theories.

Narrative analysis, then, is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasizes the stories that people employ to account for events (Bryman, 2012, p. 584). Specifically, narrative analysis was employed to analyse the historical sections of the data collected; history of Agogo in terms of cattle rearing before 1997, the emergence of nomadism in Agogo and Agreements, the indenture and normalisation of nomadism in Agogo. Under this, after the transcribing, the data was classified into meaningful set and recurring themes above. From these themes, the researcher engaged in a critical reflection and description of findings.

Qualitative content analysis is probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents. It involves searching out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). This was employed to analyse the various documents gathered from the CID, Agogo Police Station and listed under heading 3.7.

Though, the method is mainly qualitative, SPSS software was used to analyse the background data of the respondents as variables in this section are mostly categorical or nominal variables.

3.9. Ethical Issues in the Research

One criteria for assessing the quality of qualitative research studies includes ‘evidence of consideration of ethical issues’ (Spencer et al. 2003 cited Bryman, 2012, p. 144). In social research, ethical considerations are significant because they directly relate to the “integrity of a piece of research and the discipline that are involved” (Bryman, 2012, p. 130). According to Diener & Crandall (1978), the four main ethical issues necessary for consideration include “harm to participant; informed consent; invasion of privacy and deception.” (cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 135)

In considering harm to participants, the researcher was mindful and anticipated the possibility that the study could be harmful to the respondents during and after the research emotionally or physically. For instance, the researcher anticipated that some questions might remind some respondents of bad experiences and bring back pain or sorrow which can be emotionally harmful (such as; Did your household suffer loss of lives and/or property due to the conflict? Does the conflict have an effect on your occupation or source of income?) Accordingly, the researcher adhered to the British Sociological Association (BSA) Statement of Ethical Practice (2002), which requires researchers to “anticipate, and to guard against, consequences for research participants that can be predicted to be harmful” (cited in *Bryman, 2012, p. 136*). This was done by rephrasing or ignoring questions when harm was anticipated.

The second ethical consideration was informed consent. The (BSA) Ethical Practice states that participation in social research should be voluntary and informed consent of the respondents. “This implies a responsibility on the researcher to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants; what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted” (Bryman, 2012, p. 139). In this regard, the researcher made it a point to explain in detail the purpose of the research to each respondent, and made him or her understood that participation is on voluntary basis. The informed consent of each respondent was required for participation in this research. An informed consent form, which explains the objectives, the research intervention and voluntarism among others, was drafted by the researcher and distributed to participants of the study.

Closely related is the issue of invasion of privacy; anonymity and confidentiality of respondent. The BSA maintains the need to respect the privacy of respondents by keeping as confidential and anonymous information given by respondents irrespective of the methods used by a

researcher (Bryman, 2012, p. 143). In view of this, the researcher was mindful of the fact that information provided for purposes such as research can compromise the security and safety of the respondents in conflict areas. In order not to compromise the safety (security) of the respondents, the researcher decided not to attribute politically sensitive claims directly to any respondent. Finally, interviews conducted were identified by numbers and alphabets and not by the personal names of the respondents. However, quotes attributed to certain personalities in the analysis are based on their consent.

Finally, is the issue of deception. “Deception occurs when researchers represent their work as something other than what it is” (Bryman, 2012, p. 143). From the field work, the researcher found out that most of the rural folks were very expectant. Some thought the work was intended to provide them with relief items, especially victims of farms and crops destruction by cattle. Some perceived it to be for the government to come to their aid. Others also judged it to be for journalistic purposes, thus publishing their situations in the national newspapers. On this score, the researcher always introduced himself and the reason behind the field work: *I am a Ghanaian, hail from Offinso. A master student from the University of Agder, Norway. This study is purely for academic purposes, but it is my prayer that policy makers may adopt some of the findings in solving the conflict.*

3.9.1. Limitations and Challenges

The major challenge faced during the fieldwork was getting access to the Fulani herdsmen and cattle owners. Also, some of the herdsmen spoke a language foreign to the researcher. Here, my informants especially a middleman and a journalist played instrumental role in getting access to the Fulani herdsmen and cattle owners. One of the herdsmen, who is multilingual helped in the translation. Some opted not to be recorded, hence the need to write all the conversation.

Also, getting access to some of the literature was very difficult. In West Africa, most of the farmer-herder conflicts are prevalent in countries such as Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Mauritania where Arabic or French is the official language. Therefore, key governmental documents on the conflict were not available in English on their websites. Some publications were classified documents, making it not accessible. The study relied on the assistance of the UiA library in getting access to these government documents and publications.

An additional limitation was apathy and hesitation from some of the farmers, especially the women. Some farmers were less willing to talk to me because they were in hurry to their farms. Others also misconstrued it to be a media work initially. Some were also tired of being interviewed. These situations are well articulated in the field experience below. However, after been informed by my informants, most rescinded their initial attitude.

Furthermore, financial constraints posed a limitation during the fieldwork. The use of local resource personnel (four informants) required the payment of remuneration and allowances. One of them abandoned his regular work, and led me to all the various villages. The researcher had to pay for all the cost incurred with regards to transportation. Some areas required motorbikes, which the researcher had to buy fuel. The CID officer had to be remunerated as he travelled to Regional Security Council several times for all the necessary documents. The cost of scanning all the documents was also huge.

Finally, the poor road nature to the villages. The deplorable and dusty roads linking the villages posed serious health problems (catarrh, incessant coughing) for the researcher. At times, the researcher had to walk several kilometres, crossing streams to some areas.

Figure 6: The researcher crossing a stream to Bebuso Village



Source: Author (Fieldwork, January 2017)

3.9.2. Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, the methodological approach and the various methods employed in the study are discussed in a rather holistic manner. The chapter began by examining the philosophical orientations of the study as a constructivist/interpretivist approach. The research strategy (qualitative approach) and case study design as employed have been discussed as well. The different data collection and analysis strategies have also been looked at. The final part of the chapter identified some ethical issues considered in the study, limitation and challenges, as well as field experience. The research was in two parts: theoretical and empirical sections. The theoretical part, mostly the literature review and governmental documents was conducted using secondary sources and content analysis as methodological approaches. The empirical section, mostly the fieldwork and primary data collection was done using interviews, FGDs, participant observation, as well as thematic and narrative analysis as the methods. The next chapter presents and analyses the actual findings of the study.

Field experience; apathy and hesitation of respondents

Below are some of the situations the researcher encountered during the fieldwork, as prospective respondents refused to be interviewed or shared their disappointments.

Researcher: *Good morning!* (researcher goes on to introduce himself and the purpose for which he came)

Prospective respondent 1: *"I don't have time for this nonsense again, many people have come here since the Fulani came here. Still, they are killing us, destroying our farms! Tell the government we are tired of sending people here."*

Prospective respondent 2: *"No I'm not interested, I don't even want to be angry again at you journalist. You need stories to sell your papers, I also need to go to my farm"*

Prospective respondent 3: *"You people always come here to lie to us, take our information and never come back to help us. We (the farmers) have advised ourselves ooo! You are lucky a native (informant) is leading you."*

Source: Author (Fieldwork, January, 2017)

Chapter 4: Presentation and Analysis of Data

4.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data and analysis of the major findings. The findings are based on an extensive eight-week period (two months) of field data collection across six communities in the Agogo Traditional Area, Ghana. The analysis of the research findings is done in the light of the research questions, the theoretical debates and the literature review presented on farmer-herder conflict and its inter-related issues. Firstly, the demographic characteristics of the farmers and the herdsman are presented. Given that most of the variables in this section are categorical or nominal variables, frequency tables in the form of diagrams are used to present and analyse the data. SPSS was useful in generating the frequencies needed to analyse the bio data of the respondents. Secondly, the findings and analyses are presented in relation to the research questions, theoretical debate, and literature review illustrated in the flowchart in the theoretical framework of Chapter Two. This section is divided into six parts, and where necessary, sub-sections are created to aid the organisation of the material presented.

Part 1. Demographic characteristics of respondents

This section focuses on the farmers and the Fulani herdsman background data. The personal information of the respondents is necessary to inform readers about the categories of respondents from whom primary data was collected. Their personal characteristics are important as they influence individual and groups views, perceptions and collective actions within a society. They include age, sex, education, occupation, ethnicity, marital status, the number of dependents, the duration of stay in the community.

4.2. The farmers

The farmers are primary respondents within the study, and a total number of ninety (90) was interviewed from the six communities and their background data are presented below:

4.2.0. Respondents according to gender (sex)

The study sought the opinion of both male and female respondents in the study area. This was necessary to know the number of male and female respondents interviewed. This information is presented in the Table 1 below:

Table 1: Gender distribution of the respondents

Categories	Frequency	Percent
Male	60	66.7
Female	30	33.3
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

From the table, it is evident that there were more male respondents than females. This disparity is in no way based on any preconceived or prejudiced about gender. One reason for the disparity was that the women were more reluctant in speaking to the researcher while most men were more willing to speak up on the issues. Another reason lies in the fact that, in the households, traditionally and customarily, men are the heads of the families, and they cannot be bypassed to interview women when they are around. As such, most of the women were not willing to talk after their husbands or “*Abusuapanin*” (head of the extended families) were interviewed. Also, most of the women were busy with household chores, while some declined responding to the researcher by dubbing the interview as time wasting. Generally, in development discourses and conflict studies, the issue of gender is very critical. Research have shown that males are more likely to be involved in conflict related issues as compared to females (Urdal, 2006; Collier, 1999). Therefore, a study of this nature, involving conflict issues, it is more likely to have more male participants than females.

4.2.1. Respondents according to age

The study also considered the age distribution of the respondents. The views of both the young, matured and old were accessed in the study. This information is presented in the Table 2 below:

Table 2: Age distribution of the respondents

Range	Frequency	Percent
20-39	40	44.4
40-59	30	33.3
60-79	16	17.8
above 80	4	4.4
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

This reflects the age distribution of the district per the 2010 population and housing census (GSS, 2014, p.17), depicting a youthful population. In this sense, an operational definition of youth is necessary, though contentious. The United Nations (2001, p.10) define a youthful population as people within an age range of 15-24 years. Considering the UN definition critically, it fails to consider national and societal characteristics such as culture, economics, and political dynamics. According to Oluwaniyi (2010, p.311), “*youth is a social construction arising out of the political, socio-cultural, institutional and economic dynamics of a society that needs to be fully interrogated in order to understand the milieu within which it operates*”. Accordingly, the Ghana National Youth Policy (2010, p.5) defines the term youth as persons that fall within 15 and 35 years. For the purpose and context of this study, the definition by the Ghana National Youth Policy was adopted. This youthful nature of the population in Agogo is evident in the numerous demonstrations and protest in the area, and sometimes, clashes with the police (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.1; Republic of Ghana, 2012b, p.2, appendix 3 and 5). Again, by summing up the respondents from 40years and above, the total is 50 people. This shows that an important source for the primary data were the matured and old people, who know the history of Agogo and the genesis of the conflict.

4.2.2. Respondents by ethnic background

As argued by (Olaniyan, 2015, p.335; Tonah, 2006, p.160), ethnicity plays a crucial role in the farmer-herder conflicts. Hence, it was necessary to consider the ethnic background of the respondents. This information is presented in the Table 3 below:

Table 3: Ethnic composition of the respondents

Ethnic groups	Frequency	Percent
Asante	40	44.4
Komkomba	8	8.9
Ewe	8	8.9
Kusasi	6	6.7
Gonja	4	4.4
Dagomba	4	4.4

Akyem	2	2.2
Kwahu	2	2.2
Frafra	2	2.2
Mamprusi	3	3.3
Sisala	3	3.3
Krobo	3	3.3
Others	5	5.6
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

The inference from the table above shows that, majority of the respondents were Asante, who are the aborigines of Agogo. This also corresponds to the 2010 population and housing census, which indicated that the Asante tradition and culture dominate in the district since they are the aborigines of the area (GSS, 2014, p. 4). As such, the Asante are the custodian and owners of the traditional lands in Agogo. In addition, the representation of the other ethnic groups, mostly settlers show the heterogenous nature of the Agogo community. From the Asante perspective, settlers are those living on their lands and arrived as migrants within the community. It does not matter the number of years the person has stayed in the community or been born in the area, as far as his or her parents were settlers. The reason, according to the Asante tradition is to protect their chieftaincy institution and land tenure arrangements. The non-Asante groups, mostly from the Northern part of Ghana also practice their culture alongside the Asante. As observed during the fieldwork, there is a mutual relationship between the settlers and the Asante. Hence, all are united fighting against the Fulani herdsmen and the perceived cattle owners, except few anonymous middlemen.

4.2.3. Respondents by marital status

In the Ghanaian social setting, the institution of marriage is very important. Therefore, it was important to consider the marital status of the respondents. This information is presented in the Table 4 below:

Table 4: Marital status of the respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	81	90.0
Widow/widower	6	6.7
Divorced	3	3.3
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

The above distribution shows that all the respondents are married or had married before. In Agogo, one way of getting access to land is through marriage. Since the Asante are the owners of the land, therefore, most of the settlers, especially the men, marry the indigenes to get access to land for cultivation. Also, marriage is a way of getting helping hand (labour) in the farming process, and protection against the “threat” from the Fulani herdsmen. One respondent remarked: *“I am an Ewe (ethnic group). I came here (Agogo) in 1978 by invitation from my brother. I am married to an Asante (the indigenes) woman, all my children were born here. No one has fought me since coming here”* (personal interview: 24/1/2017).

Finally, from the 6 respondents in the widow/widower category, 3 had lost their husbands as a result of the conflict, notable among them were the wives of the deceased mentioned in the Republic of Ghana, 2012a, p. 4 at appendix 4.

4.2.4. Number of dependents according to the respondents

The analysis under Table 4 could not be complete without presenting the corresponding number of dependents living with the farmers. This information is important as it could help determine how the conflict especially death, injuries, and destruction of farms directly or indirectly affected others such as children, siblings and other distant relatives. This information is also presented in the Table 5 below:

Table 5: Number of dependents with the respondents

Category	Frequency	Percent
1-3	4	4.4
4-6	37	41.1

7-9	23	25.6
10-12	14	15.6
13-15	12	13.3
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

In the study area, communal living is the norm. Correlating with Table 4, is the responsibility of taking care or supporting siblings and other members especially nephews, nieces and parents in the extended households. Hence, the study finds a high dependency ratio in the study area as the majority of the population are children and teenagers who depend on their families for survival. This further correlates with the Ghana Statistical Service data on the district. According to the GSS, the Asante Akyem North district has a high dependency ratio of 82.5 as compared to the regional (Ashanti Region) value of 72.4 (GSS, 2014, p. 16).

4.2.5. Respondents by educational attainment

The study also inquired about the educational background of the respondents. This was important as the majority of the respondents claimed not having access to public sector work, hence, into crop farming for sustenance. The Table 6 below shows the educational level of the respondents:

Table 6: Level of Educational attainment by the respondents

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
No formal education	21	23.3
Primary level	17	18.9
Junior High level	41	45.6
Secondary level	9	10.0
Tertiary level	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

From the table, it can be deduced that a low level of education pertains among the respondents. Correlating with Table 3, this can be attributed to the fact that most of the people in the Agogo communities and the district in general are settlers (migrants) who came to seek for greener pastures. The statistics above correspond with the district data on formal education. Within the

district, about 18.5% of the population have never attended any formal school in their lifetime, while most of the people are junior high school/middle school leavers (GSS, 2014, p.33). In view of this, majority of the population are into crop farming for their source of livelihood.

4.2.6. Respondents by major source of income

The study also looked at the main occupation/major sources of income of the respondents. This was necessary to determine the number of respondents, who mainly depend on crop farming for their daily income. Table 7 below shows the major source of income of the respondents:

Table 7: Respondents major sources of income

Major source of income	Frequency	Percent
Farming only	73	81.1
Farming & Trading	6	6.7
Farming & Driving	3	3.3
Farming & Storekeeping	4	4.4
Farming & Tailoring	4	4.4
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

From the table, it can be deduced that crop farming is the main occupation for the residents of Agogo. Indeed, those who combine other occupations such as trading, driving, storekeeping and dressmaking with farming were quick to add that, their main sources of income are farming. They only venture into non-farming economic activities during the lean or dry seasons. Related to the Table 6 as low level of education pertains, securing public sector work is very difficult as the positions are very competitive. Hence, most of the people depend on farming for their livelihood, which does not require formal certificate as argued by the respondents. This makes land for cultivation a very hot commodity in the district. The data presented in Table 7 is not too different from the GSS findings concerning agriculture about the district. According to GSS, agriculture employs about 72.7% of the total population in the district. As expected, crop farming is the most agricultural activity practiced in the district (GSS, 2014, p. 48).

4.2.7. Respondents according to duration of stay in the community

The study also sought to find out how long the respondents had resided in the Agogo communities. This was important to assess how vest the respondents are in terms of cattle business and the conflict. The findings are summarised in Table 8 the below:

Table 8: Farmers: length of stay in the community

Period of stay	Frequency	Percent
since birth	52	57.8
1-10years	4	4.4
11-20years	15	16.7
21-30years	8	8.9
31-40years	9	10.0
51-60years	2	2.2
Total	90	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

It can be deduced from the data presented that, the respondents sampled for this study are long-time dwellers in Agogo. Apart from the majority (57.8%) who had resided there since birth, more than half of the remaining respondents have resided in the Agogo communities for over 20 years. By implication, and correlating with the ethnicity under Table 3, most of the respondents were residing in the communities before the migration of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle to Agogo, since the migration and the conflict started in 1997. This means that, well experienced and knowledgeable respondents were sampled.

4.3. Respondents: Herdsmen

The number of the herdsmen interviewed in this study through personal interviews and FGD were fifteen (15). A total of 12 personal interviews and one FGD of 3 herdsmen. All of them were males operating in the study area.

4.3.0. Respondents according to ethnicity

In Ghana, and specifically the study area (Agogo), the notion is that all herdsmen are from the Fulani ethnic group. In view of this, the study looked at the ethnic background of the herdsmen.

Based on the available data, it can be deduced that most of the herdsmen in Agogo are of Fulani ethnic background especially the settler herdsmen¹¹. The information is presented in the Table 9 below:

Table 9: Ethnic background of the herdsmen

Ethnic groups	Frequency	Percent
Fulani	11	73.3
Hausa	2	13.3
Sokoto	1	6.7
Tuareg	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

4.3.1. Respondents according to age

From the data gathered, majority of the herdsmen were in the age cohort of 20-39 years. Correlating with table 2, and based on the Ghana National Youth Policy (2010) definition adopted for this study, it can be deduced that the herdsmen also have a youthful population. The information is presented in the Table 10 below:

Table 10: Age of the respondents

Range	Frequency	Percent
20-39	12	80.0
over 40 years	3	20.0
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

4.3.2. Respondents according to marital status

The study also sought to find out the marital status of the respondents. This was necessary due to the ‘alleged’ sexual harassment of women by the Fulani herdsmen. Among the 7 married

¹¹ Settler herdsmen are those who have acquired land or their cattle owners have acquired land, and are permanent in the bush with a defined area of territory.

respondents, 2 of them indicated that they are with their wives in the villages, while 3 indicated they are married to residents of Agogo. However, they declined specifying whether the women in question are farmers, indigenes or migrants. The information is presented in the Table 11 below:

Table 11: Marital status of the respondents

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Married	7	46.7
Single	8	53.3
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

4.3.3. Respondents according to nationality (citizenship)

The study also looked at the nationalities of the herdsmen. This was important as there were widely perceptions concerning the nationalities of ‘Fulani’ herdsmen in Ghana. From the data gathered, it can be deduced that most of Fulani herdsmen in Agogo are Ghanaians by citizenship. Indeed, the 8 Ghanaians proved their citizenship by showing their identities; 6 had a Ghanaian voter identity card, while the remaining 2 had a Ghanaian passport. The information is presented in the Table 12 below:

Table 12: Nationality of the respondents

Nationality	Frequency	Percent
Ghana	8	53.3
Burkina Faso	3	20.0
Mali	1	6.7
Niger	1	6.7
Nigeria	2	13.3
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

4.3.4. Respondents according to ownership of the cattle

According to the REGSEC report on Agogo (evacuation plan, 2012, p.1, at appendix 5), the Fulani herdsmen are often caretakers as business men hire them to tender the cattle. Again, the officials interviewed as well as the farmers indicated that there are influential people such as politicians, chiefs, security personnel and business moguls have their cattle been tendered by the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo. Therefore, the study sought to find out the number of herdsmen who were also owners of the cattle. The data gathered confirmed the caretaker assertion, as only 3 out of the 15 respondents were owners, while the remaining 12 were all only caretakers employed by some “big men” to look after the cattle. Upon further probing, they declined telling the identities of their owners; whether politicians, chiefs or business men. They only retorted “*the owners are Ghanaians.*” In terms of income and remuneration, they refused to comment. The information is presented in the Table 13 below:

Table 13: Number of respondents who are also owners of the cattle

Category	Frequency	Percent
Herdsmen only	12	80.0
Herdsmen & Owners	3	20.0
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

4.3.5. Respondents according to length of stay in Agogo

In relation to the ownership discussed above, the study considered the duration of stay of the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo. Interestingly, none was born in Agogo. The information is presented in the Table 14 below:

Table 14: Duration of stay of the respondents

Period of stay	Frequency	Percent
less than a year	2	13.3
1-5years	9	60.0

6-10years	3	20.0
10-20years	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Source (Author, Fieldwork, January 2017)

Upon further probing, only three (the two Nigerians and the Malian) indicated that, they migrated from Nigeria and Mali respectively to Agogo. According to them, they do not have a particular place of staying, and their presence in a particular country depends on the climate and availability of pasture. Hence, the three were the ‘typical’ nomads who moved to Agogo during the dry season. Basically, they were the 3 herdsman who were also the real owners of the cattle they tender, and indicated their willingness to go back during the rainy season.

Part 2. History of cattle rearing, emergence of nomadism and agreements in Agogo

Cattle rearing is not new to the people of Agogo; it has been in existence since the colonial era. Throughout this period, farmer-herder conflict was not an issue in the area. Indeed, local cattle owners and farmers coexisted peacefully. However, at that stage the cattle reared were small in number, under semi intensive system (kraals) for consumption and domestic purposes such as payment of bride price, prestige and honour. The number was usually between five (5) to about fifty (50) heads per family. This, notwithstanding, the owners sold some of the cattle occasionally, such as during festivities and in times of lack for cash. There was no nomadism, as the cattle were fed in their kraals with cut grasses, cassava and plantain peels by their owners. At times, they were led to nearby bushes and refuse dumps by the local herdsman, mostly the settlers from the Northern part of Ghana to graze without any damages to crops and farms, and by sunset they went back to their kraals. In this regard, the rearing of cattle in large scale for commercial purposes, under nomadism was quite alien to the people. The practice of nomadism began in 1997 after an agreement between Fulani cattle owners and the Omanhene of Agogo (the paramount chief). A seventy-two-year-old man, the krontihene¹² of Agogo explained:

From my infancy, through to the 1960s and 1970s, this has been the situation. The cattle were not in the bush; they were inside a fence. So, anytime they were (are) going outside, herdsman followed them, and by sundown, followed them back to their kraals. Cattle are animals that will not cross a fence even if is made up of palm fronts. There

¹² Krontihene is a chief and the second in command in terms of the Agogo chieftaincy hierarchy.

was no destruction of farms, there was harmony and peace between the people (Personal Interview, 9/1/2017).

A ninety-year-old man, a farmer and former Assemblyman¹³ of Abrewapong and a leader of Agogoman Mma Kuo¹⁴ also explained:

Since the time of Gold Coast (colonial rule), cattle were in Agogo. They (cattle) were reared at home, not in the bush. Occasionally, the cattle were led to graze at nearby refuse dumps and grasses. The cattle owners and farmers were at peace; no conflict, no killing, no destruction of crops and farms. It is only when the Fulani herdsmen came that all these negative activities started (Personal Interview, 9/1/2017).

According to the elders of Agogo, specifically, the Krontihene, Bebomehene¹⁵ and the leader of Agogoman Mma Kuo, as well as the veterinary doctor, the issue of nomadism started in 1997, after some Fulani herdsmen approached the Agogo Traditional Council (ATC) for land to rear cattle. They were five (5) in total, led by one called Sambo. These cattle owners had already been operating at the Abrewapong village of Agogo, and were chased away by the farmers hence the need to call on the ATC. They were led by the then Assemblyman of Abrewapong to the Council. The paramount chief of Agogo gave them a piece of land at a fee of eighty-five Ghana cedi, GH¢ 85 (\$17)¹⁶. It is worth mentioning that, the piece of land allocated to Fulani herdsmen was at that time very thickly forested, scarcely populated, with no farming activities. The commercial agriculture at that stage was on small scale due to the poor road network. In a verbal agreement as narrated by the elders, the two parties, the ATC and the cattle owners agreed on the following;

- Introduction of an intensive system or cattle ranching or confinement
- Digging of boreholes to provide water for the animals to avoid water pollution
- Not to allow the animals to cause damage to other people's property
- The cattle owners were warned, if they breach the agreement, they would be sacked (Personal Interview, 9/1/2017).

According to the veterinary doctor for Agogo, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture of Ghana in 1999, upon media reports on the activities of Fulani nomads in the Afram Plains including

¹³ Assemblyman is a government official at the lowest level (grassroots)

¹⁴ Agogoman Mma Kuo is an association of the people of Agogo, fighting for the welfare of the farmers.

¹⁵ Bebomehene is the chief of the village called Bebome (one of the study areas)

¹⁶ At the time of the fieldwork, \$1= GH¢5

Agogo area, conducted a study to ascertain the veracity of the situation. After visiting the area, and verified the nomadic activities, the team met with the ATC to discuss with them. The veterinarian further explained that the chiefs accepted the fact that they knew the herdsmen and confirmed releasing the land to them¹⁷. Since the cattle owners were nomads, they were moving from one place to another in search of pasture and water for their animals. Later, a series of complaints were made to the Council by the farmers in Abrewapong about the nomadic nature of the Fulani herdsmen. At that stage, commercial farming was gaining momentum as the government started constructing roads to the villages, hence, people venturing into cash cropping. Afterwards, a meeting was held between the immigration authorities, the police, the army, the district assembly, and the chiefs by which a decision was made against the Fulani herdsmen. They were sacked from the land as the agreement was breached. Hence, the Fulani herdsmen moved to Kwahu area of the Afram Plains.

4.4.1. The indenture and the beginning of nomadism in Agogo

A year later, in 2000, the paramount chief together with some sub-chiefs released a portion of Agogolands, specifically in Nyamebkyere village¹⁸ to some businessman for cattle rearing. These cattle owners were Ghanaians, but not an indigenes or settlers from Agogo. Though the formal agreement was signed in 2006 and 2007 respectively, their operations started in 2000. According to the indenture 1 and 2 (at appendix), one prominent cattle owner was to pay GH¢500¹⁹ (\$150)²⁰, while another was to pay GH¢150 (\$30) yearly as rent respectively for a period of fifty (50) years. Among the main issues stipulated in the indenture are;

- a) Not to use the demised land otherwise than for a cattle ranch farming purpose only.
- b) Not to allow anything on the demised land which may become a nuisance damage or annoyance to the chiefs or any occupier of the adjacent property.
- c) The cattle owners were strictly to ensure that the cattle are kept within the area assigned to them and to ensure that the animals do not stray into other areas which will constitute nuisance to other farmers in the neighbourhood.

¹⁷ Personal interview 9/2/2017

¹⁸ Nyamebkyere is a village in Agogo and one of the study areas

¹⁹ In the contract, the amount is written GH¢5,000,000 and GH¢1,500,000 respectively, because the agreements were made before the redenomination of the Ghana cedi in 2007

²⁰ At the time of the fieldwork, \$1= GH¢5

- d) To provide facilities to the cattle in such a way that they do not pollute water bodies outside the area granted.
- e) The cattle owners were strictly forbidden to extend the facilities offered them under this lease to a third party without the consent of the Lessor.
- f) To provide such other facilities to the cattle so as not to create problems which will undermine community cohesion and destabilise the community leadership because of the activities of the cattle.
- g) That, the nomads roaming illegally in the area on the whole, have engaged in anti-social activities which have disturbed farming activities, hence, the cattle owners sworn to keeping strictly to the conditions of the grant (indenture 1 and 2 at appendix).

The cattle owners, however, failed to confine their animals and provide them with water per the agreement. In addition, their presence also attracted other herdsmen to the area, who were previously afraid of invading the Agogo lands. Hence, both the cattle owners and the alien nomads²¹ moved their cattle from one place to another while causing damage to peoples' farms, polluting the waterbodies; resulting in frosty and tense relationship with the farmers. Therefore, it can be deduced that, the leasing of the lands to the businessmen for cattle rearing is the genesis of nomadism and the conflict in Agogo.

The researcher contacted an Alhaji²², one of the leaseholders with the chiefs on this story²³. He accepted the fact that, he and his colleagues were the first to settle in the area, and it is true that, at times the animals go astray. Alhaji however, denied that he had been inviting other herdsmen to the area, and explained that, he and his colleagues had driven them away initially. He further accused some residents of Agogo for releasing their lands to the alien herdsmen in return for cattle and money. This assertion is evident in the evacuation plan report obtained from the REGSEC through the CID, Agogo Police Station (Republic of Ghana, 2012b, p.20, appendix 5), where one woman has transferred a parcel of her land to a cattle owner for the rearing of cattle at a fee. The said transaction occurred in 2008.

One prominent cattle owner was of the view that, the influx of the alien herdsmen to the place started the whole problem. This is because they were not having lands to rear their cattle, hence they were moving from places to places. The cattle owner also accepted that he had failed to

²¹ Herdsmen who are mostly from other countries, and particularly do not have land agreement with the chiefs

²² Alhaji is a title given to a Muslim man, who is rich and been to Mecca before.

²³ Personal interview 6/2/2017

confine his animals, but explained that his animals only feed on his acquired land, and only go out to drink water. He was quick to add that, even if the animals cause damages to people's farms, he pays compensations to those farmers.

Part 3. Factors that attract the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo

The factors behind the arrival of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle to Agogo are complex and involve an interaction of several related factors. This section discusses the social, economic, natural and political factors identified, and tries to examine the relationship that exists among them. The responses from the fieldwork indicate that the pull factors attracting the Fulani herdsmen can be categorised into six (6) main factors. These are:

- Presence of 'special' pasture
- Availability of land for leasing
- Support from influential people
- Availability of water
- Absence of tsetse fly (*glossina*)
- Market opportunity

4.5.1. Presence of 'special' pasture

Both the farmers, Ghanaian cattle owners and the Fulani herdsmen mentioned the presence of the rich pastures as a main factor for the attraction and stay of the herdsmen and their cattle. According to one of the cattle owners, the grass in Agogo are so special and very healthy for the animals. He further explained that, within a short period the animals can multiple in number due to the nutritious nature of the forage (Personal Interview: 6/2/2017). Both the chiefs of Bebome and Krontihene of Agogo reiterated this fact when they said that the animals are able to get nutritious pasture in the forest. This makes them to give birth to twins (calves) at a time instead of single (calf) (Personal Interview: 9/1/2017). A farmer at Abrewapong also stated this emphatically when commenting on the subject. According to him, the herdsmen have told him that the pasture in Agogo are very nutritious, and helps the cattle to give birth to twins or triplets at a time (personal interview: 24/1/2017). This discussion above confirms the literature review that availability of pasture is a major factor that attract the Fulani herdsmen to a particular place (Folami, & Folami, 2013, p.105; Puget, 1999, p.45; Stenning, 1959, p.4; Tonah, 2005, p.26).

4.5.2. Availability of land for leasing

According to the farmers, the leasing of farmlands to the cattle owners and the herdsmen is a major factor that attracts the herdsmen to Agogo. Land leasing²⁴ is a common practice in the Agogo traditional area. A kusasi man, forty-two-year-old farmer, explained that the Fulani herdsmen are in Agogo due to the land agreement between the chiefs and the cattle owners. He continued by arguing that these owners also release portions of the land to the alien herdsmen from Mali, Burkina Faso and Nigeria. Therefore, apart from the settled herdsmen, the nomads are assured of land anytime they are migrating to Agogo (Personal Interview: 24/1/2017). The Divisional Police Commander²⁵ for the area explained that, the leasing of lands to the cattle owners by chiefs attracted and stabilised the stay of the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo (Personal Interview: 14/1/2017). The Immigration Officer for the district reaffirmed that the leasing of lands to cattle owners made the stay of the herders comfortable as well as attracting new ones. He particularly mentioned the indenture between the Omanhene and the Ghanaian cattle owners, especially the one involving Alhaji Grusah and his colleagues (personal interview: 14/2/2017). In addition, some individuals and families allocated parcel of their lands to the Fulani herdsmen for personal gains, according to the Veterinary officer of Agogo (personal interview: 9/2/2017). This is well captured by an Alhaji, a lease holder and a cattle owner:

..... some individuals also sold/sell parts of their lands for money and cattle to the Fulani herdsmen, which attracted them to the area. Initially, myself and others used to drive them away because we were the ones with proper indenture. Later, these herdsmen were issued with permits authorised by the courts. It is these herders who invited their colleagues to the area (Personal Interview: 6/2/2017).

Furthermore, a lecturer at the Department of Animal Science, UE, Mampong Campus, reaffirmed the position of the farmers:

.....the chiefs are harboring the herdsmen on the land, therefore, their attraction to Agogo. Every piece of land belongs to or is under the care of a chief. There is no way a Fulani herdsman and his cattle can stay there without a permission. If the chief does not confront the herdsmen himself, he will send someone to call them. The chiefs supersede all the lands in Agogo (Personal Interview: 27/1/2017).

²⁴ Land leasing is the practice of selling a whole or a parcel of land for monetary values

²⁵ The police administration is structured (National, Regional, Divisional and District levels). The divisional police command for the area is made up of Konongo, Agogo (study area), Juaso and Juansa.

Apart from the lease by the local chiefs and individuals, the vast and fertile nature of the land in Agogo also attracts nomads and cattle owners. According to the Fulani herdsmen, there is a large tract of land for grazing in Agogo, therefore the cattle have enough space to search for food. A herdsman posited, *“I do not have a land for permanent settlement, therefore I move from one place to another within the forest. The animals do not struggle for food, and they get varieties to choose”* (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017). This reaffirms the literature on availability of land as a factor that attracts the Fulani herdsmen to a particular area (Tonah, 2005, p.26)

4.5.3. Support from influential people

According to the farmers of Agogo, the Fulani herdsmen have the support of some chiefs, politicians and the security officers. This makes their stay in Agogo more permanent and comfortable compared to other places. All the farmers indicated that most of the cattle owners are the “big men” in Ghana, occupying various positions. Hence, the influx of cattle and herdsmen on Agogo lands. A sixty-nine-year-old woman, and a farmer at Bebuso²⁶ responded, *“the court has ruled that the cattle and the herdsmen should be driven away, but they are still here since 2012. Who should enforce this ruling? They (the politicians and leaders) are the same people whom the Court ruled against”* (Personal Interview: 24/1/2017). A lecturer at the Department of History and Political Studies, KNUST, with specialisation in conflict issues shared the same view with the farmers. According to him, it is clear that the majority of the cattle are owned by the ‘big men’, including some of the chiefs of the community. Therefore, the Fulani herdsmen are caretakers with massive support from their owners making their stay in Agogo very comfortable. He reiterated that, the ‘big men’ are the influential people such as politicians, traditional rulers, businessmen with party affiliations, and security personnel (Personal Interview: 3/2/2017).

Furthermore, the veterinary officer for Agogo supported the claim by the farmers with facts. According to the statistics available to his office, there were about thirty-one thousand (31,000) heads of cattle on Agogo lands as of January 2017, of which most of the owners are all Ghanaians. According to him, these are the settled herdsmen or cattle owners with a defined territory of land acquired from the local people; not including the heads of the nomads from other countries (personal interview: 9/2/2017). In addition, the Divisional Police Commander for the area explained that, the herdsmen and the cattle owners in Agogo are having a strong

²⁶ Bebuso is a village in Agogo and one of the study areas

political support from very influential and powerful people across the country. He continued by mentioning politicians, chiefs, business moguls, and security officers as the cattle owners (Personal Interview: 14/1/2017).

In this connection is that, the majority of the herdsmen interviewed in this study, 12 out of 15 were all caretakers (see table 13). Some are tendering 700 heads of cattle, others one thousand and so on. The cattle owners contacted for this study were businessmen. These views reflect Tonah (2005a, pp. 100-102) argument that, the alliance between “big men” and herdsmen does not only attract the Fulani herdsmen, but also create a conducive environment for their settlement in the South. The views also reaffirm the assertion by Kwesi Aning, a security analyst at Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre in Ghana that;

“If a Fulani herder has fifty head of cattle, you can be rest assured that twenty of them belonged to indigenous Ghanaians, particularly “big men” and those that are in government” (Olaniyan et al, 2015, p.62).

4.5.4. Availability of Water, absence of tsetse fly

According to both the cattle owners and the herdsmen, the cattle are able to get water to drink throughout the year in Agogo. All the respondents indicated that, the rivers and streams flow throughout the year, even in dry seasons. With this, the cattle are more comfortable as after grazing there are available water for them. One of the herdsmen explained, *“I moved all the way from Sokoto, Nigeria, to find water for my animals when the dry season was approaching. Am staying here till rainy season before I leave” (personal interview: 3/2/2017).* The farmers on their side, shared the same view. All the respondents indicated that, the Afram River that flows throughout the year is a very good source of water for the herdsmen and their cattle.

A settler farmer at Behome, a sixty-year-old man posited that, the nomads and their cattle are attracted to Agogo due to the presence of water for the animals during dry season (Personal Interview: 17/1/2015). The DDCD of AANDA in Agogo, confirmed that the presence of waterbodies in Agogo is one of the key factors that influence the migration of nomads to the area. He explained that, the whole Afram Plains area (including Agogo) is well drained by several rivers, including the tributaries of the Afram River (Personal Interview: 15/1/2017). The above discussion coincides with (Stenning, 1959, p.4; Tonah, 2005, p.26) that, availability of water influenced the migration of Fulani herdsmen to the Afram Plains including Agogo.

According to the veterinary officer for Agogo, the *Glossina* vector (tsetse flies) that attack cattle cannot be found in Agogo. Therefore, the herdsmen and the cattle are free from trypanosomiasis and sleeping sickness, which are the main diseases that attack the animals. He further explained that, this reduces the cost of vaccination and upkeep for the cattle owners, nomads and settled herdsmen (Personal Interview: 9/2/2017). The herdsmen in this study argued that, the absence of these harmful insects make their stay in the bush very conducive not only for themselves, but the for cattle as well. One of the herdsmen at Bebuso village said that, he hardly goes to hospital for treatment; it is only during the rainy season that he suffers from malaria through mosquito bites (personal interview:16/1/2017). A check from the Agogo Presbyterian hospital²⁷ indicated that, the herdsmen do not frequently visit the facility. On few occasions, they come for malaria and sometimes TB treatment. However, the TB are mostly with the nomads from Nigeria, Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso who travel far distance to Agogo during the dry season. This confirms with the literature reviewed (Blench, 1994, pp.198-200).

On the part of the farmers, during personal interviews and FGDs, the absence of tsetse flies as a factor was very minimal. Throughout, the four FGDs, none of the respondents mentioned it. With the personal interview, very few respondents indicated it as a major factor of attraction.

4.5.5. Market opportunity

During the fieldwork, it was observed that several trucks, full of cattle being transported from the villages of Agogo. I was informed that butchers from Kumasi, Accra²⁸ and major cities always troop to Agogo to buy cattle. According to the veterinary doctor for Agogo, who diagnosis the cattle to determine whether a cow is healthy and good for consumption or not, before being transported also confirmed the high daily sales of cattle in Agogo. He further explained that, the location of Agogo is very strategic for marketing and transporting of the animals. As there are roads (though deplorable, but motorable) to all the villages where the cattle are reared, making transporting very easy (Personal Interview: 9/2/2017).

The cattle owners and the herdsmen also indicated that, the market price of a cow is very high in Agogo since the buyers are from the cities, and transporting them is easy too. According to them, the demand for meat is high in the cities, compared to the rural areas, thereby increasing the market value. They further indicated that, the price of a cow ranges from GH¢2000-

²⁷ Personal Interview with a member at the accident and emergency unit, 5/2/2017

²⁸ Accra is the capital city of Ghana, and Kumasi is the second and most populated city.

GH¢5000 (\$400-\$1000)²⁹ depending on the weight of the animal. This market factor confirms the literature discussed in chapter two (Folami, & Folami 2013, p.105; Stenning, 1959, p. 4; Tonah, 2005, p. 16).

Part 4. Causes of the Conflict between the farmers and Fulani herdsmen

This part focuses on the reasons why the relationship between the farmers (the locals) and the herdsmen have developed into conflict. It describes and discusses the main findings in relation to the theoretical debate and the literature review. The analysis is grouped under the following headings:

- The nature of the conflict
- The actors involved and their roles, and
- The causes of the conflict.

4.6.1. Nature of the Conflict: The Environmental Scarcity Connection

In order to identify the nature of the conflict and test the theoretical foundations of the work, the study sought to find the actual situation on the ground. Contrary to the position by (Olaniyan, 2015, p.335; Tonah, 2006, p.160) that farmer-herder conflicts involve elements of ethnicity, the Agogo situation is quite different. For the case of Olaniyan (2015, p.335), his study was on Komkomba-Fulani conflict in 2011. In that conflict, there were only two homogenous groups who knew each other, and lived in the same area, Gushiegu district in the northern part of Ghana. However, Agogo is a very heterogenous community, with people from all parts of Ghana, Benin, Togo. The ethnic composition in Agogo cuts across: Asante, Ewe, Komkomba, Akyem, Gonja, Huasa, Dagomba, Frafra, Sisala, Krobo, Kusasi, Mamprusi and others, although the Asante are predominant (see Table 3).

During this study, it was revealed a resources/environmental scarcity of land, in the face of population growth of humans and cattle. This has resulted in the competition for land and eco-survivalism between the farmers, and the cattle owners and the Fulani herdsmen on another side. Therefore, the nature of Agogo conflict is a resource conflict resulting from a competition of land. A lecturer at the Department of History and Political Studies, KNUST, with specialisation in conflict issues explained:

²⁹ The conversion was based on the current exchange rate during the study (\$1= GH¢5)

For the case of Agogo, I do not see traits of ethnicity. It is an issue of scarce resources (land) which have alternative uses; the land. The farmer needs the land for cultivation, while the Fulani herdsmen need the grass to feed their animals. This is the genesis of the problem. Here, when the animals go to peoples' farms and cause damage; it doesn't matter whether the person is an Asante, Akyem, Fante or Ewe, they are all crying. There is absolutely nothing like tribalism (Personal Interview: 3/2/2017).

A lecturer at the Department of Animal Science, UE, Mampong Campus, reaffirmed this position by arguing that, the entire town rose against the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, it is not like some tribes rose and others refused, or not like some backing the nomadic activities, some not backing. It is about the use of the land (Personal Interview: 27/1/2017). This view is also supported by a Professor of Animal Science Department, KNUST, Kumasi. He explained that, the source of the conflict is about land resource: who owns the land, allocates the land, and has the right to use it. The farmers need the land to grow their crops, while the herdsmen want it as grazing land for the cattle. Meanwhile, all of them have to use the same land; but the land is fixed with no demarcations (Personal Interview: 3/2/2017). A research fellow and a journalist at Hello FM in Kumasi, who has been following and covering the situation since 2001 explained that, to describe the conflict as ethnicity is totally wrong. He argued that, it is not only the Asante fighting the Fulani herdsmen, but the entire people are fighting against the pastoral activities (Personal Interview: 17/1/2017).

According to a cattle owner and lease holder, the encroachment of grazing lands by the farmers and influx of alien herdsmen underline the conflict. He further explained that during the time he and his friends (Alhaji 1, Alhaji 2 and Alhaji 3) were allocated the land, there were no farming or cattle rearing around the area. In his view, increase in human and cattle population coupled with climate change has led to the struggle for land and survival in Agogo, hence the conflict (Personal Interview: 6/2/2017).

The veterinary doctor for Agogo, who has been in the community for decades reaffirmed the resource scarcity nature as he analysed the conflict;

.....the population of Agogo has increased, so as with cattle population. Now, with agriculture been turned into commercial purposes, farming is now everywhere deep into the forest. Initially, if you were given GHC200 (\$40) to venture into the bush to transport goods, you won't go. Therefore, the farmers are now encroaching the Fulani herdsmen and cattle lands, hence narrowing their space. For this, it makes destruction inevitable, thereby causing the conflict (Personal Interview: 9/2/2017).

The above discussion reaffirmed the environmental or resources scarcity and eco-survivalism theoretical debates that underpin this study and have been already explained in chapter two. (Adogi, 2013: p.7; Bennett, 1991, p.1; Blench, 1996, p. 1; Hendrickson, 1997, p. 8; Homer-Dixon,1999, p.133; Okoli, 2013; Okoli & Atelhe, 2014; Olaniyan, 2015; Tonah, 2000, p.556; Turner, 2004, p.869).

4.6.2. Actors involved and their roles

The Agogo conflict is very complex, dynamic, and involves many actors and factions who have different opinions and ideas about the origin of the conflict, its future, its impacts on the socio-economic development and how to resolve the conflict. Below are the main actors from the fieldwork conducted;

- The farmers (natives and settlers) of Agogo
- ‘AgogoMan Mma kuo’ and youth association
- The cattle owners
- The herdsmen
- The chiefs
- The security personnel (police)
- Middlemen, intermediaries, connection men, partners

4.6.2.1. The farmers (natives and settlers) of Agogo

The farmers are the main actors and victims in this conflict. They are made up of two groups; the natives and settlers. The natives are the indigenous of Agogo and owners of the land, mostly the belonging to the Asante ethnic groups. The settlers are the migrants from other parts of Ghana (especially Volta and Northern regions), but also from Benin, Togo, and Cote d’Ivoire. Due to intermarriages, there is no divisions among them; all are now ‘owners of the land’, and are fighting against the pastoral activities in the area. They produce foodstuffs such as plantain, watermelon, maize, cassava, beans, and so on.

4.6.2.2. Agogoman Mma kuo and Agogo youth association

In addition to the farmers, are their allies, partners and supporters (Agogoman MmaKuo, Agogo Youth Association, Local council of Christian churches). Once again, their membership cuts across all ethnic groups, both natives and settlers. Their main role is to drive the cattle and

the Fulani herdsmen away from all Agogo Traditional Lands. In this regard, they have staged a lot of demonstrations, protests and written petitions against the paramount of Agogo, cattle owners, Fulani herdsmen, the police, and the government. A ninety-year-old man, a former Assemblyman (Government representative) of Abrewapong is very instrumental in these associations. Among their actions and activities are; the 2010 demonstration against the chiefs and the herdsmen that led to setting up of a commission of an inquiry (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p. 1, appendix 3); the petition at the Kumasi High Court that led to the 2012 ruling in favour of the farmers (Republic of Ghana, 2012a appendix 4).

4.6.2.3. The Cattle owners

These are the influential people (politicians, chiefs, businessmen, security officers) who have their cattle in Agogo. They are also one of the main parties involved in the conflict. Apart from Alhaji Abdul Karim Grusah, who has openly and publicly declared that he owns cattle in Agogo, all the others are anonymous. They have employed the services of the herdsmen to tender the cattle on their behalf. As indicated earlier, according to the veterinary doctor for Agogo, there were about thirty-one (31,000) herds of cattle on Agogo lands of which all most of the owners are Ghanaians as at January 2017. Among these, some have 4000, 3000, 1000, 700 heads and so on (Personal Interview, 9/2/2017). These owners are being accused by the farmers of supplying the Fulani herdsmen with weapons (AK 47, Pump Action guns, bullets and others). According to a document obtained from the CID at Agogo Police Station, the cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen in Agogo were all not indigenes of Agogo. However, there was an allegation from the farmers that some indigenes own some of the cattle.

4.6.2.4. The Fulani herdsmen (settler herdsmen and nomads)

The Fulani herdsmen are also one of the main parties in the conflict. There are two types of herdsmen in Agogo: the settler herdsmen and the nomads. The settler herdsmen are mainly from the Fulani ethnic group, however, there may be some from other ethnics. They are mostly familiar with the local dialect, Twi (the local language for the people of Asante including Agogo). It is worth mentioning that, there are some Fulani who are not herdsmen but are doing farming in Agogo. The settler herdsmen are permanently staying in the bush on various parts of Agogo; Bebome, Nyamebekyere, Mankala, Bebuso, Abrewapong. Some have grazing lands acquired by their cattle owners from the chiefs, while others acquired the land themselves. On the other hand, the nomads are predominantly foreigners from the Sokoto in Nigeria, Tuaregs

from Mali, fulbe from Burkina Faso, Wolof from Senegal. They are mostly tagged as “alien herdsmen”. They normally migrate to Agogo in the dry season, and hardly speak or understand any local dialect. It is alleged that, they carry along deadly weapons such as AK 47, pump guns and have disregard for human lives. The Immigration Officer for Agogo/Konongo³⁰ indicated that the nomads’ point of entry in the country is through Paga³¹ border in the Upper East Region of Ghana. From Paga, then they descend southwards to Agogo.

4.6.2.5. The chiefs, the security personnel and the middlemen

The chiefs are the traditional rulers of Agogo. They form the Agogo Traditional Council. It is very hierarchical with the Agogohene/Omanhene being the paramount chief. It is the Omanhene who entered an agreement with some cattle owners in 1997, and leased some lands to them that led to the influx of the settled herdsmen and nomads to Agogo. The Omanhene and some chiefs (Gyaasehene and Nifahene) are partly blamed by the farmers for the conflict. The farmers alleged that, these chiefs are support the Fulani herdsmen and have their cattle being tendered by them. They are also accused of taking bribes from the cattle owners and herdsmen at the expense of human lives. In view of the narrative analysis from the history of Agogo presented earlier, it can be deduced that the chiefs are to be blamed in the ongoing conflict in Agogo.

The security, especially the police of Agogo are constantly in a brawl with the farmers. According to the police, they are to protect lives and property including the cattle. Again, is very difficult for them to identify a herdsman anytime a complaint is made against them for causing damage to farms and crops. This is because as the Fulani herdsmen, especially the nomads are not stationary. In view of this, the farmers are of the view that the police are not doing their best to protect them, hence been biased in favour of the settled herdsmen and the nomads. The farmers also accused the police of being taking bribes from the cattle owners and the Fulani herdsmen anytime a complaint is made. One of the issuing confrontations is the 2010 demonstration in which three (3) persons sustained various degrees of gunshot wounds from the police, leading to the transfer of the district police commander at that time (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.45, appendix 3)

³⁰ Personal Interview 14/2/2017

³¹ Paga is a town in the North-eastern part of Ghana, very close to Burkina Faso

During the fieldwork, the researcher observed and was reliably informed about intermediaries and partners of the Fulani herdsmen, who aid in their settlement and stay in Agogo. They mediate between the cattle owners and herdsmen, between herdsmen and farmers, between the police and the herdsmen, between the chiefs and the herdsmen. For instance, if a farmer makes a complaint for causing damage to his/her farm, the middlemen are called, to help identify such herdsman, and negotiate for compensations for the farmer. They also arrange for the coming of the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo, and lead them to cattle owners for jobs (Republic of Ghana, 2012b, pp. 21-22, appendix 5)

4.6.3. Causes of the conflict

Both the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen assigned different reasons to the cause of the conflict between them. This necessitated the study to contact other people for their opinions on the causes. The causes can be grouped into nine (8) main categories;

- Destruction of farms and crops
- Shooting and killing of innocent people, threat and intimidation
- Rape and sexual harassment
- Bush burning
- Water pollution
- Armed robbery by the nomads
- Spraying of weeds by weedicides
- Cattle rustling and killing

4.6.3.1. Destruction of farms and crops

The act of causing damage to farms and farm produce by the cattle and the Fulani herdsmen is one of the main reasons for the tension between the farmers and herders. According to the farmers, the herdsmen move their cattle to graze at night, destroying all their farms and crops. Some also move their cattle to feed on harvested agricultural produce and stored at a particular place. The farmers further explained that, the work on harvested crops such as maize, yam, watermelon, plantain is very tedious, hence the need to pack and store them for the work to be done before transporting them to the market. However, the Fulani herdsmen intentionally move their cattle to feed on those harvested crops. A forty-year-old man, a farmer at Nyamebekyere village explained:

Last year, the Fulani and their cattle destroyed all my 8 acres' watermelon farm. This time around, it was 10 acres. The case is with the police now. They intentionally cut the fruits for the animals to chew. I could have bought cars, because the price was very high at that time (Personal Interview, 16/1/2017).

Another woman at Bebome village, a 68-year-old farmer posited; *“the nomads are very destructive. They have caused damages to my 20 acres of plantain farms. I normally harvest a Kia Rhino (TRUCK), now I can't even get Aboboyaa³²”* (Personal Interview, 20/1/2017).

A 47-year-old man at Bebuso village and a farmer lamented; *“the Fulani and their cattle caused destruction to my Plantain farm, 40 acres last year. This year, the remaining 5 acres were destroyed. They intentionally cut down the plantain for the cattle to chew”* (personal interview, 17/1/2017).

At Agyanafo Village, four settler farmers, all Komkombas cried;

We harvested our maize and stored in a hut. The following day, some Fulani herdsmen came to pull them down for their cattle to chew. The huts were five in number; each can amount to 100bags of maize. We take loans to farm, so how can nomads be so wicked to let cattle to destroy the maize (Personal Interview: 24/1/2017).

A focus group discussion at Abrewapong reaffirmed the situation. The respondents expressed their displeasure toward the destruction of farms and crops by the activities of the herdsmen and their cattle. They reechoed that the nomads normally move the cattle at night to graze at their farms, causing the damages to their farms. They also explained that some herdsmen intentionally cut down the plantain, watermelon for the cattle to chew.

³² Aboboyaa is tricycle machine for transporting goods, slightly bigger than a wheelbarrow.

Figure 7: A picture showing destruction of plantain farm by cattle



Photo: source (CID, Agogo Police Station, 2017)

The cattle Fulani herdsmen conceded to destruction of farms and crops by their cattle as a major cause of the conflict. They explained that the increase in the cattle population and influx of “alien nomads” account for the problem, as they deliberately move the cattle to graze at peoples’ farms. Some also blamed the farmers for cultivating very close to their kraals, and near waterbodies that serve as the source of water for the cattle.

4.6.3.2. Shooting, killing of innocent people, threat and intimidation

According to the farmers, shooting, butchering and killing of innocent people by the Fulani herdsmen is a major cause of the conflict. They claimed the herders move around with deadly weapons (AK 47, Pump Action guns); shooting and killing or injuring innocent farmers with the least provocation. This normally happens when the farmers confront the herdsmen after causing destructions to their farms and crops. The claims by the farmers were confirmed by the Divisional and District Police Commanders respectively. The veterinary officer as well as the Immigration officer for Agogo reaffirmed the position of the farmers. However, they were quick to mention reprisal attacks from the youth of Agogo, leading to killing and injuries to some of the herdsmen. A 90-year-old farmer, and a former assemblyman for Abrewapong questioned the use of guns by the Fulani herdsmen;

.....even at the time of the Gold Coast (colonial era), where Ghana was a thick forest with tigers, lions and wild animals, Fulani herders were using sticks. How come the herdsmen are using such weapons in Agogo, where there are no lions and tigers, rather human beings living in all the villages. What is the purpose of these weapons? He queried (Personal Interview, 9/1/2017).

Another farmer at Abrewapong, who was shot by a Fulani herdsman in 2011 narrated his situation to the researcher;

I was at my farm, suddenly, at about 1:30 pm. I heard gunshots, only to fell down to realise my left leg bleeding profusely. I saw a herdsman coming towards me with a gun. He pointed at me gun, shot, only to miss me by inches. Some of the bullets hit me, in fact, it was very painful. I laid down as if am dead (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

The cattle owners and the Fulani herdsmen conceded to the fact that some farmers have been shot and killed in the process. They however, pointed to a reprisal attacks from the people of Agogo. According to them, some herdsmen have been killed by the youth of Agogo of which they were actually not the culprits. A herdsman at Bebome village told the researcher;

this year (January 2017), one of us had been killed by the youth, a boy, 17-year- old herder. This boy was innocent; he didn't cause the problem alleged to him. For the sake of been met at the scene, he was killed (Personal Interview, 6/2/2017).

4.6.3.3. Rape and sexual harassment

The act of forcing women (adults and young girls) for sex [sic], and sexually abusing them in the bush by the herdsmen is notable for the cause of the conflict in Agogo. Among the Asante including Agogo, it is a taboo (blasphemy/forbidden/abomination) to have sex in the bush even if the person is your wife or husband. This, notwithstanding, the Fulani herdsmen sexually abuse women and have sex [sic] with them at gun point according to the farmers. During the personal interview and FGD, raping and harassing women at gun point in front of their husbands or alone run through. All the respondents mentioned it as a serious problem as women alone cannot go to farm. A 70-year-old woman, and a farmer at Bebome village recounted:

I have stayed here for thirty-eight years, I used to walk from Bebome to Nyamebekyere, Koweso, Abrewapong villages to sell goods after returning from farm. At times, I returned home at 7pm, 8pm or 9pm without fears. Now, I can't even go to farm alone, let alone coming home at night eeee! (screaming). The moment they (Fulani

herdsmen) see you “*aaaa, yen didi or yen kyekya*” (sex or butchering) [sic]. Even if they are four, they will all have sex with you [sic] (Personal Interview, 17/1/2017).

A 51-year-old woman, and a farmer at Bebuso narrated:

One day, a Kusasi man and his wife were going to a nearby farm. The wife was carrying a six-month baby at her back. Suddenly, four nomads emerged saying they want to sex the woman [sic] at gun point. They pointed the gun at the man, while taking turns, one would sex her, and another would come till they all sex her [sic]. The woman died a week later, and the man became an insane till now. Look! this ordeal “*aaaaaaah, agya wadwo*” (screaming to highlight the seriousness of the issue) (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017)

The Divisional Police Commander confirmed the issues of rape and sexual harassment of women by the herdsmen. The issues of rape, an attempted rape or sexual harassment is also captured in the REGSEC 2010 report of which one was under police investigation (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.6 at appendix 3). The veterinary officer for Agogo explained the rape and sexual harassment incidences:

.....they (settled herdsmen and nomads) are in the bush for years. They are men without their wives, so when they see a woman, they take advantage to satisfy their libido[sic]. Normally, they instruct the women to lie down and have sex with them[sic] while pointing gun at the men. Once a time, three herdsmen gang raped a woman[sic] and killed the man when he tried to fight them (Personal Interview, 9/2/2017).

The herders contacted declined to comment on the issue. However, one of the settler herdsmen conceded to the issue of rape. He was quick to add that, it is the ‘alien’ nomads who are committing those crimes. He explained; “*am from the North (Bole), am married so I go home once every month when I get my pay. I don’t harass women here, is the nomads from other countries (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).*”

4.6.3.4. Bush burning and saltation of the grass, water pollution by the cattle

The practice of burning the grassland is also a major cause of the conflict in the views of the farmers. According to the farmers, the herdsmen frequently burn the grassland during the dry season to ensure regular supply of grazing pasture. This has been the survival strategy for the herdsmen to feed their cattle in the lean season. The inability of the Fulani herdsmen to control the fire very often result in bush fires and burning of farms worth thousands of dollars. Again, the herdsmen were also accused of degrading the land with their saltation system. This is where

salt is thrown across a piece of land to ensure fast growth of the grass. To the farmers, this reduces the fertility of the land hence low yields. A fifty-five-year-old farmer recounted: “*last year, my 100 acres’ plantain plantation was burnt. The whole farm got burnt. It was a bush fire set by the nomads during the dry season for pasture*” (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

Another farmer at Nyamebikyere lamented:

I met the herdsmen on my way from farm, the following morning I went to see the whole farm burnt. It was thirty-five acres of plantain farm. Am not joking! Very serious “*aban*” (officer), if I had a gun that day, I would have been in jail by now! “*Medo Oyankopon, ka me nsam sekan*” (I swear by God, and my cutlass) (Personal Interview, 17/1/2017)

The Fulani herdsmen on the other hand, sharply denied the accusation of deliberately causing bush fires. To them, it is one of the propaganda tools used by the farmers to get them evicted. Also, some of the farmers prepare their lands for cultivation in the dry season, and in the process, burn the weeds which causes bush fires. On the issue of saltation, the herdsmen argued that, it is a way of killing harmful insects and driving snakes away, not meant to destroy the land. They were quick to add that; the cow dung serves as manure which replenishes the soil even if the saltation is harmful for cultivation.

Further, the contamination of water bodies by the cattle is another source of conflict between the farmers and the herdsmen. The Agogo township and some of the villages have pipe borne and borehole water, however, the communities within the villages such as Adoniemu, Bebuoso, Abrewapong, Mankala, Nyamebikyere, Kowerso, and Brahabebome all depend on the rivers for their daily activities. The rivers (Bontre, Asuofu, Koweri) serve as the main source of water for people living in these communities. Again, these same rivers serve as drinking water for farmers from Agogo township and surrounding environment anytime they go to farm. According to the farmers, these are the same rivers that the cattle drink from, thereby polluting them (rivers) with their dirty skin, faecal matter and secretion from their mouth. A farmer at Bebuso narrated the seriousness of the problem:

We (the farmers) share and compete with the cattle for the same water. At times the Fulani herdsmen denied us access to the water when we go to the farm. Sometimes, the cattle pollute the water with their hoofs and defecated into the water as well. With this, you can’t use it for anything. You have to stop working and come back home, master! we are suffering oooo! We are suffering!!! (Personal Interview, 17/1/2017)

Another farmer at Bebome also recounted the enormity of the situation:

I was at the riverside to fetch water; suddenly, a Fulani came and stopped me from fetching the water because the cattle were coming to drink. I can't argue since he was carrying a gun, I love my life so I left (Personal Interview, 16/1/2017).

On the part of the cattle owners and the herdsmen, they conceded to the fact that, the cattle drink from the same source of water. They were quick to add that, normally it is in the evening that they send the cattle to drink after grazing. It is not intentional to pollute the water. They also denied blocking the farmers access to the water.

4.6.3.6. Armed robbery by the Fulani herdsmen

The issue of armed robbery by the Fulani herdsmen was one of the reasons for the conflict relationship between the two groups. The farmers explained that due to poor remuneration, the Fulani herdsmen often resort to robbery activities for sustenance. At Bebuso, during the FGD, one farmer who is also a part-time storekeeper narrated how he was attacked at midnight by the Fulani herdsmen at gun point. Indeed, the whole community mentioned that incidence during personal interviews and the FGD. He took the researcher to his room to show and explained how he was attacked and made surrender his money, cigarette and other provisions. At Bebome, Nyamebekyere, Abrewapong villages, the issue of robbery by the herdsmen dominated the discussions. The farmers indicated that, the Fulani herdsmen normally attack them during market days (Tuesdays and Thursdays) since most of the village dwellers come to Agogo township to sell their goods. One particular area cited by all the respondents is the road linking Bebome to Kowareso village. The former member of parliament³³ for Asante Akyem North Constituency (2012-2016) confirmed the robbery attacks on the farmers in the various villages by the herdsmen. He further explained that, he used to send police on market days to patrol on the roads to provide security for the commuters. Indeed, all my informants confirmed robbery attacks by the Fulani herdsmen on the village dwellers especially on market days.

However, the Fulani herdsmen refuted the robbery claims by the farmers. They admitted to the fact that, there have been some incidences of robbery in the communities, but denied been involved in those acts. They all declined commenting on poor remuneration by their owners, hence, rubbished the assertion that it due to poor wages that pushed them in robbery to sustain.

³³ Personal Interview, 9/2/2017

Finally, the herdsmen conceded to the fact that, they always take some fruits and vegetables belonging to the farmers anytime they are hungry.

4.6.3.7. Spraying of farms with weedicides and pesticides, cattle rustling and killing

Spraying of weeds with weedicides, and crops with pesticides is part of the farming methods employed in Ghana including Agogo. Though, it is a common practice; it was one of the main reasons for the tension between the farmers and the herders. According to the Fulani herdsmen, it is a way of denying the cattle their sources of food, and also to kill them due to the poisonous nature of these chemicals. A herdsman explained to the researcher:

Abosti (master), the cattle must be allowed to make selection of their choice in terms of food. By spraying the weeds, you're not only killing the weeds, but also denying the cattle with pasture. Abosti (master), what should the animals eat? he quizzed. If care is not taking, and the animals feed on sprayed grasses and crops, they will all die. The cattle are our wealth, future and property. Without the cattle, no life! (personal interview, 4/2/2017)

The farmers on the other hand declined the accusation of intentionally wanted to deny the cattle their food and to kill them through spraying. According to them, it is impossible to farm without weeding under the crops, and spraying on the crops to kill pests. A tomato farmer at Bebuso explained:

.....growing tomatoes is not easy; it needs to be sprayed all the time. When it starts flowing, till harvesting. If you leave it, insects and rodents will destroy all the farm. This is what the nomads don't understand. If am spraying my farm, why should they get angry? he asked. Because they want the animals to feed on peoples' farms, nothing else (Personal Interview, 16/1/2017).

Stealing and killing of cattle is another cause of the conflict highlighted by the cattle owners and the herdsmen. According to them, the farmers, mostly the youth at times mobilise and attack the cattle, shooting and killing dozens. Again, during grazing, some of the cattle may stray into peoples' farms and cause destruction. Instead of them reporting, they shoot and kill the animals. This infuriate the herdsmen anytime it happens in that way. One of the cattle owners recounted:

.....anytime a complaint is made against my animals, I go there personally with the farmer and a value officer to assess the extent of the damage caused. Then, I pay the cost with an interest, so I don't see why you should kill the cattle. Is always better to

follow the due process than to take the law into your own hands. This leads to retaliation (Personal Interview, 6/2/2017).

The farmers on their part accepted the fact that, due to anger and the extent of the damage caused, some farmers attack the cattle. To them, the purpose is to scare the animals and drive them away, not to kill them. On the issue of the cattle rustling, the farmers unanimously denied that accusation. According to them, the herdsmen themselves condone and connive to steal and sell the cattle to butchers for money. Therefore, for fear of been sacked and arrested by their masters (cattle owners), the Fulani herdsmen always frame this propaganda to exonerate themselves, thereby fuelling the tension. An Animal Scientist at the Department of Animal Science, KNUST, agreed with the Fulani herdsmen to some extent. However, he is of the view that many a time, cattle rustling is done by the herdsmen themselves because of frosty relationship with their cattle owners. He explained:

.....due to the poor arrangement between the cattle owners and the herdsmen, especially over remuneration, the Fulani herdsmen always felt cheated. In view of this, some of the herdsmen run away with the cattle, or arrange with local boys during grazing, or with other herdsmen to steal, sell and share the booty (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).

The above discussion confirms the literature reviewed on the causes of tension or conflict between Fulani herdsmen and sedentary farmers (Nchi, 2013, p.222; Ofem & Inyang, 2014, p.516; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p.50; Opoku, 2014, pp.172-3). Though the two groups disagreed with each other on some of the issues raised, this makes the analysis from wide range of people (third parties) who are outside these two groups make very necessary in this study.

Part 5. Consequences of the conflict

From the literature review, the effects of the conflict were to be determined individually and communally through interviews and available official data. This section discusses the consequences of the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo following the migration of the Fulani herdsmen to the area. The discussion is presented in the light of the following:

- a. Humanitarian
- b. Economic
- c. Social
- d. Security
- e. Natural

4.7.1. Humanitarian effects of the conflict

- Loss of lives
- Injuries and maiming
- Displacement, widowers, single parenting, relocation/homeless

4.7.1.1. Loss of lives/death, injuries and maiming

As a result of attacks and reprisal attacks from both the farmers and Fulani herdsmen, scores of people have died. There were different figures quoted by the farmers as to the number of farmers that have been killed by the Fulani herdsmen. The herders also gave different figures as to the number of herdsmen that have died through the conflict. Though, the number of deaths provided by both sides is contestable, it is a fact that the conflict has led to the death of many people. According to the veterinary doctor for Agogo, many people have died due to attacks from the herdsmen, and reprisal attacks from the local people. He was quick to add that, most of the atrocities were committed by the nomads (Personal Interview, 9/2/2017). The statistics of murder cases at Agogo, according to the police report from January 2014 to January 2016 shows that, many people died from attacks through the conflict. However, many of the deaths were on the side of the farmers and indigenes.

A lecturer at the Animal Science Department, UE, threw more light on the loss of lives:

Loss of lives alone is enormous effect. Nothing is more precious or serious than someone losing his or her life. Probably, he or she is the head of the family or breadwinner. Imagine the number of people going to suffer (Personal Interview, 27/1/2017)

In addition to loss of lives, many people have been injured or maimed due to the conflict. Some of the injuries were sustained through cutlass wounds and gunshots. Apart from the fact that the two groups attack each other, the study also gathered that the settled herdsmen and the nomads fight and inflict cutlass wounds among themselves. The Divisional Police Commander indicated that many people, especially the farmers have sustained various degrees of injuries through gunshot or cutlasses. The DDCD in an interview with the researcher indicated that injuries and maiming are frequently reported to the Assembly by the farmers. He further explained that, occasionally the Fulani herdsmen also sustain injuries through fighting among themselves and are treated at the hospital. A thirty-one-year-old farmer, a Komkomba in Agyanafo village recounted his situation to the researcher and shown evidence of marks:

I argued with one (nomad) after his cattle invaded my farm, he inflicted cutlass wounds on me. You can see yourself. I was admitted to hospital for one month (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

A farmer at Abrewapong village, also sustained serious degrees of injuries through gunshot by a nomad. He was treated at Agogo Presbyterian hospital. The medical examination reveals five bullets on the head with one pellets in the right ear causing facial paralysis. It further reveals six bullet pellets on the chest wall (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017). Another farmer also explained how his friend (a herdsman) was inflicted with cutlass wounds by his colleagues (nomads) after refusing them a space, and prevented their cattle from causing damage to a maize farm. Though the herdsmen in an interview with the researcher denied ever inflicting cutlass wounds among themselves, but it is a fact that they normally fight and injure themselves. The Dadson Committee report captured two Fulani herdsmen who inflicted cutlass wounds to each other (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.7, appendix 3).

4.7.1.2. Displacement, relocation/homeless, widows, single parenting

It was evident from the observation made by the researcher that, many people especially the farmers have vacated their original place of settlement due to the conflict. Some have also abandoned their farms for fear of being attacked and possibly killed. From the figure 6, in the picture, the farmer with a gun at his back was at that moment moving away from Agyanafo village for fear of his life. At that moment, he was with his wife and belongings. He recounted how constant threat from the nomads has displaced all the people. A visit to Agyanafo village confirmed the displacement and relocation of farmers. At the time of the visit (24/1/2017), the researcher met only four families who were all Komkomba in terms of ethnicity. During the FGD, majority of the farmers indicated that, they have indeed abandoned many of their farms and villages, especially the villages that were in remote areas. Some explained they received a hint from settler herdsmen, while others were warned to leave their farms since the cattle were about to graze. Additionally, many women in Agogo have become widows and single parents with their husbands been killed at farms. The wife (widow) of Kwasi Akapho (deceased, court ruling, p. 4, at appendix 4), explained that her husband was shot and killed by a nomad in his tomato farm for spraying on the plants. A sixty-nine-year-old woman also recounted how she became a widow;

My husband was killed two years ago at Bebome on his way from farm by nomads. He was instructed to surrender everything on him and lie down, he refused and killed by the nomads (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

The above discussion reaffirmed the humanitarian effects reviewed in chapter two (Abubakari & Longi, 2014, p.103; Ofem & Inyang, 2014, p.517; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p.51; Olaniyan, 2015, p.335; Okoli & Atelhe, 2014, p.84). The analysis reveals the two groups are both affected, however, the farmers have suffered most in terms of death and injuries.

4.7.2. Economic effects of the conflict

- Livelihood crisis/loss of properties/Unemployment
- Debt/loan repayment
- Reduction in agricultural produce/loss of revenue

4.7.2.1. Livelihood crisis/loss of properties/Unemployment

In Agogo, Agriculture and for that matter, crop farming is the main occupation. The GSS put the percentage of farmers at ninety-eight-point four percent (98.4%) (GSS, 2014, p. 48). Again, the data from the fieldwork and observation also indicated that, almost everyone in Agogo is into farming including those in other ventures (see table 8). Therefore, their main sources of livelihood are through the cultivation of crops. Indeed, the destruction of farms/crops by the cattle, bush burning, and ‘threats’ from the herdsmen put the farmers main source of income and employment into crisis. A fifty-three-year-old farmer, a woman at Agogo shared her sentiment;

Destruction of crops and farms by the cattle is a big problem in Agogo; I didn’t go to school to work at the public sector (white collar jobs). Farming does not need these qualifications. This is what am doing to cater for my family, a single parent. Yet, cattle are constantly destroying my farms (Personal Interview, 5/2/2017).

Another farmer, a fifty-two-year-old man at Bebuso village highlighted how the activities of the Fulani herdsmen and cattle affect the whole country:

..... yes, we (the farmers) are seriously affected with their negative activities. But, economically, it affects not only Agogo, but also the entire district, region and the nation. There are women from Kumasi, Cape Coast, Accra who come to buy plantain, tomatoes, yam, cassava, maize, watermelon, from here. If we are not able to produce, their sources of employment and income are at risk (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

During FGD with the farmers, in all the villages, the farmers lamented and complained bitterly about their livelihood and employment crisis. Some were of the view that, it would be a time that they cannot step in their farms. Some also cried about not been able to use weedicides and pesticides to spray on their farms and crops due to warning from the herdsmen, hinder their farming activities.

A lecturer at the History and Political Studies Department, summarised the livelihood and employment crisis of the farmers:

Don't forget the main occupation in Agogo is farming, apart from few people who are in public sector (white collar jobs). A greater percentage are into farming. So, anything that deprives them access to farming is quite a serious problem. This does not only discourage those who are into farming, but others too. People borrow money, invest it; borrow and invest without results, only for someone's cattle to graze or consume it, yet you can't talk or complain simply you may lose your life. This discourage them from going to farm (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).

On the part of the cattle owners and the herdsmen, the indiscriminate killing of cattle also affect their livelihood and properties. Some of the herdsmen argued that the cattle are their properties, livelihood and been a herdsman is also their work. To them, being threatened by the people of Agogo put their employment and survival at risk. One of them explained:

We (the herdsmen) are here because of the cattle, without the animals we are nothing. We don't do anything apart from tendering the cattle. So, the conflict also affect our sources of livelihood. Also, killing of the cattle by Agogo people deprive or reduces our properties (FGD, 30/1/2017).

4.7.2.2. Debt/loan repayment

Another economic implication of the conflict is debt and loan repayment on the part of the farmers. The fieldwork reveals that majority of the farmers borrowed money from the rural banks; Asante Akyem Rural Bank, Afram Rural Bank, Sinapi Aba Savings and Loans, and Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited for the commercial farming. In view of this, the destruction of farms and crops through grazing by the cattle and bush burning has put many farmers into debts. Some owned the banks thousands of dollars, while others are even struggling to pay the interest³⁴. Some have had their collaterals liquidated by the banks to settle

³⁴ Personal Interview with the Asante Akyem Rural Bnak, Agogo branch, 12/2/2017

the debts. Others, especially the settler farmers who pledged with sizeable amount of farm produce, since they do not own a building in Agogo are also struggling to repay the agreed amount. A sixty-year-old farmer at Nyamebekyere, a woman and single parent shared her story:

.....look at my age, sixty years. I took a loan of GH¢1,500 plus GHC 900 (\$480 in total) as an interest from Opportunity Bank at Konongo. Due to Fulani menace, I couldn't pay. The bank brought the police to arrest me on so many occasions, but my children eventually managed to pay (Personal Interview, 10/1/2017).

Another farmer at Agyanafo village, a thirty-seven-year-old Komkomba man narrated:

I borrowed money for cultivation of maize from Afram Rural Bank and pledged 15 bags of maize as collateral. Unfortunately, the maize got burnt due to bush fire by the herdsmen, so am still fighting to pay. I was arrested and sent to police cells. After cells, am weak now; I can't work hard as before (Personal Interview, 24/1/2017).

During the FGDs, most the farmers did indicate that either themselves or relatives are in serious debt and loan repayment due to destruction of their farms and crops by cattle and bushfires.

4.7.2.3. Reduction in Agricultural produce and loss of revenue

Another economic effect of farmer/herder impasse in Agogo is reduction in Agricultural yield for both the farmers and the cattle owners. The Divisional Police Commander explained that, Agogo is one of the areas that supplies the bulk foodstuffs in Ghana. This is also captured in the 2012 evacuation plan of the REGSEC (evacuation plan, 2012, p. 1 at appendix 5). However, with the increase of crops and farms destruction, as well as the harvested and stored foodstuffs by cattle and bush burning, agricultural produce is reducing on the part of the farmers. The net effect has been food shortage and high cost of foodstuffs in the dry season.

Correlating with the destruction of farms and crops discussed under the causes, a sixty-eight-year-old farmer recounted how his constant harvesting of Kia Rhino (TRUCK) full of plantain has now reduce drastically. Another forty-year-old farmer explained how he could have bought a car with his crop yield (watermelon), but were destroyed by cattle. The Komkombas at Agyanafo village recounted how they lost their projected 100bags of stored maize after pulling them down by the nomads for cattle to chew. Under the debt and loan repayment, two farmers lost their 35-acres and 100-acres of plantain farms respectively through bush fires, contributing to reduction in agricultural produce and food shortage. A forty-two-year-old Kusasi man, and

a farmer at Abrewapong explained how reduction in agricultural produce is affecting his finances:

my 30-acres of plantain farm was destroyed by cattle. I spent GH¢15000 (\$3000) on the preparation of the land and cultivation. In return, I was earning GH¢100,000 (\$20000) every month. What work can give you this money? But, now am broke because of the damage caused by the cattle (Personal Interview, 10/1/2017).

From the above scenarios, the farmers are losing a lot of revenue which is translated into lower income. The cost of reinvestment or replanting also involves funding, which affects the revenue of the farmers. Another cost that affects the income of the farmers is buying of barbwire for fencing their farms. According to the farmers, in order to prevent the cattle from destroying their food crops, they have resorted to fencing their farms. Though, they claimed sometimes, the nomads destroy the fence to allow the animals to enter to the farms. All these costs affect the revenue of the farmers negatively.

On the part of the cattle owners and the herdsmen, they are also losing a lot of revenue due to indiscriminate killing of their cattle. Some confirmed losing thousands of dollars through cattle rustling and killing by the youth.

The above discussion reaffirmed the economic effects reviewed in the chapter two (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009, p.51; Okoli & Atelhe, 2014, p.84; Tonah (2006, p.169). The analysis reveals that both the farmers and the herdsmen are affected, however the farmers have suffered most in terms of economic consequences.

4.7.3. Social effects of the conflict

- Fear, animosity and hatred
- Retard development
- Rural urban migration/forced migration
- Poverty and social problems (school dropout/streetism/social deviants/ teenage pregnancy)

4.7.3.1. Fear, animosity and hatred

One of the social consequences of the conflict is the frosty relationship between the farmers (the people of Agogo) and some chiefs, specifically the paramount chief, Gyasehene and Nifahene; the farmers and the cattle owners; the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen.

There were no cordial relations between the people of Agogo and the above-mentioned chiefs due to the conflict. It is worth mentioning that these chiefs signed the indenture with the cattle owners (Indenture 1 and 2 at appendix). The people are of the view that the indenture and the subsequent releasing of the lands to the cattle owners started the conflict. On so many occasions, the people have demonstrated, protested, and issued destoolment against the paramount chief for the indenture with the cattle owners. Notable among their actions were the 2010 April demonstration that led to setting up of the Dadson Commission of enquiry, self-imposed ban on funeral observance in Agogo community which was lifted in February 2012, and calls for destoolment of the paramount chief (Republic of Ghana, 2012b, p. 2, see appendix 5). The hatred and the poor relationship between the people and the paramount chief during the fieldwork was evident.

Besides the chiefs, the people of Agogo, and the cattle owners as well as the herdsmen are not on good terms. Since the cattle owners are not known apart from few prominent owners who are publicly known, the farmers have directed their anger towards the herdsmen. Both portrayed and painted each other negatively during the interviews and the FGDs.

In addition, there is total fear among the farmers especially (women, those who live in the villages). The women indicated that, they cannot go to farm alone. The village folks also go to farms in groups. Some also hire others to accompany them to farm for protection sake. The herdsmen on the other hand are also living in fear. They indicated their unsafeness by claiming they (the herdsmen and their cattle) can be attacked by the youth at any time.

4.7.3.2. Retard development, poverty and social problems

One of the main social consequences is the underdevelopment nature of the study area. Apart from the Agogo township (urban areas) with good social amenities such tarred roads, electricity, pipe borne water and good school buildings, the villages are without these amenities. At Bebuso, the school children were studying under dilapidated structures and under trees. The roads linking these villages (Bebuso, Bebome, Nyamebekyere, Abrewapong and Aggyanafo) are very dusty and in deplorable state. Apart from Bebome that has a clinic, all the rest are without any health facility for emergence situations. The people must travel to Agogo township (Presbyterian hospital) for treatment anytime they are sick or at a time of delivery.

According to the deputy district coordinating director³⁵, the conflict and the “Operation Cowleg” take a greater percentage of the Assembly’s funds. He indicated that, the Assembly bears the cost of the operation and it has become an annual practice of sending military and police to Agogo during the dry season when the conflict escalates. Further, anytime someone is injured or dead because of the conflict, the Assembly bears the cost of treatment or funeral expenses. As a result, all ongoing and planned projects are at a standstill due to the conflict. He did confirm that, the Assembly spent GH¢ 4.84 billion (\$970,000,000)³⁶ in 2016 only on the conflict. The former MP and the Krontihene of Agogo quote the same amount as the cost of financing the operation in 2016.

The farmers during personal interview and FGD also lamented about the underdevelopment situation of the district especially the villages. They also attributed the situation to the cost of financing the operation due to the conflict. Some also mentioned that, the other NGOs have stopped investing and operating in the villages for fear of been attacked. A typical example is the deferred development projects by the World Vision International in the rural areas due to the conflict (Dadson committee, 2010, p. 2, see appendix 3).

In addition, the conflict in Agogo has made some families poor, in debt, with accompanying social problems such as school dropout, teenage pregnancy, streetism in the community. During the fieldwork, I encountered high incidences of teenage pregnancy among the teenagers, and many school going age children on the streets of Agogo. This is because, the parents or guardians of these children are in financial crisis due to the destruction of their crops and farms by the cattle.

4.7.3.3. Rural urban migration/forced migration/ “galamsey³⁷”

Another social problem that is likely to occur in Agogo is the mass movement of the farmers to the cities for greener pastures. The farmers, especially the youth indicated that, the tendency for some of them to move to the major cities for greener pasture is not far. According to the farmers, farming is the main occupation in Agogo and since their livelihood is being threatening by the Fulani herdsmen and cattle activities, the only place for survival is the urban areas. Indeed, there are no major factories to absorb the growing population in Agogo.

³⁵ Personal Interview, 15/1/2017

³⁶ The conversion was based on the exchange rate at the time of field work (\$1= GH¢5)

³⁷ Galamsey is the term for illegal mining in Ghana

According to a political scientist, the major cities in Ghana (Accra and Kumasi) are already congested with pressure on existing social amenities. Traffic jam, street vendors and squatters due to the congestion characterised these two cities. Slums and flooding, coupled with social vices such as stealing, robbery, pilfering, are already in existence. Therefore, the migration of the farmers (the youth) to these cities would create more tension and worsen the situation (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).

One farmer who was in Accra before relocated to Agogo explained;

I must go back; I will go back!! I was selling men and ladies belts on the streets of Accra. I was earning quite well, at least I had my peace. I returned home (Agogo) only to get a land, cultivated plantains for cattle to destroy everything. I have incurred lost, since I invested heavily. Do you expect me to stay here? Never!!! (Personal Interview, 2/2/2017)

Another area that is likely to create more problems for the country is illegal mining (galamsey). In an interview with the former MP, he explained that it is possible many of the youth will enter the illegal mining for survival. He further explained that, already, the activities of illegal miners are causing water pollution, air pollution and land degradation for the country (personal interview, 9/2/2017). However, some of the youth indicated their readiness to venture into illegal mining for survival. Actually, I was informed that some of the youth have moved to illegal mining already due to the destruction of their farms by cattle and threat from the nomads. One farmer told the researcher:

If this issue is not resolved, we (the youth) are going to follow suit (enter galamsey operations). I don't have a certificate to work in government (public sector), so if farming is not going well due to Fulani, I have to go to the galamsey sites. Some of my friends are in the business already (Personal Interview, 4/2/2017).

The above discussion reaffirmed the social effects reviewed in the chapter two (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014, p.84; Tonah, 2006, p.169). The analysis reveals that, aside the hatred between the farmers and the herdsmen, the development of the AANDA is at a standstill due to the conflict.

4.7.4. Security implications of the conflict

- Proliferation of arms
- Escalation of the conflict
- Armed camp/recruitment camp for armed groups

4.7.4.1. Proliferation of arms, escalation of the conflict, possibility of armed camps

The conflict in Agogo is not without security implications. The responses from the farmers and the herdsmen, as well as the observation from the various villages revealed the problem of arms proliferation in Agogo. It was confirmed by the Police, the Immigration Officer, the veterinary doctor, the District coordinating director, the former MP, the journalist and the farmers that, the Fulani herdsmen possess and use deadly weapons including AK 47 and Pump Action guns illegally. The researcher also observed that, majority of the farmers had single barrel gun, though most of them are licensed.

The responses also indicate that, Agogo is not well secured in terms of security. There is the possibility of the conflict escalating into full blown conflict one day. The farmers indicated that, they (farmers) are prepared to face the Fulani herdsmen squarely if the new government fails to address the situation. During FGD at Abrewapong village, the farmers indicated their preparedness and readiness to chase the herdsmen in the bush:

The internal security is handled by the police, if the police cannot come and save the situation, we won't sit down, we won't sit down again!!! One day, we will go to the bush to drive them away. Since the cattle belongs to Ghanaians, they won't also sit down for us to kill the cattle, this will lead to open conflict (FGD, 17/1/2017).

A political scientist with specialisation in conflict matters at the Department of History and Political Studies, KNUST, highlighted the security implication of the conflict. According to him, Agogo is sitting on a time bomb with all indications as the local people are ready to defend themselves. Therefore, the proliferation of arms provides fertile grounds for full escalation of the conflict one day:

Arms proliferation and conflict escalation is very serious threat to the security of Agogo. Already, small arms are causing problems in the country. With this instance, the producers of the arms may move to the area (Agogo) for market, making arms available. One day, they (the farmers and Fulani herdsmen) will clash as alarm has been set already. This will cause the nation more money (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).

Further, both the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen lamented on the possibility of bad people hiding behind the conflict to cause atrocities in the bush. The farmers indicated that, the nomads in search of land (space) and pasture fight and kill settler herdsmen and attribute the killers to the farmers. The herdsmen also accused the farmers of killing each other on land boundary disputes, and point fingers at the herdsmen as perpetrators. The veterinary doctor for Agogo

indicated that, there was a state of anarchy at a point in time in Agogo. According to him, although most atrocities are caused by the nomads to the farmers, however, disputes between farmers or between the herdsmen resulted in the killing of one by the other. This was his explanation:

the alien nomads felt betrayed as the settler herdsmen tried ejecting them, resulting in killing among themselves; Agogo people have also killed each other due to land boundaries disputes. They attributed the killers to the opposing sides (Personal Interview: 9/2/2017).

The above discussion reaffirmed the security effects reviewed in the chapter two (CSIS, & Gizewski, 1997; Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp.17-18; Okoli & Atelhe, 2014, p.85; Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.178).

4.7.5. Natural Effects

The main natural effect as a result of the pastoral activities in Agogo is soil erosion and desertification of the lands. Due to overgrazing by the cattle and frequent bush burning, the forest nature of Agogo lands are gradually turning into desert. The veterinary doctor explained that, Agogo was a thick forest in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. However, the influx of the herdsmen and their cattle is gradually turning the place into desert. The chief of Bebome village indicated that, the constant bush burning by the Fulani herdsmen turned the forest into grassland. And now, overgrazing by the cattle is gradually turning the place into desert land.

Figure 8: A picture showing overgrazed land by cattle



Source: Agogo Police Station (Fieldwork, 2017)

Part 6. The local community and national level response: “Operation Cow leg”

During the fieldwork, all the respondents; the farmers, herdsman, cattle owners, and officials explained that the available mitigation or preventive measure at both the local and the national levels is the “Operation Cowleg”. It involves the expelling of the Fulani herdsman and their cattle by a task force of military and police. Indeed, expelling the herdsman and the cattle from Agogo was also one of the recommendations by the Dadson committee set up by the REGSEC in 2010. The committee was initiated after a demonstration by the locals against the activities of the herdsman (Dadson Committee Report, 2010, p.45, appendix 3). It is also important to state that in 2012, the Kumasi High Court ruled and ordered the evacuation of the herdsman and the cattle from all Agogo lands. The ruling was given after the farmers took the matter to court to seek justice (Republic of Ghana, 2012a, p.19, appendix 4).

However, the responses gathered indicate that, the key local community and the government’s intervention towards the conflict is not sustainable due to the social capital involved in the cattle business in Agogo. Apart from that fact that, there are a lot of actors involved; there are also many factors contributing to the failure of the policy. A Professor at the Department of the Animal Science, KNUST, explained the unsustainability of the operation cow leg:

The policy of expelling or moving some component of people out of the Agric sector will not work. Because, rearing cattle is also part of the local economy. Also, there is an ECOWAS protocol that allows free movement of people and goods across member states. Finally, some owners of the cattle are indigenous Ghanaians. A lot of the time, if there is a herd of cattle for example 100 or 200, the ownership could belong to several people (six or four people) who are civil servants. So, it is better to consider a policy that will take care of the owners (Personal Interview: 3/2/2017).

A political science lecturer, with focus on conflict issues at the Department of History and Political Studies, elaborated further on the failure of the policy:

Apart from the ECOWAS protocol, most of the cattle are owned by Ghanaians, so how can you drive them away. In Agogo, the Fulani herdsman are also scattered all over. If the military and the police go there, they cannot locate all their hideouts to drive them away. How many times can we continue with it? Can nation stationed these people (the task force) forever? No, they will surely come back. Even we (Ghana) do not have enough security men. Is not sustainable (Personal Interview, 3/2/2017).

According to the Krontihene of Agogo, the “Operation Cowleg” is not sustainable, as the task force cannot eject all the Fulani herdsmen from Agogo due to influential forces (powerful cattle owners). He further explained that when the military and the police task force were in Agogo, the killing was ongoing. He posited: “*Mr. Kwasi Badu, a fetish priest was killed by a Fulani herdsman last year (January 2016) during the operation.*” The killing of the priest is captured in the murder report available at the Agogo Police Station with the same date. In his view, the military and the police were protecting the Fulani herdsmen and the cattle, as they did not submit any report to the district assembly at the end of the operation. Yet, the assembly incurred a cost of GH¢ 4.85 billion (\$970,000,000) meant for developmental projects on the operation (Personal Interview, 9/1/2017).

The view of the Krontihene was also shared by a researcher and senior journalist at Hello FM³⁸, Kumasi. According to him, the policy of expelling the herdsmen and their cattle from Agogo is a good one, however, the problem is with the implementation. Through his investigations and covering of the situation, anytime the task force is sent to the bush, they were unable to eject all the herdsmen and the cattle due to favoritism. He recounted that, at times, some kraals are designated as “special” or no go area because it belongs to certain influential people. This makes alien herdsmen to resist or rebel against the task force. Those who are driven away also return immediately they heard or saw that their colleagues were not sacked.

Furthermore, the cattle owners and the herdsmen accused the task force of been bias. According to them, they are not resisting or rebelling against the order, however, they are against selective justice. They indicated that favoritism, nepotism, corruption and bribery characterised the activities of the “Operation Cowleg”. Apart from been selective in the sacking, some officers take bribes from some herdsmen and leave them to stay. An Alhaji, a cattle owner and a leaseholder elaborated further on the selective justice:

.....am a Ghanaian, a citizen of Ghana as well. If it is relocation, am ready to move my cattle from Agogo. But, to sack or drive my animals away without finding me a place is impossible, because I have documents covering the land. Again, sacking my animals and leaving some peoples’ animals behind is totally unfair and unacceptable. With that one, am not going anywhere (Personal Interview, 6/7/2017)

³⁸ Hello FM is a private radio station in Kumasi, Ghana

Also, a lecturer at the Department of Animal Science, UE, Mampong Campus, reaffirmed the position of the unsustainability of the policy. He further criticised the government of covering up the matter:

Personally, what is the essence of the operation? Where do they take them (herdsmen and cattle) to? If you are not taking them to their homelands, then is 'cos 90' work (zero or no work done). Do they drive them to Burkina or Mali? These are politicians; they formulate and implement the policies, so what do you expect? This is just a camouflage thing to show they are in charge. Nothing else! (Personal Interview, 27/1/2017).

On the part of the farmers, during the FGDs and the personal interviews did not only vent their displeasure about the "Operation Cowleg", but also accused the government of neglecting and failing to protect them. According to them, the expulsion policy by the government is not sustainable because it has been done on several occasions without any fruitful outcome. Some accused the task force of protecting the herdsmen against possible retaliation from the people. Some also accused the task force of taking bribe from the Fulani herdsmen and allowing them to stay. Others also alleged that the security officers rather beat them for complaining. This is summarised below:

The operation is to protect Fulani herdsmen and the cattle. Although, there are nomads from Sokoto (Nigeria), Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, with cattle here (Agogo). However, about 70% of the cattle are owned by Ghanaians who are very influential. They only hire the herdsmen to tender the animals. Some of the herdsmen are also invited to come, through middlemen, connection men, and intermediaries. So is very difficult for the task force to evacuate all the cattle and the herdsmen from Agogo. The policy is just a cost burden to the Assembly; the money meant for roads construction, electrification, water provision is all spent on security (Personal Interview, 19/1/2017)

This Divisional Police Commander and immigration officer elaborated more on the policy. Both indicated that the military and the police intervention is not sustainable in terms of solving the conflict, however, is a way of protecting lives and properties. They also mentioned that the ECOWAS protocol frown on expelling citizens from member states. Further, it is very difficult to drive all the cattle and the herdsmen away because some of the cattle owners are very influential people in government, security service, chiefs, and civil servants.

The Asante Akyem North Municipal Assembly, located in Agogo was contacted about this intervention policy. According to the deputy municipal coordinating director, the policy is not sustainable. He explained that, it has become an annual practice of sending military and police

to Agogo during the dry season when the conflict escalates. He indicated that, the conflict and the “Operation Cowleg” is a toil on the Assembly. The cost of the operation: patrol cars, fuel, accommodation, feeding, and allowances is borne by the Assembly. This takes the chunk of the resources meant for developmental activities. With this, all ongoing projects or yet to be rolled out projects are stopped in order to fund the operation. Again, anytime someone is injured or dead because of the conflict, the Assembly bears the cost of treatment or funeral expenses. He concluded by saying “*even this year (2017), is likely there will be another one, as the police patrols and intelligence has indicated.*” The above explanation confirms the social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986) and the literature review (Olaniyan et al, 2015, p.62; Tonah, 2005a, pp.96-100; 2006, p.16) in chapter two.

4. 9. Conclusion

This chapter presented and analysed the data from the fieldwork. Firstly, the background information of the farmers and the herdsmen were presented and discussed using frequency tables. These include age, sex, duration of stay, ethnicity, education, among others. The key implications of the information were discussed in relation to the conflict. The second part presented and analysed the key findings in relation to the research questions. These were analysed in the light of the literature review and the theoretical debates discussed in chapter two. Specifically, it covers the history of cattle rearing and nomadism in Agogo, factors behind the migration of the herdsmen to Agogo, reasons for the conflict relationship between the farmers and the herdsmen, the consequences of the conflict, and the policy of expulsion as local community and national level response. Aside these, actors involved in the conflict and their roles, as well as the nature of the conflict are also discussed. The next chapter will discuss the key findings critically, together with my opinion based on observation notes and the findings.

Chapter Five: Summary of findings, Implications of the Study

5. Introduction

This chapter specifically outlines the research findings and discusses how they answer the study's objectives. It raises key issues with the aim of drawing out the complexities surrounding the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen conflict in Agogo Traditional Area, Ghana. This chapter presents the discussion with regards to the analysis of findings in chapter 4 and observational notes from the fieldwork. In addition, issues of interest that the researcher observed during the fieldwork are also discussed. The chapter ends with recommendations, conclusion on issues of farmer/herder conflict in Agogo.

5. 1. The nature of the conflict: resource scarcity and eco-survivalism

The nature of the conflict in Agogo is a resource conflict arising out of land use and competition between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen. This reflect the environmental or resource scarcity and eco-survivalism (Homer-Dixon, 1999; Okoli, 2013) that underpin this study. There is a clash of goals or interest concerning the use of land in Agogo between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen. Finally, an encroachment of farming lands by the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle. The question is why land scarcity and encroachment in Agogo?

The scarcity of land is due to an increase in human and cattle population, commercialisation of agriculture, and the influx of alien herdsmen, however, the main factor is concession/leasing of Agogo lands to businessmen and investors. According to the Dadson Committee report recommendations x and xiii: *“it charges the Forestry Officers to be proactive in the management of forest reserves, and cautioned the chiefs and the elders over indiscriminate purported sale or lease of Agogo lands”* (appendix 3). However, during the fieldwork, I observed that, this practice is on the increase in Agogo, leading to land scarcity and competition for survival between the two groups, thereby resulting in the conflict. Many of the farmers have had their farms and lands leased or sold to investors and businessmen through concessions or lease rendering them landless. Furthermore, the human population of Agogo has increased with majority into commercial farming. This has led to high demand of land for farming. In addition, cattle population has increased tremendously especially in the dry seasons as many nomads migrate to the area to seek refuge for their animals. This has become a norm due to the leasing of the farmlands to the cattle owners through the indenture by the chiefs. These factors have

resulted in land scarcity in the study area as the farmers need the land for farming, while the Fulani herdsmen want the land for grazing and rearing of their cattle.

In connection, is the encroachment by the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle which often leads to competition and the conflict. Due to the increase of cattle population and the pastoral system, the cattle are always moving from one area to another, thereby straying into farms and causing damages to crops. This is because, farming is now everywhere, deep into the forest areas of Agogo, where the cattle are mostly reared. Therefore, the farmlands are being encroached by the Fulani herdsmen and cattle, hence narrowing farming space, which makes destruction inevitable, thereby causing the conflict. Therefore, the concession of farmlands to investors, the leasing of lands to the cattle owners, increase in human population, and clash of goals between the farmers and the herdsmen have created land scarcity and competition in Agogo, resulting in the conflict. By considering the history of Agogo in terms of cattle rearing, the beginning of indenture, and the analysis of the findings in chapter four, this study deduces and describes the Agogo situation as a resource scarcity and eco-survivalism conflict. The study, therefore, partly attribute this situation to the leasing of farmlands to the cattle owners by the chiefs, who are then partly to be blamed for the conflict in Agogo.

5.2. Land ownership and tenure in Agogo

In view of the land scarcity in Agogo, it is important to explain the land ownership and various forms of arrangement in securing land in the Area. Pursuant to chapter 21, articles 258 and 267 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana, all lands in Agogo can be grouped into government lands (forest reserve) and stool lands (farmlands). The government lands are managed by the forestry commission. The stool lands are vested in the paramount chief, with various families and family heads being caretakers. The family members then share among the lines for the individual use and ownership. Therefore, land ownership for the stool lands take the form of communal, family and individual possessions. Apart from these, there are land tenure arrangements for (foreigners, settlers, migrants) who do not belong to the families.

The study identified various ways in securing land in Agogo. In this study, the arrangements are grouped into five (5) main headings:

- Lease or concession
- Sharing agreement
- Land hiring

- Land purchase/buying
- Forestry arrangement/contracts

5.2.1. Lease/concession

Leasing of farmlands to businessmen to undertake an economic activity is very common in the Agogo traditional area. The lease is granted for a period, with accompanied payment depending on the terms of the agreement. Typical examples are the indenture by the chiefs and the cattle owners (appendix 1 and 2), which was granted for fifty (50) years with an option for an extension. The concession is granted by the forestry officers to investors. The main difference between lease and concession in this study is based on the allocator or lesser and type of land. While the lease(s) is/are granted by the chiefs and some individuals on family or farmlands, the concession is granted by the forest officers on government lands or from forest reserves.

5.2.2. Sharing agreement

The sharing agreement is also pervasive among the Asante including Agogo. Under this, it can take so many forms, however, the commonest is the crop sharing agreement “*do ma yenkye*” (do it and let’s share or divide). A family or an individual can give a land out to someone or a group of people for cultivation, and after harvesting, the crops are shared depending on the terms of the contract. Here, the sharing normally depends on the type of crop, the duration (total growing period), and the cost involved. For example, in the case of maize, the landowner is given one-third of the yield. Again, a landowner may take its share based on the total land size given out. For instance, some may charge based on acres, for example, a bag of maize for each acre.

5.2.3. Land hiring and purchase

Hiring of land is similar to land leasing, however, with the former, the duration is shorter compared to the latter. The land reverts to the owner(s) after the duration or harvesting, as he/she stills has the ultimate right over the land. The fee to pay is negotiated between the two parties, but the researcher was reliably informed that, is between GH¢100-200 (\$20-40) per year for an acre. However, land purchase is the outright sale of a land to a buyer or businessmen. It involves the transfer of one’s right and ownership over the land to the new

buyer. Indeed, this practice is not common; it normally happens in times of financial crisis on the part of the landowner(s).

5.2.4. Forestry contracts

Under this system, the forestry officers may give a piece of land out, especially areas deemed to be degrading to farmers for cultivation. However, the farmer(s) would be either instructed to grow trees and take care of them or allow the forestry officers to cultivate trees on the farms. In any case, the farmer has the responsibility of taking care of the trees. The idea is to promote afforestation.

5.3. Migration and settlement of the herdsmen in Agogo: the theory of social capital

The political, social, natural and economic reasons for the migration and the settlement of the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo were found to be: presence of ‘special’ pasture, availability of vast land for leasing, support from influential people, availability of water, absence of tsetsefly (glossina) and market opportunity. Indeed, the findings are consistent with the available literature on farmer-herder conflict. However, by analyzing the issues surrounding the Agogo conflict; the various documents such as Dadson report, high court order, evacuation plan, land leasing, and the data gathered, this study can deduce that the ‘support from influential people’ is the main factor behind the herdsmen migration and stay in Agogo. In other words, the theory of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is the reason. Why the theory of social capital in this study?

First, the findings revealed that, the herdsmen and their cattle started moving and staying in Agogo after the leasing of Agogo lands to the cattle owners. Indeed, a prominent cattle owner confirmed that he and his colleagues were the first to move to the area after securing the indenture. Therefore, the cattle owners gained the permit from the chiefs, which resulted in the influx of other herdsmen to the area. Second, the findings also indicate that the majority of the cattle belong to some influential people such as chiefs, politicians, businessmen, security officers who are Ghanaians. As explained in chapter four, there were about thirty-one thousand herds of cattle in Agogo as at January 2017, of which most of the owners are Ghanaians. Also, there are some middlemen who liaise between the herdsmen and the cattle owners, also assist the alien herdsmen in their stay as revealed. Third, one of the tenets of democracy is rule of law, however, after five years (since 2012) of high court order, mandating the REGSEC to flush out all cattle from Agogo farming lands or cattle owners should adopt modern methods,

followed by a plan of evacuation to flush out the cattle by the REGSEC, the order and the plan are yet to be implemented. As advanced by a sixty-nine-year-old woman, and a farmer at Bebuso village, *“the court has ruled that the cattle and the herdsmen should be driven away, but they are still here since 2012. Who should enforce this order? They (politicians and leaders) are the same people whom the court ruled against”* (personal interview: 24/1/2017). Finally, with reference to Figure 2 (District Map of Asante Akyem North), it is surrounded by a number of districts that are all part of the Afram Plains area. Basically, the same Afram River flows through the area, same pasture (vegetation), weather conditions and land. Yet, the Fulani herdsmen are not moving to any other part except Agogo. In view of the above reasons, the study, although recognised the other factors, it considers the social capital aspect; support from influential people as the major factor behind the migration and the stay of the herdsmen in Agogo.

5.4. Causes of the conflict: theory of eco-survivalism

Destruction of farms and crops, shooting and killing of innocent people, threat and intimidation, rape and sexual harassment, bush burning, water pollution, armed robbery by the Fulani herdsmen, spraying of weeds by weedicides, cattle rustling and killing were the main findings from the fieldwork. The findings reflect the theory of eco-survivalism (Okoli, 2013) in Agogo.

Indeed, both the Dadson Committee (2010, p. iii) and the REGSEC plan of evacuation (2012, p.1) described Agogo as the basket of food hub of Ghana. They also mentioned cattle rearing being nomadic practice as predominate in the area. These revelations also coincide with the findings of this study. This, notwithstanding, the pastoral system of cattle rearing is not compatible with the commercial farming in the area. This has led to a desperate quest by both the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen to survive in the area at all cost. Therefore, the causes of the conflict are motivated by a do-or-die struggle in the territory, as both the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen are seeking to protect their sources of livelihood (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). For instance, to ensure the survival of the cattle especially in the dry season, the Fulani herdsmen have resorted to burning and saltation of the grass. This is not compatible with the commercial farming in the area as it often leads to burning of farms and degradation of the quality of the land and soil fertility. Furthermore, for the farmers to embark on commercial farming, they apply weedicides and pesticides to kill weeds and pests respectively. This is also

not compatible with the pastoral system of cattle rearing as the pastures are being destroyed and the animals are likely to die by grazing on sprayed grasses.

In addition, the pastoral practice often leads to the destruction of farms and crops. This infuriates the farmers, and sometimes, attack the cattle. The Fulani herdsmen often retaliate by shooting, killing and injuring the farmers, which in turn, spark reprisal attacks from the youth within the area. Threat and intimidation, armed robbery by the nomads, rape and sexual harassment are all survival and coping mechanisms employed by the Fulani herdsmen to counter the hostile activities by the farmers. The Fulani herdsmen are determined to survive and any threat on their source of livelihood has been taken as a call to war. As captured by Abbas (2012, p.331), *“Our herd is our life, because to every (Fulani) nomad, life is worthless without his cattle. What do you expect from us when our source of existence is threatened?”* Considering the proportion of the population of Agogo, who are into crop farming (the main occupation and source of livelihood), and the nomadic system of the Fulani herdsmen; the two are incompatible. This is because, both are protecting and advancing their main sources of income and sustenance, resulting in competition and conflict between the them. Therefore, the theory of eco-survivalism underpins the causes of the conflict relationship between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen in Agogo based on the findings.

5.5. Effects of the conflict: Humanitarian, Social, Economic, Security and Natural

The consequences of the conflict indicate humanitarian effects; loss of lives, injuries and maiming and displacement, widowers, single parenting, relocation/homeless, since these affect the lives and the welfare of the people. Indeed, there is nothing more precious than the lives of the people as discussed in the analysis. The next indicates economic effects; livelihood crisis/loss of properties/unemployment, debt/loan repayment, and reduction in agricultural produce/loss of revenue since these concerns with the income and finances of the people. The social effects; fear, animosity and hatred, retard development, rural urban migration/forced migration, poverty and social problems (school dropout/streetism/social deviants/ teenage pregnancy highlight the underdevelopment nature of the study due to the conflict, as the chunk of the district resources are channelled into the conflict. It also depicts the social problems arising or likely to occur due to the conflict. The security effects; proliferation of arms, escalation of the conflict, possibility of armed camps indicate the gradual smuggling and possession of weapons in the community, and the likelihood of open clash (bloody) between the two groups. It also raises serious concerns over the security of the area, and how prepared

the security agencies in dealing with the conflict. Finally, is the natural effects; soil erosion and desertification of the lands indicate the gradual turning of the Agogo lands into desert. This has serious implications for the farmers and future generation in terms of sustainability.

5.6. Failure of the local community and national level response: the social capital theory

The findings revealed an expulsion policy (“Operation Cowleg”) as the main mitigation towards the conflict. However, the policy is ineffective and unsustainable due to the social relations and networks surrounding the cattle business in Agogo. First, most of the cattle are owned by influential Ghanaians, including policymakers and politicians, who are unwilling not only to implement the Dadson committee and court orders, but also not to support the government in ejecting the Fulani herdsmen. Again, there are other actors involved with competing interest in the cattle business in Agogo. The actors, mostly the influential people in the country have patron-client relationship with the Fulani herdsmen. Therefore, the cattle owners, been the influential people are able to influence the “Operation Cowleg”, hence, the issues of bribery and corruption in the operation, and selective justice. This makes the driving out of the settler herdsmen and their cattle, mostly owned by Ghanaians very difficult. This reflects the social capital discussed in chapter two. This is because, there is a more or less institutionalised network between the “Big men” been the owners and the Fulani herdsmen, with the basis of the solidarity been the profits, which each accrued from been in the group (Bourdieu, 1986).

The other issue related to the nomads from the other countries is the ECOWAS protocol that allows free movement of people and goods across member states. This agreement is also based on social capital as a network. As indicated by the officials contacted in this study, the government of Ghana is very cautious in dealing with the nomads to avert any possible retaliation from neighbouring countries. As explained in chapter two, Ghana expelled migrants from other African countries under ‘aliens compliance order’ in 1969, and paid for the consequences in 1983 when Nigeria retaliated. This, according to the officials, makes the expelling of the Fulani nomads from other African countries very difficult. Therefore, by virtue of the nomads being in the network of ECOWAS, are protected by the protocol and the potential benefits available to individuals within the institutionalised relationship (Burt 2000; Granovetter 2005; Lin 2008; Sabatini 2006; Sciarrone 2002). This study, therefore, deduce that the social capital as a network surrounding the cattle business in Agogo, and between Ghana and other ECOWAS countries is the main reason for the failure of the “Operation Cowleg”.

5.7. Implications of the study findings

Considering the key research findings and the consequences of the conflict on social-economic development of Agogo, livelihoods sustainability, security concerns and the failure of the policy of expulsion (“Operation Cowleg”), some measures should be put in place to either eliminate or effectively mitigate the conditions that enable the conflict to flourish in Agogo. The study, therefore, presents the recommendations gathered from the respondents during the fieldwork. The recommendations are grouped into short, medium and long terms.

5.7.1. Short term recommendations

First and foremost, formation of dialogue committee among the stakeholders to curtail the causes of the conflict. The various actors, especially the farmers, cattle owners, Fulani herdsmen, and the security agencies must collaborate and meet regularly to discuss the pertinent issues such as shooting, killing, raping, and destructions associated with the conflict. In view of this, a body comprising of all the stakeholders should be formed, and a meeting of once a month must be institutionalised. This body should have offices in the various towns and villages in Agogo to receive petitions and concerns from both parties. Again, the representatives of parties should pledge and advise their members not to attack each other, rather channel their grievances to the committee. In case of any attack, the leaders should be held accountable or bring the culprit to face the full rigors of the law.

In addition to the dialogue committee, is settlement committee to mitigate the effects of the conflict. During the fieldwork, most of the cases especially ‘causing damage’ were dealt with peacefully by the police, with the culprit paying a compensation. Indeed, I witnessed many ‘out of court settlements’ at the police station during the field study. However, most of the farmers raised complained about the conduct of the value officers and the middlemen. Therefore, the study proposes a permanent committee chaired by a judge, and made up of the police, value officers, and the district security council who will do the valuation and cost estimation of the damages caused, and award a befitting financial package to the deserving farmers and cattle owners. Finally, in view of the controversies aroused in the payment as indicated in the REGSEC evacuation plan at appendix 5, some intermediaries failed to pay the beneficiaries (the farmers) after collecting the monies or cows from the herdsmen and cattle owners (check the last four pages of the plan). Therefore, the financial settlement should be done in the presence of all the committee members to ensure transparency and accountability.

Furthermore, creation of a buffer zone to prevent the conflict. As indicated by the officials (lecturers, immigration officer, veterinary doctor, divisional police commander), the Agogo land, both stool lands and forest reserve of the Afram Plains section is very large. In view of this, a clear demarcation should be made for all the nomadic activities and cattle rearing to be moved away from the crop growing areas. The forestry commission and the chiefs of Agogo should decide where to allocate to the cattle owners for their business. The zone (the demarcation) should be large to the extent that, even if the cattle graze beyond their designated areas, they would not cause damage to farms. The forestry officers, the district assembly and the security should collaborate to regulate the nomadic activities, where possible, from going beyond the zone.

Finally, the immigration service at the various entry points to Ghana should be proactive and regularise the number of nomads who enter the country during the dry season. Even though there is an ECOWAS protocol, emphasis should be placed on the national identification of the person; where the person is going to reside, and the duration. These records will help to determine the identities of the nomads in case of breach of law. In short, the migration of the nomads into Ghana should be checked.

5.7.2. Medium term recommendations

Firstly, socialisation and integration of the Fulani herdsmen in to the various communities to mitigate the causes of the conflict. Indeed, the life of the herdsmen is totally different, however, the hostile attitude by the local community have also contributed to it. The settled herdsmen are totally excluded and alienated from all community activities. This has led to the reliance of middlemen and intermediaries in securing their basic needs such as food and other items from the Agogo market. In fact, the herdsmen have their leaders in Agogo, who meet the security agencies anytime an issue pops up. These leaders should be integrated in the various unit committees, and appointed into council of elders at the various villages. Gradually, this will reduce the tension and animosity between the two groups.

In addition, is distribution or relocation policy to mitigate the causes and effects of the conflict. Both the cattle owners and the herdsmen indicated that, they want a place to rear their cattle and are willing to move to another place if only the government secures them a land. This study proposes distribution of the herdsmen and cattle across the regions of Ghana to reduce cattle population in Agogo.

Finally, land tenure or arrangement must be a stakeholders' decision, with proper demarcation for farming and animal rearing. The chiefs should involve town planners and other family members in such decisions. This will prevent future occurrences of farmer-herder conflicts

5.7.3. Long term

The long-term solution is confinement or ranching system as local community and national level responses. As the government of Ghana is about to roll out "*one district, one factory policy*", the cattle business should also be considered. It is a fact that the cattle have importance towards the Ghanaian economy. Apart from the products such as meat, milk that provide protein, it also employs a lot of people. With the confinement, it will also provide an employment through growing of grass for commercial pasture and forages.

In addition, there must be a pastoral code to regulate the activities of cattle rearing in Ghana as in Mauritania, Mali and Niger; the pastoral code 1996, pastoral charter 2001 and ordinance pastoralism 2010 respectively. This should also spell out how conflict between the pastoralists and residents of the area would be dealt with. This will mitigate the cause of conflict between farmers and herders in Ghana.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Violent conflict, particularly farmer-herder conflicts, have been a common feature of economic livelihood for a long time, hence, been identified as a threat to peace, security and development in the 21st century (Bleach, 2004, p.1; Olaniyan, 2015, p.330; Shettima & Tar, 2008, p.163; Tonah, 2006). With the increase of environmental degradation, resource scarcity, population growth and climate change in Africa, the discussion of how to address and mitigate the risk of farmer-herder conflicts have become topical among researchers. The sedentary farmers and Fulani herdsman conflict in Ghana has sparked an ongoing debate about Ghana's ability to deal with the situation expeditiously, and avoid a resource conflict. This study was conducted in a bid to examine the causes and effects of the farmer-herder conflict in Africa. As such, a case study of Agogo, which has been scarcely studied by way of organised research in Ashanti Region, Ghana, was selected to provide an in-depth analysis. The purpose of the study was to examine the underlying causes and effects of the conflict between the herders and the farmers, as well as the local community and national level measures as applied to resolve or mitigate the situation in Agogo, Ghana. To do this, the resource scarcity, eco-survivalism, and social capital theories (Hommer-Dixon, 1999; Okoli, 2013; Bourdieu, 1986) were adopted as foundations for discussion. As such, a qualitative research strategy was adopted to collect and analyse the data.

The assessment of the factors behind the Fulani herdsman migration to Agogo were natural, political, social and economic. However, the social factors arising out of social capital were the main reasons; considering the issues and the data available as well as the many stakeholders involved in the conflict. The causes of the conflict relationship were multifaceted, which involve elements of resource scarcity and eco-survivalism. Therefore, there is a clash of goals between the farmers and the Fulani herdsman, as both are determined to survive in the area perceived to be hostile against the livelihoods of each other. The consequences of the conflict on the social-economic development of Agogo were connected to humanitarian, economic, social, security and natural effects, with the humanitarian being the most devastating. This is because human lives are so precious, and loss of lives cannot be replaced. The available mitigation or preventive measure at both the local community and the national level was the "Operation Cowleg". However, this policy was not sustainable as the patron-client relationship (the social capital) between the "Big men" and the Fulani herdsman undermines the operation. This is because, the cattle owners (Big men) protect the Fulani herdsman against the operation

as they are very influential people in Ghana. The ECOWAS protocol been a social capital between Ghana and other West African Countries, makes the expulsion of the nomads from other countries very difficult.

The conflict in Agogo is a farmer-herder conflict, resulting from the allocation of farmlands by the chiefs of Agogo to some cattle owners. It is a fact that the nomadic activities of the Fulani herdsmen have cause a lot of damages, especially destruction of farms and crops. Hence, threatening the livelihoods of the farmers in the area. This, notwithstanding, both are to be blamed for the various crimes committed within the community. However, most of the atrocities have been committed by the Fulani herdsmen, especially the nomads from the other countries who migrate to the area during the dry seasons.

Considering the theoretical and the empirical literature, the Agogo situation has some similarities with farmer-herder incidences in other parts of Africa as discussed in the introductory chapter. First, it is a conflict over land resources, as the two groups are eager to survive by protecting and advancing their sources of livelihood. Second, it is a low intensity conflict as classified by Shettima & Tar (2008, p.163), and becomes very intense in the dry season as the nomads from other countries migrate to the area. Further, the conflict in Agogo has adverse effects on human lives, properties and livestock (de Bruijn & van Dijk, 2003, p. 291; Tonah, 2005). Finally, the dimension of the conflict is changing due to the proliferation of arms in the area, especially on the part of the Fulani herdsmen.

However, the farmer-herder conflict in Agogo is a very complex and dynamic issue compared to other parts of the West African sub-region. Firstly, on the surface, the Fulani herdsmen migrate to the area in search of pasture and water. In other words, natural factors being the motivation for their movement to the area. However, inherent are the political, economic and social factors surrounding the migration of the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo. There are middlemen, politicians, chiefs, security officers with vested interest in the cattle business in Agogo. These does not only attract the Fulani herdsmen, but also make their stay in Agogo more comfortable. This finding contradicts studies in parts of the Sahelian belt such as Mali, Mauritania, Northern Nigeria, Niger, Burkina Faso where the Fulani herdsmen migrate in search of pasture and water (Folami, & Folami, 2013, p.105; Puget, 1999, p.45; Stenning, 1959, p.4; Tonah, 2005, p.16).

Secondly, in areas such as Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger, pastoralism is institutionalised with pastoral lands and codes. For instance, over 75 % of arid Mauritania's

agricultural output stems from nomadic herding, therefore, it was the farmers rather who were encroaching the rangelands of the nomads. This led to the passing of the Pastoral Code 1996, with certain areas designated as pastoral zones that forbids planting or growing of crops (Wabnitz, 2006, p.1, 10). Mali on the other hand, has a pastoral charter 2001, which improves herders' access to natural resources (GOM, 2001). Niger has the ordinance pastoralism 2010 that stipulates: "*mobility is a fundamental right of pastoralists, nomadic and transhumant pastoralists*" (Ordinance Pastoralism, 2010, article 3). However, in Ghana generally and more specifically Agogo, crop farming is the dominant agricultural activity with institutionalised land tenure systems. Therefore, it is the Fulani herdsmen who were encroaching the farmlands of the farmers in Agogo. This finding contradicts the literature on pastoralism in the Sahelian belt countries mentioned above.

Finally, farmer-herder conflicts in other parts of the sub-region normally involve the two groups. This, most often involve issues of ethnicity. However, in the case of Agogo, there are many stakeholders with economic interest in the pastoral activities in the area. Apart from the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen, there are "Big men" behind the conflict. These "Big men" have a patron-client relationship with the Fulani herdsmen; as the "Big men" are the cattle owners with the Fulani herdsmen been the caretakers. This makes it very difficult in dealing with the situation. This, however, contradicts the observations by (Olaniyan, 2015, p.335; Tonah, 2006, p.160) that farmer-herder conflicts in Africa involve elements of ethnicity.

On an ending note, this study has a considerable value, particularly in helping to explain the causes and effects of farmer-herder conflicts, and the policy of expulsion as a mitigation strategy in Africa, specifically, Agogo Traditional Area in Ghana. The conflict, which is a resource scarcity conflict resulting from land use is a hydra-headed development issue. The occurrence of such conflicts is induced by a number of competing factors, and these factors must be examined holistically in dealing with the conflicts.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Indenture 1

110-2-11 -
Dated This..... Day of.....

- BETWEEN -

NANA AKUOKO SARPONG
OMANHENE OF AGOGO
ASHANTI – AKIM DISTRICT
ASHANTI REGION

AND

ALHAJI AHMED ABDUL KARIMU GRUSAH
P. O. BOX A17
ABAOBO, KUMASI

LESSEE


SOLICITOR OF THE
SUPREME COURT

Instrument marked "A" referred to in the Oath of June 2006 sworn before me this 27th day of May 2006

REGISTRAR
OF
AGOGOS
ASHANTI
REGION

THIS INDENTURE MADE THE 27th DAY OF May, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD TWO THOUSAND AND SIX (2006) BETWEEN NANA AKUOKO SARPONG, OMANHENE OF AGOGO, IN THE ASHANTI-AKIM DISTRICT in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana with the consent and concurrence of the Principal Elders of the Agogo Traditional Council whose consent and concurrence are necessary or requisite by Customary Law for the valid grant or alienation on disposition of any land or other property of the said Stool and which consent and concurrence are hereby testified by some of the Principal members aforesaid witnessing the execution of these present (hereafter called "THE LESSOR") of the one part and ALHAJI AHMED ABDUL KARIMU GRUSAH OF BOX A17 ABOABO, KUMASI in Ashanti Region (hereinafter called "THE LESSEES") of the other part.

1. NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH

IN CONSIDERATION of rent hereinafter reserved and of the covenants conditions and stipulations on the part of the Lessee to be paid observed and performed the Lessor hereby DEMISES unto the Lessee for the purpose of Cattle farming on the land situate lying and being at NYAME BEKYERE – AGOGO, ASHANTI-AKIM in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana and bordered on the North-west by Stool Land measuring 1,800 feet more or less on the North-East by Stool Land measuring 1,200 feet more or less on the South-East by Stool Land measuring 1,800 feet more or less and on the South-West by Alhaji Fuseni Hassna's property measuring 1,280 feet more or less which piece or parcel of land with an area of 50.4 acres on the proposed Nyame Bekyere layout and is more particularly delineated on the Plan attached hereto and thereon shown edged Pink TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same unto and to the use of the Lessee for the term of FIFTY YEARS (50) years from the day of 2006 YEILDING AND PAYING therefore unto the Lessors the yearly rent of \$ 5 million cedic



2. THE LESSEE HEREBY COVENANT WITH THE LESSOR

- (a) To pay the rent hereby reserved at the times and in the manner aforesaid without any deduction whatsoever.
- (b) Not to use the demised land otherwise than for a Cattle Ranch Farming Purposes only.
- (c) Not to assign sublet or part with possession of the demised land or any part therefore without the prior consent in writing of the Lessor such consent not to be unreasonably withheld.
- (d) Not to allow in or about the demised land anything which may become a nuisance damage or annoyance to the Lessor or any owner or occupier of the adjacent property.
- (e) The Lessee is strictly to ensure that the cattle are kept within the area assigned to him and to ensure that the animals do not stray into other areas which will constitute nuisance to other farmers in the neighborhood.
- (f) To provide facilities to the Cattle in such a way that they do not pollute water bodies outside the area granted.

- (g) The Lessee is strictly forbidden to extend the facilities offered him under this lease to a third party without the consent of the Lessor.
- (h) To provide such other facilities to the cattle so as not to create problems which will undermine Community cohesion and destabilise the Community Leadership because of the activities of the Cattle.
- (i) The Lessee has been made aware that there is a large body of opinion in the Agogo Traditional Area which is opposed to this grant for the simple reason that the Fulani Herdsmen roaming illegally in the area on the whole have engaged in anti-social activities which have disturbed farming activities in the area and has therefore undertaken not to justify these fears by keeping strictly to the conditions of the grant.

3. THE LESSOR HEREBY COVENANTS WITH THE LESSEE AS FOLLOWS: -

That the Lessee paying the rent herein reserved and observing and performing the several covenants condition and stipulations herein on his part contained shall peaceably hold and enjoy the demised land during the said term and any renewed term without any interruption by the Lessor his heirs successors and assigns or any person or persons rightfully claiming by under or in trust for the stool.

4. PROVIDED ALWAYS AND IT IS HEREBY AGREED AND DECLARED AS FOLLOWS: -

- (a) At the expiration of the term of FIFTY (50) years hereby granted upon application in writing by the Lessee for such renewal and the Lessee shall have the option of the Lease for a further term not exceeding FIFTY (50) years certain and upon terms covenants and conditions to be agreed upon between the Lessors and the Lessee.
- (b) At notice requiring to be served hereunder shall be sufficiently served on the Lessee if delivered personally or sent by registered post to him at his usual or last known place of abode and on the Lessors if delivered personally or sent by registered post to them at the usual or last known place or abode.

THE SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO:

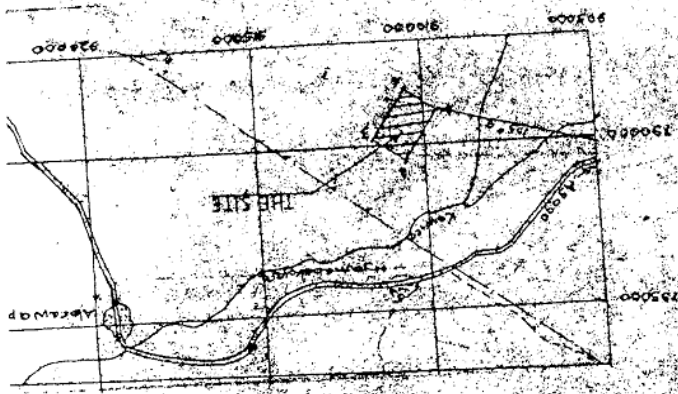
ALL THAT PIECE OR PARCEL OF LAND SITUATE LYING AND BEING AT NYAME BEKYERE – AGOGO, ASHANTI-AKIM in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana and bordered on the North-west by Stool Land measuring 1,800 feet more or less on the North-East by Stool Land measuring 1,200 feet more or less on the South-East by Stool Land measuring 1,800 feet more or less and on the South-West by Alhaji Fuseni Hassna's property measuring 1,280 feet more or less which piece or parcel of land with an area of 50.4 acres on the proposed Nyame Bekyere layout and is more particularly delineated on the Plan attached hereto and thereon shown edged Pink TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same unto and to the use of the Lessee for the term of FIFTY YEARS (50) years from the day of 2006 YEILDING AND PAYING therefore unto the Lessors the yearly rent of ₵

- (c) This Agreement will be reviewed after five (5) years.

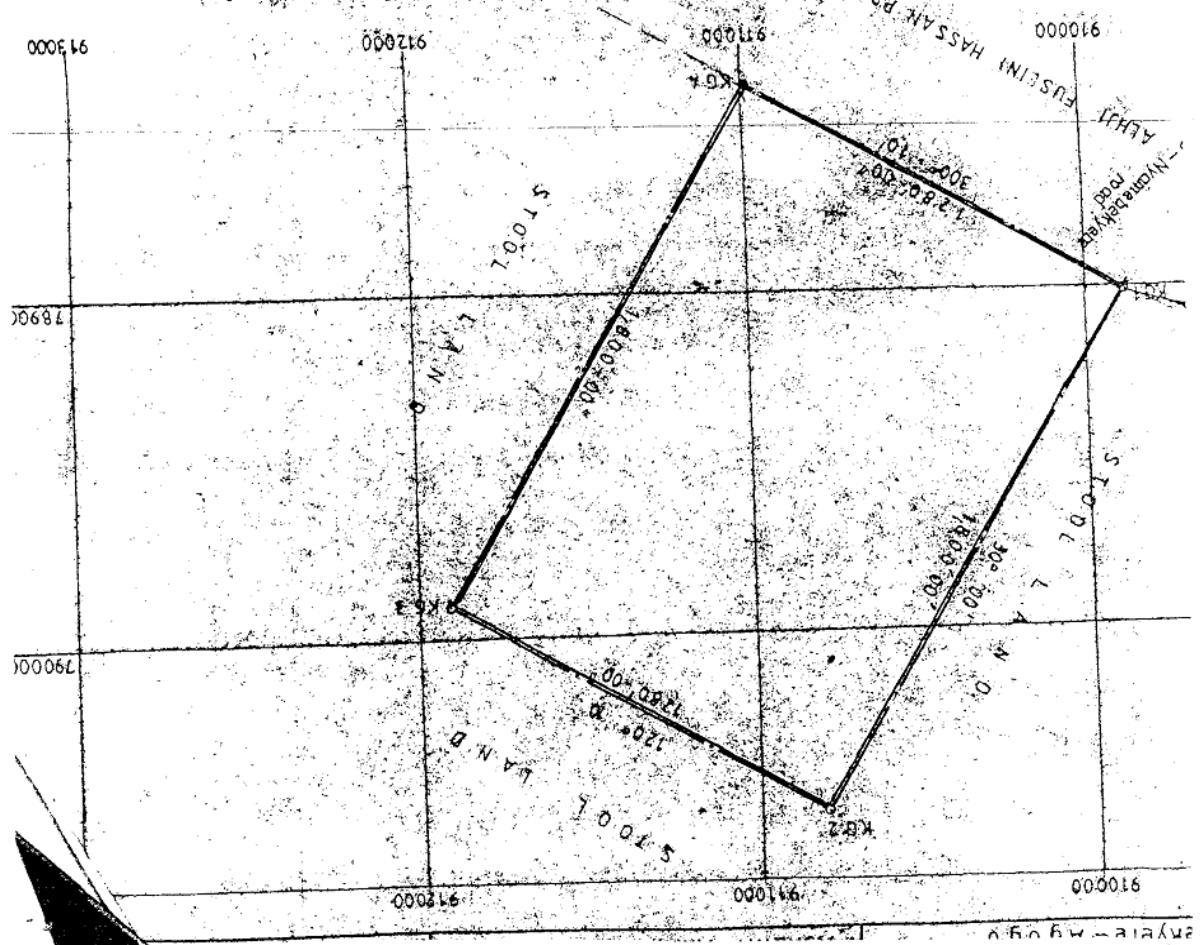
LICENSED SURVEYOR CERTIFY THAT THIS PLAN IS
 TRUTHFULLY AND CORRECTLY EXECUTED AND ACCURATELY SHOWS THE
 AND WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE DESCRIPTION GIVEN BY THE CLIENT.
 E. K. M. B. M.

LICENSED SURVEYOR
 E. K. M. B. M.
 10 BOX 100
 RAJSHAHI, DAKA, BANGLADESH

Approved by: _____
 for DIRECTOR OF SURVEYS
 Government of Bangladesh



LOCATION MAP Sheet 0601 A1 1:50,000



WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their respective hands and seal the day and year first above-written: -

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED
NANA AKUOKO SARPONG
OMANHENE OF AGOGO TRADITIONAL
AREA in the presence of: -

- 1- *Abimbola Nana Agogo Bada*
(WIFATENE) *Keakone*
- 2- *Kusame Baamah (AKWAMUHENE)*
Nana Kusame Baamah

Nana Akuoko Sarpong
 (NANA AKUOKO SARPONG)
 President
 AGOGO TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED
By the said ALHAJI AHMED ABDUL
KARIM GRUSAH in the presence
of: -

AHMED FARAZ
Box A.17 - Abouba Simasi

ALHAJI AHMED ABDUL KARIM GRUSAH
 ALHAJI AHMED ABDUL KARIM GRUSAH

OATH OF PROOF

I, *Bawa Mahama*
Muhammad (Box 1904 New of Agogo Bada) make Oath and say that on
 the *10* day of *June* 20*08* was present and saw NANA AKUOKO SARPONG duly
 execute the Instrument now produce to me and marked "A" and that the said LESSOR
 can read and write.

SWORN AT *Abouba* THIS *10* DAY
 OF *June* 20*08*

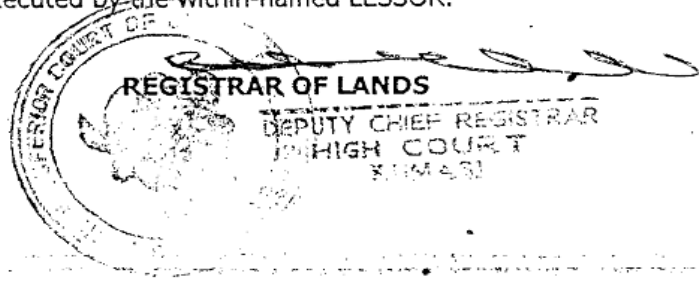
DEPONENT



BEFORE ME

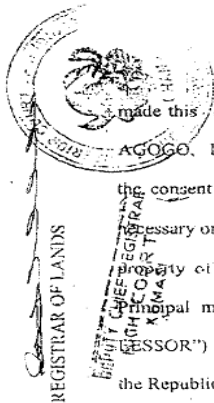
[Signature]
 REGISTRAR OF THE HIGH COURT
 DEPUTY CHIEF REGISTRAR
 HIGH COURT
 CERTIFICATE OF PROOF

On the *10* day of *June* 20*08* at *9:30* o'clock in the
 noon this Instrument was proved before me by the Oath of the within-named
 to have been duly executed by the within-named LESSOR.



Appendix 2: Indenture 2

Indenture



made this 6th day of July 2006 BETWEEN NANA AKUOKO SARPONG OMANHENE OF AGOGO, IN THE ASHANTI-AKIM DISTRICT in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana with the consent and concurrence of the Principal Elders of the Stool whose consent and concurrence are necessary or requisite by Customary Law for the valid grant alienation or dispositions of any land or other property of the said family and which consent and concurrence are hereby testified by some of the principal members aforesaid witnessing the execution of these present (hereinafter called "THE LESSOR") of the one part ALHAJI ALI MAMUDU of Agogo Ashanti-Akim in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana (hereinafter called "THE LESSEE") of the other part.

This is the instrument marked "A" referred to in the Cash of Joseph K. Agyemang before me on 6th day of July 2006

1. NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH

IN CONSIDERATION of rent hereinafter reserved and of the covenants conditions and stipulations on the part of the Lessee to be paid observed and performed the Lessor hereby DEMISES unto the Lessee for the purpose of farming on the land situate lying and being at NYAME BEKYERE-AGOGO, ASHANTI-AKIM in the Ashanti Region of the Republic of Ghana and bordered on the North-west by Stool Land measuring 1,150 feet more or less on the North-East by Stool Land measuring 1,150 feet more or less on the South-East by Stool Land measuring 1,150 feet more or less and on the South-West by Stool Land measuring 1,150 feet more or less which piece or parcel of land with an area of 30.2 acres on the proposed NYAME BEKYERE layout and is more particularly delineated on the Plan attached hereto and thereon shown edged Pink TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same unto and to the use of the Lessee for the term of FIFTY YEARS (50) years from the 6th day of July 2007 YIELDING AND PAYING therefore unto the Lessor the yearly rent of ¢1,500,000.00

2. THE LESSEE HEREBY COVENANT WITH THE LESSOR

- (a) To pay the rent hereby reserved at the times and in the manner aforesaid without any deduction whatsoever.
- (b) Not to use the demised land otherwise than for farming purposes only.
- (c) Not to assign sublet or part with possession of the demised land or any part thereof without the prior consent in writing of the Lessor such consent not to be unreasonably withheld.
- (d) Not to allow in or about the demised land or any part thereof anything which may be or become nuisance damage or annoyance to the Lessor or any owner or occupier of the adjacent property.

(3) THE LESSOR HEREBY COVENANTS WITH THE LESSEE AS FOLLOWS:

(a) That the Lessee paying the rent hereby reserved and observing and performing the several covenants conditions and stipulations herein on his part contained shall peaceably hold and enjoy the demised land during the said term and renewed term and without any interruption by the Lessors their successors and assigns or any person or person rightfully claiming by under or in trust for them.

(4) PROVIDED ALWAYS AND IT IS HEREBY AGREED AND DECLARED AS FOLLOWS

(a) At the expiration of the term of FIFTY (50) years hereby granted upon application in writing by the Lessee for such renewal the Lessor shall have the option of the discretion to renew the Lease for the Lessee for a further term not exceeding TWENTY-FIVE (25) years certain and upon term covenants and conditions to be agreed upon between the Lessor and the Lessee:-

(b) Any notice requiring to be served hereunder shall be sufficiently served on the Lessee if delivered personally or sent by registered post to him at his usual or last known place of abode and on the Lessor is delivered personally or sent by registered post to him at his usual or last known place or abode: A notice sent by post shall be deemed to be given at the time when in due course or post it would be delivered at the address to which it is sent:-

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties hereto have hereunto set their respective hands and Seals this day and year first above written:---

SIGNED/MARKED AND DELIVERED)
by the said NANA AKUOKO SARPONG)
OMANHENE OF AGOGO A/A)
in presence of:)

Nana Akuko Sarpong
President
AGOGO TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

1. *J-B. Ampomah*
2. Joseph N K *SWR REGISTRAR*
AGOGO TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED)
by the said ALHAJI ALI MAMUDU)
in the presence of:

Ali Mamudu
R.I

AHMED ABDUL KARIM
P.O. BOX A.C. 17
ABOABO - KUMASI

Appendix 3: Dadson Committee Report

REPORT ON

FILE NO. 26/2014
REGISTRY
REGISTRY
COURT

**DISTURBANCES AT AGOGO ON
30TH APRIL 2010**

**SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE
OF ENQUIRY TO THE ASHANTI
REGIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
(REGSEC)**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The committee wishes to place on record its sincere thanks first to God for strength throughout the period of the work. The committee also expresses its gratitude to the Ashanti Regional Minister, Hon. Kofi Opoku Manu, for the logistical support that was provided for the committee during its work.

We are grateful to the Ashanti Regional Coordinating Director and the Regional Security Council (REGSEC) for honouring members with the opportunity to undertake such an important national assignment.

We further express our appreciation to all witnesses who testified before the committee for their cooperation.

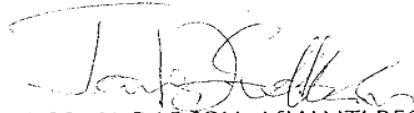
We wish to place on record, however that we are collectively responsible for all flaws and omissions.

We are glad to have been of service to Ghana.

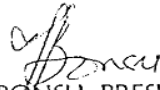
Dated This 31st Day of May 2010.

SIGNATURE PAGE

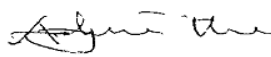
We, the undersigned, submit herewith a report on the findings of the Committee of Enquiry into the "Agogo Disturbances" of 30th April 2010 to the Ashanti Regional Security Council.
Dated Monday, the 31st Day of May 2010.



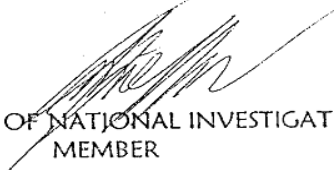
1. JAMES EBENEZER KOBINA DADSON, ASHANTI REGIONAL LANDS OFFICER
CHAIRMAN



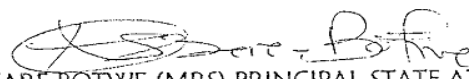
2. HON. THOMAS OSEI BONSU, PRESIDING MEMBER, ASANTE AKIM NORTH
MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY
MEMBER



3. THOMAS KWAME ADJEI (DSI), GHANA IMMIGRATION SERVICE, ASHANTI REGION
MEMBER



4. VICTOR NYEKANGA, BUREAU OF NATIONAL INVESTIGATION, ASHANTI REGION
MEMBER



5. AFIA SERWAH ASARE-BOTWE (MRS) PRINCIPAL STATE ATTORNEY, ATTORNEY-
GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT ASHANTI REGION
MEMBER



6. CAPTAIN EBENEZER OKO NETTEY, 4 INFANTRY BATTALION
MEMBER



7. M.D.A. AVAH, MUNICIPAL COORDINATING DIRECTOR
(REPRESENTED BY EDMUND OSEI-GYAMFI, DEPUTY COORDINATING DIRECTOR,
ASANTE AKIM NORTH MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY)
MEMBER/SECRETARY

The Afram Plains area of Ghana is reputed to be the food basket of the country. The area spans the entire middle belt of Ghana covering parts of the Northern, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern and the Volta Regions. It is characterised by fertile soil for most parts. The area is suitable for the cultivation of various food crops including, maize, cassava, plantain, yam, water melon, rice and cash crops such as cashew and cocoa. The area is also used for the grazing of sheep, goats and cattle. Cattle rearing is however predominantly nomadic.

In recent times there have been a series of allegations of murder, rape and destruction of farm lands as well as pollution of water bodies by inhabitants against Fulani herdsmen and their cattle in the area. This led to a demonstration on 30th April 2010 which resulted in injuries including gunshot wounds to some persons and damage to property at Agogo.

The Dadson Committee comprising seven (7) members was tasked to investigate the disturbances. The committee found out that even though there were allegations that twenty (20) persons had been murdered between 2000 and 2010 only one case could be confirmed. Secondly, only one case of attempted rape was recorded by the police between January 2009 and April 2010.

It was established that the nomadic nature of the herdsmen and cattle is incompatible with farming, the main source of livelihood for the residents in the communities. Until the cattle are confined to specified locations and more scientific grazing methods adopted, farming in the plains will be extremely hampered.

It is therefore not surprising that the residents of the settlements were unanimous in their call for the flushing out of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from the plains.

It is worth noting also that the conduct of the police on the day of the demonstration was unprofessional. We did observe also that the District Police Command is

understaffed and the state of the building housing both the police station and barracks is very appalling and needs urgent refurbishment.

The committee had the opportunity to interact with all identified stakeholders and enjoyed a fairly good level of cooperation from all.

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**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE
DEMONSTRATION ON 30TH APRIL, 2010, AT AGOGO IN THE ASANTE AKIM
NORTH MUNICIPALITY - ASHANTI REGION**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Following a demonstration by some citizens of AGOGO in the Asante Akim North Municipality, led by the leadership of the Agogo Town Development Task Force (ATDTF), the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC) constituted and inaugurated a seven (7) member committee of enquiry on 10th May, 2010 at the Asante Akim North Municipal Assembly (AANMA) hall. The inauguration was performed by Hon. Kofi Opoku-Manu, Ashanti Regional Minister. The committee was tasked to investigate the circumstances that led to the demonstration, the destruction of properties and the sustenance of injuries by some individuals and submit a report to the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC) within twenty-one (21) days for further action.

2.0 BACKGROUND TO THE DEMONSTRATION

The Agogo Town Development Tasks Force (ATDTF) and its allied associations held a general meeting on 20th April, 2010, at the Agogo Community Centre and evaluated social and economic problems caused by Fulani herdsmen and their cattle at the Afram Plains section of the Agogo Stool Lands. Some of the problems the meeting identified were as follows:

- i. Fulani herdsmen have killed not less than twenty (20) farmers since their advent to the plains.
- ii. Cattle of Fulani herdsmen destroy their farms and farm produce that have been harvested and kept on the farm for processing.
- iii. Fulani herdsmen wield sophisticated weapons including AK 47 assault rifle, G3, sharp objects such as cutlasses, amongst others.
- iv. Clinic at Behome has been closed down since 1998 due to activities of Fulani herdsmen.

-
- v. The basic school at Abrewapon has been closed down due to activities of Fulani herdsmen.
 - vi. Fulani herdsmen threaten farmers in the area to vacate their farms and also desist from the application of chemicals such as weedicides so that their cattle can graze.
 - vii. Fulani have been leading their cattle to contaminate water bodies that serve as potable water to communities in the area.
 - viii. Fulani have been the main source of bushfires on the plains.
 - ix. Cattle of Fulani herdsmen have caused extensive degradation of farm lands through overgrazing of the plains.
 - x. Fulani herdsmen raped women in the communities located on the plains.
 - xi. World Vision International has deferred development projects in the Afram plains due to activities of Fulani herdsmen.
 - xii. Finally, the meeting indicated that the Agogo Traditional Council (ATC) has leased lands for fifty (50) years to Fulani without the knowledge of Land Owners and the people of Agogo. (Source: Records of ATDTF: Application for Police Permit to Organise a Demonstration against the Presence of Fulani Herdsmen and their Cattle in Our communities, 21st April, 2010, AGOGO.)

3.0 MEMBERSHIP OF THE DADSON COMMITTEE

The under-mentioned persons were nominated and inaugurated on 10th May, 2010 by the Ashanti Regional Minister, Hon. Kofi Opoku Manu:

- i. James Ebenezer Kobina Dadson, Ashanti Regional Lands Officer - Chairman
- ii. Hon. Thomas Osei Bonsu, Presiding Member of the Asante Akim North Municipal Assembly - member
- iii. Thomas Kwame Adjei (DSI), Ghana Immigration Service - member
- iv. Victor Nyekanga, Bureau of National Investigation - member
- v. Afia Serwah Asare-Botwe (Mrs.), Attorney General's Dept. - member
- vi. Captain Ebenezer Oko Nettey, 4 Infantry Battalion - member

-
- vii. Maxwell Daniel Abuga Avvah, Municipal Coordinating Director
member/secretary
(Represented by Edmund Osei-Gyamfi Deputy Coord. Director)

3.1 SUPPORT STAFF

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------|
| I. Margarete Owusu – Mensah | - | Secretary |
| ii. Yusuf Adamu | - | Driver |
| III. Kwame Baah | - | Driver |

4.0 TERMS OF REFERENCE

The committee shall investigate within 21 days:

- i. The remote and immediate causes of the disturbances at Agogo.
- ii. The circumstances leading to the shooting and wounding of some citizens and to identify people involved in the shooting.
- iii. The circumstances that led to the mob attack on the Agogo Police Station/Barracks.
- iv. Any other related matters of significance to the committee's work and
- v. Make recommendations to forestall any future occurrence.

5.0 SCHEDULE OF SITTINGS

10th May, 2010 – Inaugural meeting

12th May, 2010 – Fact finding tour of selected settlements in the Agogo area of the Afram Plains.

13th May, 2010 -- interview with Hon. Kwame Anyimadu Antwi MP, Asante Akim North

- interview with Police Personnel

18th May, 2010 – Interview with ASP Samuel K. Odame

- First Public Forum at Agogo

- Interview with MCE

19th May, 2010 – Interactions with Alhaji Karimu Grunsah and Fulani cattle farmers/owners

- Second Public Forum at Agogo Urban Council Hall.
- First visit to the Agogo Palace.
- Visit to the Agogo Police Station.

20th May, 2010 – Interactions with sub-chiefs of Agogo Traditional Council at Agogo Palace.

- Second meeting with ASP Odame at Konongo.

22nd May, 2010 – Journey to Accra prior to interaction with Nana Akuoko Sarpong.

23rd May, 2010 – Interactions with Nana Akuoko Sarpong and his sub-chiefs at his residence, Roman Ridge in Accra.

24th May, 2010 – Return Journey to Kumasi.

25th - 30th May, 2010 – Compilation of report.

31st May, 2010 – Handing over of report.

6.0 METHODOLOGY

The committee adopted all of the under listed methodological processes during the investigation as a means of verification and collection of primary data from respondents. These include:

- i. A field trip to the Afram Plains section of the Agogo Traditional Area where activities of Fulani herdsman were said to be prominent.
- ii. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) was held with inhabitants of Nyamebekyere, Bebome, Abrewapong, Mankaila/Oseikrom and Kowireso.
- iii. Unstructured interviews.
- iv. Public fora were held at Agogo

The committee also examined reports of the Municipal Security Committee, Crime Statistics from the Agogo District Police over the period January, 2009 to March, 2010, records of the Agogo Town Development Task Force, Agogo Traditional Council, Forestry Commission World Vision international and Lands Commission among others, as sources of secondary data collection to aid the investigation.

7.0 UNITS OF INVESTIGATION

The following persons either appeared before the committee or gave evidence pertaining to roles they played before, during and after the violent demonstration:

- i. Inhabitants of Nyamebekyere.
- ii. Inhabitants of Beboame.
- iii. Inhabitants of Abrewapong.
- iv. Inhabitants of Mankaila/Oseikrom.
- v. Inhabitants of Kowireso.
- vi. Dr. Solomon Mamo – Agogo Presbyterian Hospital.
- vii. Hon. Kwame Anyimadu Antwi, Member of Parliament for Asante Akim North Constituency.
- viii. Superintendent Emmanuel Afriyie Sakyi, Divisional Commander of Police, Konongo Police.
- ix. ASP/Mr. Samuel Kofi Odame, District Police Commander, Agogo.
- x. Inspector John Dzorkpey, Agogo District Police.
- xi. Detective Inspector Kobla Atatsi, Station Officer, Agogo District Police.
- xii. Detective Corporal Collins Arthur, Agogo District Police.
- xiii. Sergeant. Mary Adade - Agogo District Police.
- xiv. Public fora at Agogo Urban Council
- xv. Alhaji Ahmed Abdul Karimu Grunsah and other cattle farmers.
- xvi. Hon. Thomas Osei-Bonsu, MCE Asante Akim North Municipal Assembly.
- xvii. Nana Akuoko Sarpong paramount chief of Agogo Traditional Area and member of the Agogo Traditional Council.

8.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The committee after its deliberations and interactions with all identifiable stakeholders and interest groups in the impasse arrived at the findings below:

- i. Even though there were allegations of the murder of twenty (20) people over a period of 10 years from 2000 to 2010, the communities alleged seven (7) murders out of which only one (1) was established – Kofi Obeng (deceased) a tomato farmer at Bebuso whose case is pending at the High Court of Kumasi (see appendix). The remaining six (6) whose deaths could not be proven are Seidu Busanga, Zakari Kusasi, Alipoli Frafra, Akwasi Akaho, Issah Sisala and Osmanu Umaru (Fulani). It was established further that all those who alleged could not prove the involvement of any Fulani in the murders. Substantially, the committee observed that most of the serious cases of murder, rape and use of offensive weapons occurred prior to 'OPERATION COWLEG' in 2000/2001.
- ii. Three (3) rape cases allegedly involving Fulani were heard. Inhabitants of Bebome claimed Ama Dagarti was raped in 2006 by an unidentified Fulani man and she died afterwards. Afia Akyaa and Afia Amoako gave testimonies to an attempted rape/indecent assault on them by Fulani. Checks at the Agogo Presby Hospital indicated that there were no records of rape cases involving Fulani herdsmen. However the police have one (1) case of attempted rape involving a Fulani under investigation.
- iii. Investigation could not establish claims by inhabitants that Fulani herdsmen were armed to the teeth with sophisticated weapons such as AK 47 assault rifles, because none of these items came to notice throughout the investigation. The above notwithstanding, the Committee holds the view that by the nomadic nature of the Fulani, the possession of such weapons could be a possibility. Meanwhile it was confirmed that, Fulani herdsmen are in possession of sharp knives and cutlasses which they use even against each other. (see fig 1, 2 and 3 supra). However, the indigenes also confirmed the possession of weapons including single barreled guns which they use to defend themselves and their properties from the activities of Fulanis.

Fig. 1 Knives and other weapons retrieved from a Fulani trader.

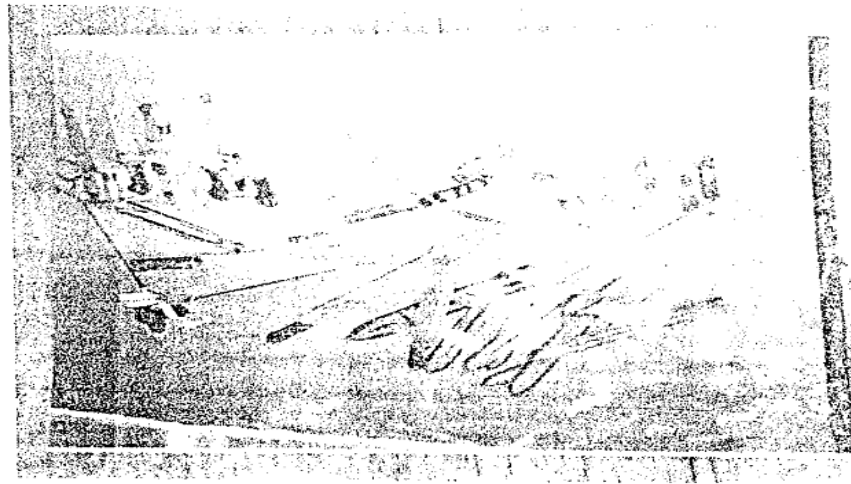


Fig. 2&3 Two Fulani herdsmen who inflicted cutlass wounds on each other whilst fighting



18.0 · RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are recommended by the committee based on the findings enumerated above:

- i. The police administration should investigate the six (6) other alleged murders, illegal possession of fire arms in the area and the rape cases reported by Afia Akyaa and Afia Amoako
- ii. Thomas Osei Bonsu aka Yaw Thomas aka Gyidi Sofo should be prosecuted for offensive conduct leading to breaches of the peace.
- iii. The Police should conduct adequate intelligence surveillance prior to all Demonstrations, Rallies, Assemblies and Processions (DRAPs) to forestall future recurrence.
- iv. ASP/Mr. Samuel Kofi Odame should be transferred to another station for his security and effectiveness.
- v. The police administration should provide prompt, fair and adequate compensation to Ebenezer Nti and the two others who sustained gunshot wounds and were treated at the Agogo Presby Hospital.
- vi. The police station should be detached from the barracks and effort should be made to complete the building project under construction. As an interim measure the present station/residential accommodation should be refurbished. Efforts should be made by the police administration to accommodate all personnel within the district in Agogo. The strength of the police personnel should be increased.
- vii. The Fulani herdsmen and their cattle should be flushed out of the entire Afram Plains because of the uncontrollable nature of their activities. Alternatively, their activities should be strictly regulated and the cattle confined to defined areas and corridors. Modern methods of cattle farming should be exploited.
- viii. All rifles and ammunitions in the custody of the Agogo Traditional Council and other Traditional Councils and palaces should be properly registered.

-
- ix. The Police Administration should establish Police Post(s) within the Afram Plains to make their services more accessible to the communities.
 - x. The Forestry Officers should be proactive in the management of the Forest Reserve to ensure that there are no encroachments.
 - xi. The leadership of the ATDTF should be sanctioned for breaches of the Public Order Act 1994, Act 491.
 - xii. The conduct of the MCE, Hon. Thomas Osei-Bonsu should be referred to the appointing authority for further action.
 - xiii. The indiscriminate purported sale or lease of government lands (Forest Reserve) by the Omanhene of Agogo Traditional Area, his elders and the registrar should be referred to the appropriate House of Chiefs.
 - xiv. The Municipal Assembly in collaboration with the Ghana Immigration Service should ascertain the status of the cattle farmers/herdsmen and regulate their activities where possible.

19.0 CONCLUSION

The recommendations stated above are without prejudice to any other sanctions/actions or otherwise that REGSEC would deem appropriate to implement to forestall any future recurrence of the situation.

Appendix 4: Kumasi High Court ruling

Original Document
20/1/2012

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE
IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (LAND
DIVISION) SITTING AT KUMASI ON FRIDAY
THE 20TH DAY OF JANUARY, 2012.

SUIT NO. LMISC. 11/2012

CORAM: ERIC BAAH, JUSTICE OF THE HIGH COURT

IN THE MATTER OF PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE
33 OF THE 1992 CONSTITUTION

AND

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATION FOR
JUDICIAL REVIEW IN THE NATURE OF
MANDATORY INJUNCTION BY:

1. OPANIN KWADWO ODURO
ABEREWAPONG, AGOGO.
2. OPANIN KWAKU TWENEBOAH,
MANKALA, AGOGO
3. OPANIN KWABENA OBENG,
NYAMEBEKYERE, AGOGO
4. MADAM MARY AKYAAMAH,
KOWRESO, AGOGO
5. KWADWO BOAMAH
ADONIEMU, AGOGO
6. KWADWO ANOKYE
BEBUSO, AGOGO
7. KOFI NYAME
BEBUSO, AGOGO
8. PESE DANQUAH, BEBOME

VRS:

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S
DEPARTMENT,
KUMASI | } RESPONDENTS |
| 2. AGOGO TRADITIONAL
COUNCIL | } |

CERTIFIED TRUE COPY
[Signature]
REGISTRAR
HIGH COURT-LAND DIVISION
KUMASI

J U D G M E N T

The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, article 33 (1) and (2) provides,

“(1) Where a person alleges that a provision of this constitution on the fundamental human rights and freedoms has been, or is being or is likely to be contravened in relation to him, then, without prejudice to any other action that is lawfully available, that person may apply to the High Court for redress.

(2) The High Court may, under clause (1) of this article, issue such direction or orders or writs including writs or orders in the nature of habeas corpus, certiorari, mandamus, prohibition, and quo warranto as it may consider appropriate for the purposes of enforcing or securing the enforcement of any of the provisions on the fundamental human rights and freedoms to the protection of which the person concerned is entitled” .

Article 33(4) mandated the Rules of Court Committee to make rules with respect to the practice and procedure of the Superior Courts regarding the ventilation of the rights of citizens in reference to article 33 of the constitution. In pursuance of articles 33 (4) and 157 (2), the Rules of Court Committee made the High Court (Civil Procedure) Rules, 2004, C.I. 47. The specific rules in C.I. 47 for the enforcement of fundamental human rights can be found in Order 67. The instant application has been brought under Order 67, C.I. 47. Ostensibly, it has also been brought under Order 55 of C.I. 47.

The motion paper dated 26/10/11, is praying the Court,

“... for an order of mandatory injunction directed at the Attorney-General of Republic of Ghana and the Agogo Traditional Council compelling them to cause to be removed from the following areas:

Aberewapong, Mankala Nyamebekyere, Kowerso, Adoniemu, Bobuso, Brahabebome all in the Agogo Traditional Area all nomadic Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from the Agogo Traditional Area”

There was a prayer for any other order or order(s) that the court might consider fit to give.

In the supporting affidavit attached to the motion, the Applicants, averred, inter alia,

1. That as natives of Agogo, Asante-Akim, they are variously farming on lands within the Agogo Traditional Area and hold usufructuary or possessory titles on the Agogo Stool Land.
2. That they have been farming on the land for many years; some having farmed on the land for over seventy years.
3. That prior to the advent of a large number of Fulani herdsmen in the mentioned villages, there was absolute peace and the Applicants and the other inhabitants resided in their villages, peacefully, and quietly enjoyed possession of their respective properties.
4. That the Fulani herdsmen have destroyed the peace hitherto enjoyed and have visited atrocities on the people without any provocation.
5. That since 1992, the Fulani herdsmen have either shot and killed or butchered the underlisted persons:

- Seidu Busanga
 - Kwame Sakari
 - Kume Fiape
 - Kwasi Akapho
 - Raphael Akpabili
 - Sissala Issifu
-
- Kofi Obeng
 - Sodzi Akpobli
 - Baba and his family of six
 - Gzibo

The places, the circumstances and year of the alleged killings were provided in some of the cases.

6. That Sodze Akpable (Kansanso), Kwasi Annor, Kofi Kiloka and Asante Abrewapong were shot at various times but were fortunate to have survived.
7. That recently and on 6/10/2011, Kwasi, Abu was shot and killed in his farm while Kwame Awuah was also shot and killed on 25/8/2011
8. That the Fulani Herdsmen usually kill farmers who dare to spray their plants with insecticides or weedicides since that Kills their cattle when they graze on those crops.
9. That the Fulani herdsmen also set fire to the dry bush in order that fresh weeds will germinate and this has caused destruction to several farmlands, including cocoa and food crops farms as well as having caused the collapse of the Bebome clinic which serves the above mentioned villages.
10. That as a result of the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, teachers are withdrawing their services from the affected communities because they cannot farm to supplement their income.
11. That in Bebuso village, the only stream, "Ponponsua" is shared by humans and

cattle which has resulted in hitherto unknown diseases in the village.

12. That within the Traditional Area, and at various times, Fulani herdsmen have raped, maimed and harassed individual farmers going about their legitimate businesses and activities.

13. That challenges raised by aggrieved farmers in respect of the destruction of their farms by the cattle are ruthlessly repressed.
14. That the Fulani herdsmen claim that certain lands have been purportedly leased to them by the Agogo Traditional Counsel (2nd respondent).
15. That the leases cannot affect the Applicants and other farmers who hold the usufructuary or possessory rights.
16. That the subject matter of the leases is a forest reserve but same was drafted in a manner as to deceive the authorities.
17. That all efforts made to various governmental bodies and institutions have failed to have the matter resolved.
18. That the menace of the Fulani herdsmen brought about social unrest within the Agogo Traditional Area, culminating in the setting up of a Committee of inquiry by the Ashanti Regional Security Council, which has since 31st may 2010 submitted its report to the Regional Security Council, but the recommendations of which have not been implemented to date. Portions of the report were exhibited as OKO 4. At the directive of the court however, a copy of the full report was supplied.

19. That individually and collectively, the Applicants live in total fear and despair as their right to life is being threatened every day by the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle.

20. That their constitutional right to life, to own and possess property, and engage in any economic activity of their choice is being taken away
21. That the government has the singular responsibility to protect their lives and property and their other rights enshrined in Chapter 5 of the constitution; in particular, in articles 12, 13, 14, 18 and 20
22. They ended on the note that it was in view of the preceding circumstances that the instant application has been brought under article 33 of the constitution for the enforcement of their rights under the constitution.

Annexed to the motion as exhibits were:

- (a) A deed of agreement (lease) over land between Nana Akuoko Sarpong, Omanhene of Agogo in the Ashanti-Akim District, Ashanti Region on the one part, and Alhaji Ahmed Abdul Karimu Grusah of the other part.
- (b) A resolution of the Agogo Mman Maa Kuo, Agogo Local Branch addressed to the Minister of the Interior, with copies to the following;
1. The Chief of Staff, office of the President
 2. The Vice President
 3. The Majority Leader in Parliament
 4. The Minister of Information
 5. The Co-ordinator, National Security Council
 6. His Highness, Otumfour Osei Tutu II, Asantehene, Kumasi.
 7. The Chairman, National House of Chiefs-Accra.
 8. The Ashanti Regional Minister, Kumasi
 9. The Chairman, Council of State
 10. The Inspector general of Police

11. the Ashanti Regional Police Commander.
12. The Ashanti Regional Security Council
13. The member of Parliament, Asante Akim North Municipal
14. The Chairman, Municipal Security Council, Konongo
15. Army Commander, Kumasi 4BM (sic)
16. The Registrar Agogo Traditional Council
17. The District Police Commander-Agogo
18. The Hon. Minister. Works & Housing.

- (c) A bill of indictment in respect of one Kofi Obeng, allegedly murdered by a Fulani herdsman
- (d) Report on Disturbances at Agogo on 30th April 2010-submitted by the Committee of Enquiry to the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC)
- (e) The following exhibits were also attached to a supplementary affidavit filed by the Applicants on 4/11/11.
- (i) Photograph of Kofi Obeng, farmer, allegedly killed by Fulani herdsmen in 2008
 - (ii) Photograph of Kwame Awuah Solomon, allegedly shot and killed by Fulani herdsmen.
 - (iii) A photograph depicting a scene of fire set to grass, allegedly by Fulani herdsmen, so that it will generate fresh grass for their cattle to feed on.

The Applicants filed a Statement of case on 1/11/11.

I perused the procedure as set out in Order 67 rule 2(1) and it did not require an applicant to file a statement of case. The statement of case therefore is strange and breaches the procedure for the enforcement of human rights as under Order 67.

Assuming same was filed under Order 55, it is still alien since Order 55 2(1) which stipulates the procedure for Judicial review does not require that a statement of case be filed. I decided therefore to ignore the statement of case filed by the Applicants.

On 3/11/11, the 1st Respondent filed an affidavit in response in which the procedure adopted by the Applicants was challenged as being foreign to our laws. In paragraphs 5 and 6 of the said affidavit, it was stated,

“5. That in the enforcement of fundamental human rights, the courts may issue prerogative writs in the nature of habeas corpus, certiorari, mandamus, prohibition and quo warranto as stipulated by law.

6. That the order of mandatory injunction as a fall out of the enforcement of fundamental human rights by the court is unknown in our law”

The 1st Respondent's attorney filed a supplementary affidavit on 9/11/11 in which the position taken in the earlier affidavit was repudiated. The averments in that affidavit admitted that, in enforcing the fundamental human rights under the constitution, the court may grant orders in the nature of mandatory injunction, as contended by the Applicants.

Even though the 2nd Respondent was duly served with the motion, affidavits and the exhibits, it failed to file any process in response to the application.

The matter was adjourned to 5/12/11 in the presence and to the knowledge of counsel for the 1st Respondent. On the 5/12/11, there was no representation for the 1st Respondent.

The 2nd Respondent had ignored the courts processes and shunned the court for the few times the case had been called. Since the Respondents provided no excuse or justification for their absence on 5/12/11, the court permitted the Applicants' counsel to move the motion in the absence of the Respondants.

Counsel for the Applicants' in his submissions stated that they have come to court under Order 55 C.I.47 to secure and enforce the rights of the Applicants under article 33 of the constitution. According to him, the fundamental human rights of the Applicants as captured in articles 12, 13, 14, 15 and most particularly, article 18 of the constitution, have been infringed upon. That prompted them to come to the proper forum, which is the High Court, for redress. He cited ADUSEI (NO2) V A.G (1998-1999) SCGLR 753 as his support.

He invited the court to take judicial notice of what is happening in the country; especially in the Agogo Traditional Council area, in relation to the Fulani herdsmen issue.

He doubted whether the Agogo Traditional Council could grant leases to the cattle owners to graze their animals on the affected lands without the knowledge and concurrence of the Applicants who are the usufruct owners.

Referring to paragraph 2(1) of the lease tendered as exhibit OK1, he argued that even if the leased land is indeed forest land, the Agogo Traditional Council has no capacity to grant leases over same.

According to him, the grantor was fully aware at the time of the granting of the lease that the grazing of the animals on the land will interfere with the property rights of the

Applicants; which is protected under article 18 (2) of the Constitution.

He contended that, cattle ranching involves the confinement of the animals at a specific area. In the instant case however, he claimed, there is no specific place to which the animals are confined. Rather, the herdsmen roam across the Traditional area during the day and the night, causing destruction to farms and water bodies; thereby creating great nuisance to the Applicants and other farmers.

He referred to the various nefarious activities allegedly committed by the Fulani herdsmen, including the destruction and burning of farms, the cutting of water melons for the cattle to use as water, rape, murder and pollution of drinking water source etc; all of which were captured by the Applicants in their affidavits.

He labeled the presence of the Fulani herdsmen on the land as illegal, and their alleged nefarious activities as confirming the fear the Traditional Council itself entertained in the lease.

According to him, even though the report of the Committee set up to investigate the issue (exhibit OKA4) recommended the flushing out of the Fulani herdsmen, the Executive arm has failed to act over a year after the report came out.

In the face of the harassment and executive in-action, he posited, the Applicants have no where else to go than to seek sanctuary at the court.

He revealed that he could not find any case to back the application, in spite of his strenuous search, but was optimistic that the application was rightly before the court. He referred to the affidavit of the 1st Respondent's legal officer confirming the rightness (at least in them) of the remedy they seek, and the failure to challenge the Applicants averments and concluded that the application ought to be granted.

He prayed that the application be granted and an order issued for the flushing out of the Fulani herdsmen as recommended by the committee of Inquiry.

I have stated supra that the 2nd Respondent did not file any affidavit in response or at all. The failure of the 2nd Respondent to file any affidavit in opposition creates the assumption that it admits the factual averments of the Applicants in their affidavits.

In FRANCIS ASSUMING & 640 & ORS V DIVESTITURE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE & ORS (2008) 3 GMJ 35 THE Supreme Court held,

“(4) A party who is served with a motion supported by an affidavit but does not file any affidavit in opposition to what is deposed to against him stands a high risk of having the notion granted against him. Where no affidavit is filed in opposition to another in support of a motion, the effect in law is that no issue is joined between the parties. In the absence of any deposition in an affidavit in opposition the respondent is deemed to have admitted the supporting affidavit, albeit, sub silentio “

The failure by the 2nd Respondent to challenge the Applicants' averments only amount to admission of the factual averments: the 2nd Respondent could raise legal objections to the application under the authority of REPUBLIC V COURT OF APPEAL, ACCRA; EX-PARTE TSATSU TSIKATA (2005-2006) SCGLR 612 and BONSUV EYIFAH & ANOR (2001-2002) 1 GLR 9.

As the records indicate, the 2nd Respondent failed to turn up on the day the motion was moved, to raise any legal objections to same.

The 1st Respondent has also conceded to the right (in theory) of the Applicants to the grant of the application .

The failure of the Respondents' to contest the matter does not resolve into an automatic right of the Applicants to

the grant of the application. The court has a duty to examine the application microscopically and determine same on its merits.

In the EX-PARTE TSATSU TSIKATA case (supra), the Supreme Court held, inter alia, (holding 3),

“...where it was the court’s discretionary jurisdiction which was being invoked, the court or tribunal seized with the matter, was under a legal obligation to determine whether, in any event, on the merits, the applicant was entitled to the prayer sought”.

I proceed to discharge my duty by a consideration of the one-sided application on its merits.

The Constitution, article 18 (1) provides,

- “(1) Every person has the right to own property either alone or in association with others.**
- (2) No person shall be subjected to interference with the privacy of his home, property... except in accordance with law and as may be necessary in a free and democrate society for public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the protection of health or morals, for the prevention of disorder or for the protection of the rights or freedoms of others”**

Article 13 (1) of the constitution also provides,

“No person shall be deprived of life intentionally except in the exercise of the execution of a sentence of a court in respect of criminal offence under the laws of Ghana of which she has been convicted”

The Applicants claim that their right to life and to own property and live in peace and in security are being trampled upon by Fulani herdsmen operating in the subject traditional area. They also allege that some members of the community have been deprived of their lives extra-judiciary by Fulani herdsmen. This is not the

first time people from the area have made such complaints and issued protestations. Exhibit "OKO 2" shows that on the 13/2/11, representatives of virtually all identifiable groups and associations met at the Agogo Community Centre, to among others,

"... Discuss the social, economical and environment problems caused by Fulani herdsmen and their cattle on Agogo sections of Afram Plains of Asante Akim North Municipality..."

On the agenda for discussion was the killing of certain persons allegedly by Fulani herdsmen, destruction of farms and crops, raping of women on their farm, causing of bush fires, threat to farmers who spray their crops with chemicals, close down of Bebome clinic and schools, use of weapons by Fulani herdsmen and pollution of rivers and streams, among others. In all, representatives of 21 groups and associations are listed as having taken part in the meeting.

At the end of the meeting, it was decided,

"...To this end, the various aforementioned groups and citizens of Agogo strongly appeal to the Minister of Interior working in collaboration with the Regional Security Council, the Municipal Assembly Asante Akim North and the Agogo Traditional Council to intervene with a sense of urgency by evacuating and removing all the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from Agogo Stool lands..."

The meeting of the citizens of Agogo aforementioned had been preceded by a demonstration on 30/4/10, during which police allegedly fired some shots, injuring a number of persons. The meeting of the associations on 13/2/11 was to demand quick action on the report of the committee set by the government, pursuant to the 30/4/10 disturbances.

The Dadson Committee which was set up by the government after the events of 30/4/10, made a lot of far reaching recommendations. The seventh (vii) and

thirteenth (xiii) are the most relevant to the instant application. They are as follows,

“(vii) The Fulani herdsmen and their cattle should be flushed out of the entire Afram Plains because of the uncontrollable nature of their activities. Alternatively their activities should be strictly regulated and the cattle confined to defined areas and corridors. Modern methods of cattle farming should be exploited”

“(xiii) The indiscriminate purported sale or lease of government lands (Forest Reserve) by the Omanhene of Agogo traditional Area; his elders and the Registrar should be referred to the appropriate House of chiefs”

The second recommendation aforementioned ties in with exhibit “OKO1”, tendered by the Applicants. By that exhibit, the Agogohene, Nana Akuoko Sarpong and his principal Elders of Agogo Traditional Council, purportedly granted a lease of land on their stool land to Alhaji Ahmed Abdul Karimu Grusah, for the purpose of cattle farming. As the Dadson Committee established, the said grant was over a Forest Reserve. With all due difference to his revered royal highness; the Omanhene of Agogo Traditional area, Nana Akuoko Sarpong and his Principal Elders had no capacity, authority or right to grant government reserved forest land to cattle rearers for cattle farming.

The action of leasing forest land amounts to a criminal offence under the Forest Protection Act, 1974, (NRCD 243). Section 1 of NRCD 243 provides,

“Any person who in a forest reserve, without the written authority of the competent forest authority...”

- (i) pastures cattle or permits cattle to trespass,
Commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding five hundred penalty units

or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years or to both the fine and the imprisonment”.

The fact that the lease was granted over portions of government forest land, as alleged by the Applicants, is supported by the conclusions of the Dadson Committee.

As to why a well known, distinguished chief, statesman and politician could flout the laws of the land in this manner, I cannot fathom.

The lesee, Alhaji Grusah, cannot actually feed, or purport to feed his cattle on forest land reserved for posterity, and for the control and management of environmental conditions.

If it is argued by them that the lease is not over forest land, the answer will be that the chief and his elders could not have granted a lease by which cattle could graze on the land of his subjects or farmers without the knowledge, consent or concurrence of the subjects or farmers who are in possession of the said farms.

Coming back to recommendation seven (vii).

The court is mindful of article 12 (1) of the constitution which stipulates,

“The fundamental human rights and freedoms enshrined in this chapter shall be respected and upheld by the Executive, Legislative and all other organs of government and its agencies and, where applicable to them, by all natural and legal persons in Ghana, and shall be enforceable by the courts as provided for in this Constitution”

From the motion paper, affidavits, the annexures, and from the submissions of the Applicants’ counsel and the laws referred to supra, it is evident that, the Applicants who are natives or residents of the Agogo Traditional Area, and also are citizens or residents of Ghana, have a right to life and property, and the right to protection of same by organs of the state. It is not in doubt also that where a breach or threat of breach of the rights appears,

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the state, on application to same, has the duty to protect the rights or prevent further breaches.

The above resolves into the final issue; which is as to whether the Applicants are entitled to the grant of the instant application.

The problem is not, and can no more be seen as a contest between landowners and trespassers in the form of herdsmen and their cattle. The problem has engulfed a whole traditional area, and even beyond. It has, and still affects a huge number of persons and their livelihoods. I take judicial notice of the numerous reports in the media of alleged clashes, crimes and other activities of the said herdsmen which has taken centre stage in the country for some time now.

The setting up of the Dadson Committee by the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC) amplifies the point that, the problem is no longer between a few land owners or farmers and some Fulani herdsmen. The matter has achieved regional and even national notoriety and dimensions. That may explain why the Associations of Agogo served their resolution on very critical officers of the state; including the office of the President and the Vice President etc.

In his submissions, counsel for the Applicants' stated that, they seek remedies under Order 55, C.I. 47. I do not think he was right. Order 55 deals with applications for judicial review. The instant application is not for the judicial review of any action. The action has been brought under article 33 of the constitution; to enforce the fundamental human rights of the Applicants. Order 55 therefore has no portion in this application.

The procedure for enforcing article 33 is provided by Order 67 which is clearly headed "Enforcement of Fundamental Human Rights"

I do not believe that the Applicants could have, in a single application, moved the court for enforcement of their fundamental human rights under the procedures of

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Order 67, and at the same time moved the court for judicial review under Order 55. A combination of the two applications will create a hydra-headed caricature, a monster with toxic venom which I have no means to control, direct or manipulate.

My view is that, the application should have been brought specifically under Order 33 of the Constitution and Order 67 of C.I. 47. In fact, that was what was done. What confused the application was the inclusion in the heading, of "Order 55".

The wrong heading however cannot denigrate from the substance of the application.

In **THE REPUBLIC V THE HIGH COURT, ACCRA, EX-PARTE MILLICOM GHANA LTD (SUPERPHONE CO LTD INTERESTED PARTY) SC** Civil Motion No. JS/43/2008, Atuguba JSC, put the matter beyond doubt when he stated at P.3,

"... If a court has jurisdiction over a matter I do not think that the erroneous citation of the relevant rule matters".

The court considers the application as having been brought for the enforcement of the fundamental human rights of the Applicants under article 33 of the Constitution and Order 67 of C.I. 47.

The presence of "Order 55" is not welcome and same and is struck off.

I understand the reason why the Applicants' counsel had to "arrest" "Order 55" and produce it in this case.

The application is praying for a "mandatory injunction", but Order 67 (8) which stipulates the specific orders the court can make, did not mention "mandatory injunction".

He needed not to have worried.

When an applicant comes under article 33 and Order 67, the "directives, orders or writs" that the court may issue are as contained in Order 67 rule 8. The said rule provides,

“The court may issue such directions, orders or writs including writs or orders in the nature of habeas corpus, certiorari, Mandamus, prohibition and quo warrant as it may consider appropriate for the enforcing or securing the enforcement of any of the provisions on the ~~fundamental human rights and freedoms of the~~ constitution to the protection of which the applicant is entitled”

The fact that mandatory injunction was not mentioned by Order 67 (8) does not mean that it is excluded. Clearly, the *expressio unius est exclusio alterius* rule does not apply here. The orders mentioned are among the other ones not mentioned, but which can be made. That is why the orders mentioned is preceded by the word “including”. The other ones not mentioned are not excluded.

Mandatory injunction belongs to the class of prerogative writs, orders or directives such as habeas corpus, certiorari, mandamus, prohibition and quo warranto.

I conclude that, I have the jurisdiction under order 67 (8) to issue an order of mandatory injunction.

In, conclusion, the application has merit and same is upheld.

The Applicants’ exhibited some confusion as to the person or body against whom the Order should be issued.

The motion paper itself prays that the Order should be issued against the Attorney-General and the Agogo Traditional Council.

The petition of the Agogo Mma Associations was directed primarily to the Minister of the Interior. Meanwhile, it is the Regional Security Council (REGSEC) which set up the committee whose recommendation the application is seeking to enforce. In his submissions, counsel for the Applicants prayed that

an order should be made for the enforcement of the recommendations of the Dadson Committee.

The Regional Co-ordinating Council has over-all responsibility for this region. The Dadson Committee was set up by the REGSEC. The Dadson Committee presented its report to the REGSEC which specifically is in charge of security issues in the Region.

Any Order for the implementation of the recommendations of the Dadson Committee, in the circumstances can properly only be made against the REGSEC.

The court hereby issues a mandatory injunction directed at the REGSEC, Ashanti Region, (and by implication, the Regional Coordinating Council and the Executive branch of Ghana) to take immediate, decisive efficacious and efficient action to flush out all cattle in the following villages and localities in the Agogo Traditional/Area in the Akim North Municipality: Aberewapong, Mankala Nyamebekyere, Kowereso, Adoniemu, Bobuoso, and Brahabebome.

The only exception are cattle that have been properly confined in a permitted locality.

Anyone who engages in a trade or business must be ready for it. Those who rear cattle must do so properly. That means, confining the cattle and feeding them at the confined area. The time has come to end the nomadic cattle rearing tradition in this country. It sharply conflicts with the rights and activities of food crop farmers who constitute the majority.

Any cattle farmer without the means to confine his cattle and fend for them is not ready for that business, and must get out of that business for another one.

Professionalism and propriety cannot only be demanded of politicians, judges, lawyers, doctors, policemen, teachers and the like. Farmers, painters, cobblers and every one living under the constitution must act with

Appendix 5: Evacuation plan

A PLAN FOR THE EVACUATION OF FULANI CATTLE FROM ABREWAPONG, MANKALA, NYAMEBEKYERE, KOWERESO, ADONIEMU, BEBUOSO AND BRAHABEBOME, ALL IN THE AGOGO TRADITIONAL AREA

(REPORT OF THE AGOGO FULANI CATTLE EVACUATION PLAN COMMITTEE)

**SUBMITTED TO THE ASHANTI REGIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
(REGSEC)**

MAY 2012

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APPENDICES

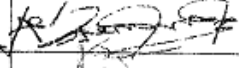
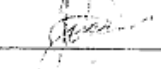
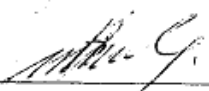


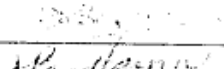
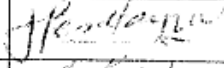
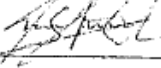

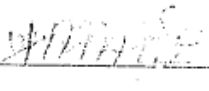

APPENDIX:	TESTIMONIES BY ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND CATTLE OWNERS
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APPENDIX III:	COPY OF COURT ORDER
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

REGSEC	REGIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
RCC	REGIONAL CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL
MUSEC	MUNICIPAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISEC	DISTRICT SECURITY COUNCIL
AANMA	ASANTE AKIM NORTH MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

C E R T I F I C A T I O N

We, the undersigned members of the Agogo Fulani Cattle Evacuation Committee having discharged our Terms of Reference hereby certify that this Plan /Report is a true reflection of the Committee's recommendations derived from its observations, findings and consultations with stakeholders, as witnessed our hands on the day hereunder written:

NAME	STATUS	SIGNATURE	DATE
1. Mr Bempong Marfo (Regional Security Liaison Officer)	Chairman		08-06-12
2. Lt. John Jabare (Rep. of GOC, Northern Command)	Member		08/06/12
3. DCOP Augustine Gyenin who replaced DCOP Patrick Timbilla (Regional Police Commander)	Member		08/06/12
4. C.S.O. Alex Daary (Regional BNI Commander)	Member		08/06/12
5. Nana Kwame Nti (Rep. of Agogo Traditional Council)	Member		08/06/12
6. Dr. F.S.K. Owusu (Rep. of Agogoman Mma Kuo)	Member		08/06/12
7. Mr. Pese Danquah (Rep. of Concerned Youth of Agogo)	Member		08/06/12
8. Mr. Kwaku Attah (Rep. of Agogo Youth Association)	Member		08/06/12
9. Alhaji Karimu Grunsah (Rep of Cattle Owners, Agogo Afram Plains)	Member		08/06/12
1. Alhaji Mierago 2. (Rep of Cattle Owners, Agogo Afram Plains)	Member		08/06/12
3. Mr. Michael B. Ataogye (Municipal Co-Ordinating Director)	Member/Secretary		08/06/12

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC) for the trust reposed in it; the Asante Akim North Municipal Assembly for servicing its meetings; the Asante Akim Municipal Security Council (MUSEC) and the Security Task Force Commanders in the Agogo Afram Plains who undertook much of the field work on its behalf, and to all those who gave evidence before it and did enable the accomplishment of this important assignment.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.0 Introduction

Following a mandatory injunction issued by a Kumasi High Court on 20th January, 2012 and directed at the Ashanti Regional Security Council (REGSEC)/Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) "to take immediate, decisive, efficacious and efficient action to flush out all the cattle from Aberewapong, Mankala, Nyamebekyere, Kowereso, Adoniemu, Bebuoso and Brahabebome, all in the Agogo Traditional area. The only exceptions being cattle that have been properly confined in a permitted locality", the REGSEC at its January 31, 2012 meeting set up and inaugurated an 11-member Committee under the Chairmanship of the Regional Security Liaison Officer (Mr. Bempong Marfo) on 7th February 2012 to fashion out an Evacuation Plan in order to carry out the High Court's Order.

2.0 Terms of Reference

The Committee's Terms of Reference were:

- a. To work out an evacuation plan for the immediate flushing out of the cattle from the villages mentioned;
- b. Make any recommendations which in the view of the Committee would prevent the cattle from returning to the area and
- c. To, within two weeks from 7th February, 2012, submit its report and recommendations to REGSEC for further action.

3.0 Challenges

The Committee could not meet the two-week deadline for the submission of its Report-the Plan - due to the following challenges encountered:

- The difficulty in establishing the true identity and number of cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen compounded by physical (locational) and language barriers, and refusal by the herdsmen and cattle owners to show up for fear of being arrested.
- Difficulty in establishing the total number of cattle and their actual locations due the nomadic methods employed by the Fulani herdsmen.
- The failure/refusal of the majority of the cattle owners and herdsmen to voluntarily vacate by the April 30, 2012 deadline.
- The inability of the cattle owners and herdsmen to indicate where-else they will relocate since no community is prepared to tolerate them.

4.0 Findings

These challenges notwithstanding, the Committee after five sittings and field reports from the Security Task Force Commanders in the Afram Plains found out among other things that:

- (1) About ten thousand (10,000) cattle have to be flushed out of the Asante Akim Agogo portion of the Afram Plains.
- (2) The cattle do graze at night too and do cause damage to crops/farms and pollute streams and rivers which also serve as critical sources of water for the communities.
- (3) The cattle owners, Alhaji Grunsaḥ and the five others inclusive, do not (in the full sense of the term) have valid title to the lands for their cattle business.
- (4) Apart from the known Alhaji Grunsaḥ group, other cattle owners and herdsmen from adjoining localities in the Eastern Region also graze their cattle on Agogo lands. And that the cattle move about in the nomadic fashion to graze anywhere that they find pasture.
- (5) The owners confessed that in the event of confining their animals in kraals, it would be tedious to provide water and fetch fodder for them in their confinement.
- (6) All who appeared before the Committee appreciated the High Court's Order and the need for its implementation except that the cattle owners pleaded for more time to either properly confine their cattle or arrange to vacate the area.

Recommendations - the PLAN

The Committee settled on two alternative evacuation options on which its Plan/Report is based:

- (1) Voluntary exit by the cattle owners and herdsmen with their cattle which the Committee found less costly and more convenient; and therefore sought to achieve through persuasion and dialogue, and so requested for additional time for the Committee's work; OR
- (2) The last resort, being the forceful ejection of the cattle together with the herdsmen after the April 30, 2012 deadline for the voluntary pull-out.

Recommended Action

Now that the majority of the cattle owners and herdsmen refused/failed to voluntarily exit from the forbidden localities, the Forceful Ejection Plan will have to be implemented; and the cost of doing so is conservatively estimated at Fifty-two Thousand Ghana cedis (GH¢52,000.00) out of

[an overall estimate of Sixty-seven Thousand Ghana cedis (GH¢67,000.00) without a provision for compensation in the event of destroying properties of third parties.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report is in two parts. Part I offers the background to the Agogo Fulani cattle and herdsmen issue and the setting up of the Evacuation Plan Committee. The methodology adopted by the Committee, its findings, conclusions drawn and the recommendations made, culminating in the Plan of Action (the Committee's main task), the implementation of which should give effect to the January 20, 2012 High Court Order.

The Plan of Action that follows in Part II outlines the activities to be undertaken by stakeholders, the resources required and the timeframe within which the cattle should vacate the designated communities in Agogo Afram Plains.

2.0 BACKGROUND TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE

The Agogo Traditional area, within the area of authority of the Asante Akim North Municipal Assembly in the Ashanti Region, has a large proportion of the Afram plains which spans the entire middle belt of Ghana covering parts of the Northern, Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern and Volta Regions.

To unlock the rich potential of the Afram Plains, Government in addition to providing incentives to farmers, applied part of the Millennium Challenge Compact to the construction of a first class 75.21km road from Agogo to Dome in the Eastern Region which was commissioned by His Excellency the Vice President (Mr. John Dramani Mahama) on 27th April, 2012.

The fertile soils and climatic conditions are suitable for crop cultivation and animal husbandry and so, have attracted several farmers who cultivate varieties of food and cash crops being cassava, plantain, yam, cocoyam, maize, rice, vegetables, cashew and cocoa. Similarly, large scale cattle rearing is undertaken by business men who rely on the services of Fulani herdsmen.

Obviously, conflict between crop farmers and cattle owners/herdsmen was to be expected and contained; but in recent times however, cases of murder, rape, destruction of crops, farmlands and the vegetation/forest through bush fires, and pollution of water bodies have been reported with accusing fingers pointing at the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle in the Agogo portion of the Afram Plains.

Unfortunately, the alleged criminal activities by some of the Fulani herdsmen and the havoc caused by their cattle have since the latter part of 2007 been on the ascendency resulting in:

- Widespread resentment and agitations amongst the Agogo community led by various groups such as Agogoman Mma Kuo, Concerned Citizens of Agogo, Agogo Youth Association, etc.
- A self-imposed ban on the observance of funerals by the Agogo community until the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle are flushed out. This ban was however lifted in February 2012 following interventions by the Municipal Security Council and the setting up of the Evacuation Plan Committee in February 2012.
- Demonstrations including calls for the destoolment of the Agogo Paramount Chief, Nana Akuoko Sarpong, who had granted a fifty-year lease to Alhaji Karimu Grunsah and five others to rear cattle in the area and consequently drawing in many other cattle owners and nomadic herdsmen.
- The setting up of the Dadson Committee by the REGSEC (following a mass demonstration at Agogo in April 2010) which recommended, among other things, the flushing out of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle from Agogo lands due to the uncontrollable nature of their activities.
- The engagement of the leadership of the Agogo community, the farmers and the cattle owners by REGSEC in the quest for peaceful co-existence, but to no avail.
- The maintenance of a combined Military-Police Security Task Force in the Afram plains area at the instance of the National Security Council, and the relocation of the cattle away from farms and human settlements but without the desired results.
- Nana Akuoko Sarpong himself resorting to court action to compel the cattle owners to leave Agogo, and
- Finally, a Kumasi High Court mandatory injunction, directed at REGSEC/Ashanti Regional Co-ordinating Council "to take immediate, decisive, efficacious and efficient action to flush out all the cattle from Aberewapong, Mankala, Nyamebekyere, Kowerso, Adoniemu, Bebuoso and Brahabehome, all in the Agogo Traditional area. The only exceptions being cattle that have been properly confined in a permitted locality".

To ensure smooth movement of the said cattle from the designated areas and to reduce the social cost of the exercise, REGSEC at its January 31, 2012 meeting set up an 11-member Committee under the Chairmanship of the Regional Security Liaison Officer (Mr. Bempong Marfo) to come out with an evacuation plan for the immediate flushing out of the cattle from the villages aforementioned.

The rest of the members were:

- Brig. Gen. R.K. Opoku Adusei – GOC Northern Command represented by Lt. John Jabare.
- DCOP Patrick Timbillah – Regional Police Commander replaced in April 2012 by DCOP Augustine Gyeni who took over as Ashanti Regional Police Commander.
- C.S.O. Alex Daary – Regional BNI Commander
- Dr. F.S.K. Owusu – Representative of Agogoman Mma Kuo
- Mr. Kwaku Attah – Representative of Agogo Youth Association
- Mr. Pese Danquah – Representative of Concern Youth of Agogo
- Nana Kwame Nti – Representative of Agogo Traditional Council
- Alhaji Karimu Grunsah – Representative of Cattle Owners, Afram Plains
- Alhaji Mierago – Representative of Cattle Owners, Afram Plains
- Mr. Michael B. Ataogyee – Member/Secretary (Asante Akim North Municipal Co-ordinating Director).

3.0 APPOINTMENT AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Committee was appointed vide Ashanti Regional Co-ordinating Council letter numbered SCR.AB89/139/01e of 1st February 2012:

- a. To work out an evacuation plan for the immediate flushing out of the cattle from the villages mentioned.
- b. Make any recommendations which in the view of the Committee would prevent the cattle from returning to the area.
- c. To, within two weeks from 7th February, 2012, submit its report and recommendations to REGSEC for further action.

4.0 COMMITTEE'S PROCEDURE/METHODOLOGY

In addition to meetings and field trips conducted on its behalf by the Asante Akim North Municipal Security Council (MUSEC) and the Security Task Force at Agogo Afram Plains, the Committee's methodology included consultations with local opinion leaders, Assembly members, the cattle owners/herdsmen themselves and persons who have information relevant to its Terms of Reference.

The Committee held five meetings in all. The first was on Tuesday 7th February, 2012 soon after its inauguration by the Honourable Regional Minister at the Regional Co-ordinating Council Conference room, Kumasi. And having agreed that subsequent meetings be held at Konongo.

the second meeting was held there on Tuesday, 14th February, 2012 where statements from cattle owners, herdsmen, Assembly members and opinion leaders were taken (See Appendix I). The third meeting was held at Konongo on Friday 9th March, 2012 and feedback obtained from the Agogo Police Commander's the Security Task Force's meeting with the Fulani herdsmen (see Appendix I). The Committee's last two meetings held at the Regional Co-ordinating Council on Tuesday 17th April and Monday 7th May, 2012 respectively reviewed its Interim Report submitted to the REGSEC and concluded on the Evacuation Plan document, i.e. its Report. The Committee agreed on 30th April 2012 as the deadline for a voluntary pull-out of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle by their principals, the cattle owners. That on the expiry of the deadline, a forceful evacuation exercise, after REGSEC has approved the Plan, should follow.

4.1 Challenges Encountered

The following challenges notwithstanding, the Committee accomplished its task; except that it took thirteen, instead of the two weeks originally assigned to submit its Report -the Plan:

- Difficulty in establishing the true identity and number of cattle owners (other than Alhaji Grunsah and the five others who had a 50-year lease from the Agogohene) and Fulani herdsmen compounded by physical (locational) and language barriers.
- Refusal of most of the cattle owners and herdsmen to show up for fear of getting arrested.
- Impracticability of establishing the total number of cattle and their actual locations due to the nomadic methods employed by the Fulani herdsmen.
- The failure/refusal of the majority of the cattle owners and herdsmen to voluntarily vacate the Afram Plains by the April 30, 2012 deadline.
- The inability of the cattle owners and herdsmen to indicate where-else they will relocate since no community is prepared to tolerate them; which in turn constrained the Committee from mapping out the exit route/ corridor for the cattle out of Asante Akim.

5.0 FINDING OF FACT

In all, six Assembly members, four cattle owners (other than the known Alhaji Grunsah and five others) and two opinion leaders gave information on:

- The number and identity of cattle owners/herdsmen
- Estimated number of cattle that graze in the areas of concern
- Localities/operational areas of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle
- Other relevant issues on the activities of herdsmen and their cattle.

(See Appendix I for the testimonies of those who appeared before the Committee at Konongo on Tuesday 14th February and Friday 9th March, 2012).

5.1 Summary of Findings

The Committee's interaction with those who appeared before it at its Konongo sittings brought out the following:

- (1) Thousands of cattle are found in most communities within the electoral areas of the Assembly members who testified.
- (2) The cattle do graze at night too, and cause damage to crops/farms.
- (3) The animals drink from nearby streams and rivers which also serve as critical sources of water for the communities.
- (4) On occasions where crops/farms are destroyed by the cattle and reports are lodged at the Agogo Police Station, the cattle owners/herdsmen pay compensation when invited by the Police who also facilitate such settlements.
- (5) The cattle owners, Alhaji Grunsih and the five others inclusive, do not (in the full sense of the term) have valid titles to the lands for their cattle business.
- (6) Apart from the known Alhaji Crunsih group, other cattle owners and herdsmen from adjoining localities in the Eastern Region also graze their cattle on Agogo lands.
- (7) The cattle move about in the nomadic fashion to graze anywhere that they find fodder.
- (8) The cattle owners have not provided the requisite confinements and water sources for their animals.
- (9) The owners confessed that in the event of confining their animals in kraals, it would be tedious to provide water and fetch fodder for them in their confinement.
- (10) All who appeared before the Committee appreciated the High Court's order and the need for its implementation except that the cattle owners pleaded for more time to either properly confine their cattle or arrange to vacate the area.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion reached by the High Court, several opinions expressed and by this Committee are that the activities of the Fulani herdsmen have adversely affected crop cultivation and disrupted social life in the Agogo area. For, farmers, teachers, school children, health workers, market women, apart from being displaced, are afraid to go about their normal duties. Therefore, as the High Court has ordered, the cattle, and for that matter the Fulani herdsmen, have to be flushed out from Aberewapong, Mankala, Nyamebikyere, Kowereso, Adoniemu, Bebuase and Brahabebome in particular and generally from Agogo stool lands.

7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee, having agreed that two options were open to the cattle owners: i.e. (1) Voluntary vacation of the designated localities by the cattle owners and their herdsmen by a specific deadline (30/04/12) or (2) their forceful evacuation by the security agencies, accordingly recommends that forceful evacuation, though an option, should be the last resort due to its economic (in terms of time, personnel and logistics) and social costs (in terms of reactions bordering on "cruelty to animals" if the cattle have to be shot at and imminent calls for handling the matter with a "human face").

Besides, further destruction of property along the exit corridor which itself will have to be determined in consultation with neighbouring districts/regions cannot be ruled out.

That the better option is therefore the voluntary exit by the herdsmen and their cattle which can be achieved through dialogue and persuasion, for they by themselves would have determined their mode of exit either by carting the cattle away in articulated trucks or on foot. They will nevertheless be aided by the Security to move out, since the expected co-operation from the cattle owners/herdsmen will make the exercise less costly and less inconveniencing.

This notwithstanding, failure to voluntarily vacate within the stipulated timeframe (ending 30th April, 2012) will invite forceful eviction by the security. Local vigilante groups should be formed to assist in implementing and monitoring the evacuation exercise, and to prevent the return of the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle.

The Committee, in addition, wishes to recommend that modern methods of cattle rearing (to include their confinement) be adopted as a policy to be fostered by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

Recommended Action

In spite of the fact that the option of voluntary pull-out of the herdsmen with their cattle was agreed upon by all stake holders as being the more convenient action, and that at the lapse of the deadline – 30th April, 2012, only two of the cattle owners have taken advantage of that option and vacated the place but the rest have since failed to comply with the agreed decision.

The Committee hereby recommends to REC SEC the application of the alternative option of Forceful Evacuation of the herdsmen and their cattle from the Agogolands. The implementation of this action should be in accordance with the Action Plan herewith attached.

Since the Fulani issue in Agogo is not an isolated case in the country, the Committee recommends that a lasting/national solution be found by Central Government Institutions such as National Security Council, the Ministry of interior and Parliament etc.

The Committee, in addition wishes to recommend that modern methods of cattle rearing (to include their confinement) be adopted as a policy to be fostered by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

I ART II

ACTION PLAN FOR THE EVACUATION OF FULANI HERDSMEN AND THEIR CATTLE FROM ABREWAPONG, MANKALA, NYAMEBEKYERE, KOWERESO, ADONIEMU, BEBUOSO AND BRAHABEBOME ALL IN THE AGOGO TRADITIONAL AREA IN FURTHERANCE OF THE JANUARY 20, 2012 HIGH COURT ORDER.

INTRODUCTION

Based on the Committee's recommendations, particularly the two evacuation options available to the cattle owners and their herdsman, and appreciating that flushing out the cattle as ordered by the High Court is a process and therefore requires a roadmap agreeable to all stakeholders; two alternative Plans of Action have been produced.

- **Plan A** for voluntary vacation of the designated localities by the cattle owners and the Fulani herdsman with their cattle, not later than April 30, 2012: **OR** (failing which)
- **Plan B** (the last resort) for forceful ejection of the cattle, and consequently the Fulani herdsman, by the security agencies should be applied.

Provided in Appendix II is therefore a Matrix for the two Plans of Action indicating a number of operational options such as: (1) Carting away the cattle into cargo vehicles, (2) Driving them out on foot, (3) Confiscation or shoot and kill cattle whose owners will not co-operate, etc.

It must be noted that it is not only Ahaji Grunsaah and the five others who had an agreement with Nana Agogohene that the security personnel have to deal with, but several other cattle owners and herdsman who are not known to neither the Agogo Traditional Council nor the Municipal Assembly.

The number of Fulani cattle to deal with is estimated at ten thousand (10,000), but the total number of cattle owners and Fulani herdsman in the Agogo portion of the Afram Plains is not known.

Objective: A Plan produced to ensure the smooth evacuation of Fulani cattle from the seven designated villages and to prevent their return, when implemented.

PLAN A: Voluntary Exit

The Committee in consultation with Ahaji Grunsaah and the five others agreed on a voluntary evacuation period to lapse on 30th April, 2012. This accounted for the extension of the period within which the Committee was required to submit its report from two to

thirteen weeks. Fortunately, two of the cattle owners (Alhaji Kassim Dauda and Alhaji Fuseini) took advantage of this offer and vacated with their cattle.

Plan B: Forceful Evacuation by the Security

This is to take the form of:

(i) Moving the cattle out of the seven designated locations with the possibility of the cattle still being on Agogo Asante Akim lands, and the Court Order will have been implemented.

(ii) Applying force which may call for shooting at the cattle.

(iii) Confiscating cattle of recalcitrant owners and herdsmen to the State relying on the appropriate legal instrument.

(iv) Relocating the cattle out of the seven communities forbidden by the Court Order to an agreed site (possibly at Asimesu No II, Dawiaso, Mantukwa Mpesempese, the forest reserve, etc.) and manage them there until further notice.

(v) Quarantining (possibly at Asimesu No II, Dawiaso, Mantukwa Mpesempese, the forest reserve, etc) the cattle outside the communities forbidden by the Court Order, and scheduling/effecting their exit from Agogo stool lands.

In all the five cases above, surveillance will be mounted by the Police/Military Task Force and local vigilante groups.

(vi) Expel Fulani herdsmen for illegal entry and stay, and sanction their principals for employing them illegally.

Caution: There is the likelihood that many communities will suffer the destruction of their properties by the cattle when scattered. An exit route/corridor out of the forbidden communities or from Agogo Afram Plains generally will have to be determined in consultation with stakeholders and neighbouring communities/District Assemblies/Security Councils.

Activities/Steps to be taken:

A long term solution to be achieved by forcefully evacuating the cattle from Agogo Asante Akim will require a lot of understanding and patience among stakeholders as well as adequate time and resources. Stakeholders include the cattle owners/herdsmen themselves, the Chiefs, Assembly members and local people, especially the youth, and various community-based groups, neighbouring District Assemblies/Security Councils, etc.

Steps

Where to go? – (i) To be determined by each cattle owner and herdsman, failing which the Security will determine and drive out cattle, confiscate them or shoot and kill.

(ii) To be determined by the Security, being localities other than the seven named in the judgment.

How to force them out-(i) Chase the cattle and herdsmen out.

(ii) Quarantine the cattle by constructing kraals using wood/barbed wire at various locations and scheduling their evacuation in phases.

(iii) Have the cattle leave **on foot**: therefore determine exit routes/corridors after consultations with neighbouring communities and the Assemblies in order to minimize damage to property.

(iv) Under the voluntary exit option, have the cattle leave **by road transport**, and so mobilize cargo trucks in collaboration with the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) at the cost of the cattle owners under cash or barter arrangements.

(v) Where the cattle owners/herdsmen will not co-operate, recruit youth with cattle handling skills from Ejura, Atebubu and Yeji to assist.

(vi) Maintenance of the Security Task Force should, on the expiry of the voluntary exit period, be at the cost of the cattle owners/herdsmen at least under barter arrangements.

(vii) Constitute community vigilante groups with representation from Chiefs, Assembly members, Unit Committees and the youth to get involved in the evacuation exercise from start to finish.

When? (i) As soon as the Plan is adopted by REGSEC in May, 2012

Resources Required-(i) Security personnel, fuel, vehicles, accommodation, food and cash ration, etc.

Management: (i) By Community-based vigilante groups; and oversight responsibility assigned to the Municipal Assembly/MUSIC.

(ii) The Agogo Police and the local authority shall monitor in order to prevent a comeback by the herdsmen and their cattle.

The entire evacuation exercise has been logically presented in the Matrix labelled APPENDIX II.

APPENDIX I

TESTIMONIES OF ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND CATTLE OWNERS AN OPINION LEADER

Introduction

The following persons appeared before the Committee and gave information on the activities of Fulani herdsmen in their communities. They included six Assembly members and four cattle owners other than Alhaji Grunsah's group:

1. Hon. Peter Abajie - Anankrom Electoral Area
2. Hon. Felix Akpabli - Aberewapong Electoral Area
3. Hon. Prosper Ayikpa - Dukusen Electoral Area
4. Hon. Asare Boadu - Onyemso Electoral Area
5. Hon. Ahmed Navropeh Loryah - Bèbome Electoral Area
6. Hon. Derrick Amoah Yaw - Pataban Electoral Area
7. Gariba Dansofo - Cattle Owner
8. Alhaji Adam Ahmed - Cattle Owner
9. Alhaji Kassim Dauda - Cattle Owner
10. Fuseini Hassan - Cattle Owner

Witnesses' Accounts – 14/02/12

1. Hon. Peter Abajie - Assembly Member for Anankrom Electoral Area

The Honourable Assembly member told the Committee that, indeed Fulani cattle rearing takes place in the following communities within his electoral area: Nsonyameye, Baaman, Aberewanko, Serebuoso, Nhyiaeso and Kokode. He said the cattle graze mostly at night and that is when a lot of damage to farms and water bodies occurs. Hon. Abajie also said the owners of the cattle within his electoral area were not known to him.

2. Hon. Felix Akpabli - Assembly Member for Aberewapong Electoral Area

Hon Akpabli confirmed that cattle were in the following communities in his electoral area: Munkaila, Mpesempese, Mantukwa, Dawiso, Opokukrom and Kansanso. He reported that Alhaji Karim Grunsah and Alhaji Bouba had some of their animals in his electoral area. The

Honourable member added that Alhaji Gransah had constructed a kraal for his cattle which number about one hundred and fifty (150).

3. Hon. Prosper Ayikpa - Assembly Member for Dukusen Electoral Area

Hon. Ayikpa, in his submission, said communities like Tema, Bunso, Oforikrom, Afrisere, Akoli and Asuboe all within his electoral area were inhabited by Fulani herdsmen and their cattle. The Assembly member said that two (2) years ago, three (3) Fulani herdsmen were arrested and sent to the Police Station at Agogo for damage caused to farms by their cattle. And that one Musah Ali has a very good knowledge of the activities of the Fulani herdsmen in the Afram Plains. That he (Ali) knows the herdsmen who were arrested.

Hon. Ayikpa added that the farms that were destroyed belonged to one Kwaku Dagarti, and that Musah Ali had informed him (Hon Ayikpa) that the cattle owner had offered three cows to be sold and the proceeds paid as compensation for the farms destroyed. He said the cows were sold for a total of Two Thousand, Six Hundred Ghana cedis (GH¢2, 600.00) and the money was handed over to the Agogo Police Commander (DSP Nana Yawson) but Two Hundred Ghana cedis(GH¢200.00) was yet to be paid up by the butcher who bought the animals. The Assembly member said the farmer in question however received only Two Hundred Cedis (GH¢200.00) as compensation.

The Committee therefore asked the Agogo Police Commander to follow up on the matter and submit a report to it.

4. Hon. Asare Boadu - Assembly Member for Onyemso Electoral Area

Hon. Boadu informed the Committee that communities like, Eguoso, Kronkobi and Pataban within his electoral area are inhabited by Fulani herdsmen and their cattle. The Assembly member also said the cattle graze at night and do destroy people's farms/ crops.

5. Hon. Ahmed Navropeh Loryah - Assembly Member for Bebofne Electoral Area

The Honourable Assembly member in his submission said that Alhaji Adam Ahmed, a cattle owner, had his herdsmen and cattle at Nyamebkyere and that his animals number about One Hundred and fifty (150). He went further to indicate that one Yussif, another cattle owner, also rears about seventy (70) cattle at Kowereso.

6. Hon. Derrick Amcah Yaw - Assembly Member for Pataban Electoral Area

Hon. Amoah Yaw indicated in his submission that he had on several occasions sighted cattle drinking from Bontre and Onyem which are rivers within his electoral area. He also said that about a year ago, two (2) Fulani herdsmen were arrested for the destruction of farms and food crops by their cattle and sent to the Agogo Police Station. That a compensation of Two Hundred and Eighty Ghana cedis (GH¢280.00) was paid in two installments of One Hundred Ghana Cedis (GH¢100.00) and One Hundred and Eighty Ghana Cedis (GH¢180.00) to the farmer. The Honourable member further said the animals he had seen would number about Six Hundred (600).

7. Alhaji Gariba Dansofo - Cattle Owner

The cattle owner confirmed that he had about One hundred (100) animals that had been in Nyamebkyere for the past fourteen (14) years. He indicated that his area of operation was not fenced and that the animals were shepherded out daily to graze. Alhaji Dansofo produced a transfer of title document executed in 2008 which made him the owner of the land where he rears his animals. The document, on examination by the Committee, indicated that Madam Abena Gyekyewaa had transferred the said parcel of land to Alhaji Gariba Dansofo for the rearing of cattle at a fee.

This assertion was confirmed by Mr. Yebcah Antwi, an in-law to Madam Abena Gyekyewaa who represented her at the meeting.

8. Alhaji Adam Ahmed - Cattle Owner

Alhaji Ahmed confirmed that he had herdsmen tending about One Hundred and Forty (140) cattle of his confined in a fenced arena. He however admitted that he had no water within the fenced area for the animals, and that the animals do leave the fenced area to graze and return daily. Even though Alhaji Ahmed indicated that he had acquired the land about eight (8) years ago, he could not produce any valid document to support his claim.

9. Alhaji Kassim Dauda - Cattle Owner

Alhaji Dauda said he had about Five Hundred and thirty (530) cattle at Kowereso. He admitted, his animals were not confined and that he had no private source of water for them either.

10. Mr. Fuscini Hassan - Cattle Owner

Mr. Hassan told the Committee, he had seven hundred (700) cattle at Kowereso and that they were not confined. He also admitted that he had no document which legitimizes his cattle business at Kowereso.

Report by DSP A. N. E Yawson and Mr. Musa Ali – 09/03/12

11. DSP A. N. E Yawson – Agogo Police Commander

Convinced that having been handling cases reported/settled at the Agogo Police Station brought against cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen, DSP Yawson was better placed to mobilize the cattle owners and herdsmen in Agogo Asante Akim to convey to them a two-week deadline for the cattle and their attendants to voluntarily vacate the area, and therefore tasked him at its February 14, 2012 meeting to:

- a) Report back on the issue of compensation said to have been paid to one Kwaku Dagarti and the Ankobeahene of Agogo Traditional Council (reference: Witness No. 3 – Hon Prosper Ayikpa's account above) and
- b) Meet the cattle owners and herds men at Agogo to convey to them the two weeks deadline for their voluntary vacation from Asante Akim Agogo or be forcefully evicted.

On the compensation issue, DSP Yawson reported that Hon. Ayikpa did not turn up for the 24th February 2012 meeting of cattle owners and herdsmen he had accordingly organized at Agogo. He however told the Committee that only One Hundred Ghana Cedis (GHc100.00) was still outstanding in respect of the said compensation involving Kwaku Dagarti and the Agogo Ankobeahene. He informed the Committee that the Ankobeahene was the financier of the farmers whose property was destroyed by the cattle and apparently did have more of the compensation paid to him, and that the Ankobeahene could confirm this.

On the meeting itself, DSP Yawson lamented that many of the cattle owners and herdsmen failed/refused to turn up for fear of arrest. And for this unfortunate impression, the venue of the

meeting was quickly shifted to the Municipal Assembly Hall at Konongo. That those who attended the meeting were therefore: (1) Abdul Rahman (2) Ali Mamudu (3) Alhaji Bouba (4) Kassim Amir (5) Fuseini Hassan (6) Tanko Zakari (7) Alhaji Meirago.

DSP Yawson said when he conveyed the deadline for the voluntary exit to the meeting, the cattle owners and herdsmen requested for an extension, but he told them he was only a messenger and could not grant the request. That they were to comply, but that he would convey their concerns to the Committee.

12 Mr. Musa Ali – A resident of Agogo who mediates in matters of conflict between the Fulanis and the local people (An opinion leader)

Mr. Musa Ali told the Committee that DSP Yawson gave him the invitation letters to distribute to the herdsmen in the Agogo Afram Plains area but did not resource him. And that no specific addressees were provided. In his view therefore, the February 24, 2012 meeting failed because of poor circulation of the invitation letters and intimidating remarks from the Police and other opinion leaders at Agogo.

Appendix 6: Shooting and killing at Agogo



ASANTE AKIM NORTH MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY

P.O. BOX 55, KONONGO-ODUMASI
TEL: 032 - 2124331, 2124259 FAX: 032 - 2124252



OUR REF : GAD 9/VOL 2/9
YOUR REF:

16th JANUARY, 2012

B R I E F

FROM : MUSEC, KONONGO
TO : REGSEC, ~~KONONGO~~ KSI
DATE : 16TH JANUARY, 2012
SUBJECT : SHOOTING/KILLINGS AT AGOGO

Following reports that one Kojo Billa, a settler farmer, was shot and killed at his cottage allegedly by Fulani Herdsmen in the early hours of Sunday, 15th January, 2012, MUSEC met and deliberated as follows:

Briefing:

- ❖ Briefing by the BNI and the Police confirmed that Kojo Billa was shot dead, and his throat slit by three persons suspected to be Fulani on Sunday 15th January, 2012.
- ❖ That a Fulani man was also discovered dead in the Agogo portion of the Afram Plains.
- ❖ That, the remains of Kojo Billa have been deposited at the Agogo hospital morgue and that his traumatized wife was still in comma.
- ❖ That Police investigations were in progress and that with informants' co-operation, Kojo Billa's killers would be apprehended.

Observations:

MUSEC observed that:

1. Public reactions were mounting in the Agogo area with calls for the withdrawal of the Security Task Force arguing that their presence has still not deterred the Fulani herdsmen from their criminal acts.
2. The unfortunate perception that the security on ground was more protective of the herdsmen than the indigenes was not healthy.
3. There have been threats from the various groups at Agogo that they could defend themselves from the Fulanis since some members of the community possess arms.
4. The Fulani herdsmen and their cattle have not restricted themselves to place assigned to them and as directed by REGSEC, but have returned to Aberewapong, Kojo Billa, etc with the attendant destruction of crops.

Decisions:

MUSEC therefore decided that:

1. To dispel the apparent failure (as popularly perceived) of the security arrangement over the Fulani issue at Agogo and its environs;
2. To restore confidence in the Task Force and the Police in Agogo; and
3. To above all, track down the killers in the recent incidents;

MUSEC agreed to:

- ❖ Organize a swoop in the Agogo portion of the Afram Plains,
- ❖ Rely on informants to apprehend the killers from their refuge,
- ❖ Intensify investigation into all crimes reported in the area, and
- ❖ Prosecute herdsmen whose cattle graze on farms.

Required

To organize the swoop and go after the killers of Kojo Billa, the following resources would be required:

- ❖ Personnel : A platoon of the Military
: 60 Police personnel to add to the already 30 member Task Force at Agogo.
- ❖ Vehicle : Military and Police vehicles to be used; and a bus from KMA to convey suspects
- ❖ Fuel & Lunch : To be provided by REGSEC/MUSEC

Chairman of MUSEC was to discuss MUSEC's proposals with REGSEC, and the Divisional Police Commander to work out the operational details with Regional Police Commander. Standing by.

**FOR: CHAIRMAN
MICHAEL D/ATAOGYE
MCD/SECRETARY**

Appendix 7: Interview Guide Farmers

INTERVIEW GUIDE: SEDENTARY FARMERS/RESIDENTS

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and effects of conflict on Agogo, Ghana. Of importance is the policy of expulsion. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

Household composition

Interviewee.....

1. Sex.....
2. Age.....
3. Ethnicity.....
4. Marital status.....
5. Type of family.....
6. Number of dependents
7. Level of educational attainment.....
8. Occupation/major source of income.....
9. Duration of stay in community.....

Background and History of Agogo conflict

10. How was the situation of Agogo in terms of farming and cattle rearing, as well as relationship between cattle owners and farmers in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s?

Objective 1: pull factors that attract the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo

11. In your opinion, what are the factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to Agogo?
 - 11a. Which ones do you consider as the major factors?
12. At what period, do you normally see the nomads migrate to Agogo?
 - 12a. In your view, what are the main factors contributing to your answer in 14 above?
13. How do you consider cattle business in Agogo?
14. Do you own cattle or intend to own some cattle at a later stage?
15. If intend to own, how are you going to rear the cattle (system of rearing)? Are you going to employ the services of herdsmen?

16. Regarding cattle rearing, do you consider that only a few (less than 10%), many (about 25-30%), about half or the majority (about 65-75%) of local residents of Agogo, are into cattle rearing?
17. How do local residents rear the cattle?
18. Do you think the leaders (chiefs, politicians, cattle owners) support the stay of herdsmen in Agogo? If yes, how?

Objective 2: Perceive relationship between locals and Fulani herdsmen

19. In your view, how do you consider the relationship between farmers and nomads? Why?
20. Is it a competition (or conflict) between local cattle owners and local farmers? If yes, why?
21. Is it a competition (or conflict) between local cattle owners and Fulani nomads? If yes, why?
22. Is it a competition (or conflict) between local farmers and Fulani nomads? If yes, why?
23. What do you consider to be the causes of this competition (conflict)?
24. Which ones do you consider as the major causes of this competition (conflict)?
25. Do you consider ethnicity (tribal issues) as a factor in this conflict? If yes, how?
26. Do you consider chieftaincy issues as a factor in this conflict? If yes, how?
27. Do you consider religious differences as a factor in this conflict? If yes, how?
28. Do you consider politicization as a factor in this conflict? If yes, how?
29. What type of farming are you embarking? How close is it to kraals or water?
30. Do you consider that the cattle can be useful for farmers, for instance, because of the manure, or are cattle mainly negative? If negative, why?
31. Have you experienced personally that cattle have done some damage to your farm? If yes, how?
32. How would you act if cattle made damage to your farm?
33. Have you had a personal confrontation with a nomad before? If yes, what happened?

Objective 3: Consequences of the conflict relationship between locals and herdsmen

34. How do you perceive Fulani herdsmen, for instance, are they Ghanaians? If not, why?
35. How do you consider your relationship with Fulani nomads? If conflict, how?
36. Has the conflict been so serious that it has an effect on human lives? If yes, how?
37. Did your household suffer loss of lives and/or property due to the conflict? If yes, how did it impact on your livelihood?

38. Do you think the conflict has an effect on Agriculture or farming in Agogo? If yes, how?
39. Does the conflict have an effect on your occupation or source of income? If yes, how?
40. In your opinion, does the conflict affect security in Agogo? If yes, how?
41. Do you think the conflict may escalate one day? If yes, how?
42. Do you consider the Agogo area being used as armed camps, in the midst of the conflict

Objective 4: Local community and national level responses

43. What are the local community and national level measures toward the conflict?
44. When are, these measures applied in Agogo? How are they implemented?
45. How do you consider the measures as applied in Agogo?
46. In your own judgment, are these measures sustainable in ensuring peace in Agogo? If no, how
47. Has there been any steps by farmers to restore peace in Agogo? If yes, what steps?
48. In your opinion, what should be done to ensure peace in Agogo?

Appendix 8: Interview guide cattle owners/Fulani herdsmen

INTERVIEW GUIDE: CATTLE OWNERS/ FULANI HERDSMEN

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and the effects of conflict on Agogo, Ghana. Of importance is the policy of expulsion. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

Demographics

Interviewee.....

1. Ethnicity.....
2. Age.....
3. Marital status.....
4. Nationality.....
5. Number of herdsmen who are also owners.....
6. Duration of stay in the community.....

Objective 1: pull factors that attract the Fulani herdsmen to Agogo

7. In your opinion, what are the factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to Agogo?

- 7a. Which ones do you consider as the major factors?
8. How often do the Fulani herdsmen migrate to Agogo?
- 8a. In your view, what are the main factors contributing to the frequent movement to Agogo?
9. Do you consider cattle rearing a lucrative business in Agogo? If yes, how?
10. Are the people of Agogo into cattle rearing? If yes, how do they rear the cattle?
11. How influential are the leaders (chiefs, politicians, cattle owners) in the stay of herdsmen in Agogo?

Objective 2: Causes of the conflict relationship

12. In your view, what are the causes of the conflict between the residents and the nomads?
- 12a. Which ones do you consider as the major causes of the conflict?
13. How do you tend your cattle? How often have your cattle invaded someone's farms?
14. Have you had a confrontation with a farmer before? Could you describe what happened?
15. Have you come under attack from the farmers/residents before? If yes, how did you respond?

Objective 3: Effects of the conflict

16. How do you perceive the farmers/residents of Agogo?
17. Do you think the conflict has contributed to the deteriorating social relations between the farmers and the nomads? If yes, how?
18. What effect does the conflict have on human lives?
19. Did your household suffer loss of lives and/or property due to the conflict? If yes, how did it impact on your livelihood?
20. What effect does the conflict have on cattle rearing in Agogo?
21. Does the conflict have an effect on your occupation or source of income? If yes, how?
22. In your opinion, does the conflict affect security in Agogo? If yes, how?

23. Do you think the conflict may escalate one day? If yes, how?
24. Do you consider the Agogo area being used as armed camps, in the midst of the conflict?

Objective 4: Local community and national level responses

25. What are the local community and national level measures toward the conflict?
26. When are, these measures applied in Agogo? How are they implemented?
27. How do you consider the measures as applied in Agogo?
28. In your own judgment, are these measures sustainable in ensuring peace in Agogo? If no, how?
29. What steps are being taking as cattle owners/nomads to restore peace in Agogo?
30. In your opinion, what should be done to ensure peace in Agogo?

Appendix 9: Interview guide Official

INTERVIEW GUIDE: Officials

This semi-structured interview seeks your critical assessment of the causes and the effects of conflict on Agogo, Ghana. Of importance is the policy of expulsion. Please, note that this study does not constitute an investigation aimed at reprimanding or stirring your emotions as participants and/or victims of conflict. The study is purely academic and any responses obtained will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. Kindly respond truthfully. Thank you.

Objective 1: pull factors that attract the Fulani nomads to Agogo

1. In your opinion, what are the factors that attract Fulani nomads to Agogo?
2. How influential are the leaders (chiefs, politicians, cattle owners) in the stay of herdsmen in Agogo?

Objective 2: Perceive causes of the conflict

3. In your view, what are the causes of the conflict between the residents and the herdsmen?
4. Do you consider ethnicity in the Agogo conflict? If yes, how?
5. How do you describe the conflict in Agogo in general?

Objective 3: Effects of the conflict

6. Do you think the conflict has contributed to the deteriorating social relations between the farmers and the herdsmen? If yes, how?
7. What effect does the conflict have on human lives?
8. What effect does the conflict have on cattle rearing in Agogo?
9. Does the conflict have an effect on your occupation or source of income? If yes, how?
10. In your opinion, does the conflict affect security in Agogo? If yes, how?
11. Do you think the conflict may escalate in future? If yes, how?
12. Do you consider the Agogo area being used as armed camps, in the midst of the conflict?
13. What do you consider to be the effects of the conflict on Agogo and Ghana in general?

Objective 4: Local community and national level responses

14. What are the local community and national level measures toward the conflict?
15. When are, these measures applied in Agogo? How are they implemented?
16. How do you consider the measures as applied in Agogo?
17. In your own judgment, are these measures sustainable in ensuring peace in Agogo? If no, how?
18. What steps should be taken to restore peace in Agogo between the herdsmen and the farmers?
19. What method will you propose as an alternative to nomadism in Agogo?

Appendix 10: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form



In



K W A M E N K R U M A H
UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Partnership with
Ethical Consideration

Informed Consent Form for participation in a research interview

Introduction

I am Emmanuel Agyemang, a student of University of Agder, Norway and pursuing a programme in Development Management. I am the researcher for the study An Assessment of the Causes and Effects of the Sedentary Farmers-Fulani Nomads Conflict. A Case Study of the Agogo Traditional Area, which is quite predominant in this area. I invite you to voluntarily participate in this study. Please feel free to draw my attention to any concept or word in this form that you think needs further explanation.

Purpose of Research

This study seeks to identify the impact of farmer-herder conflict on the development of the Agogo Traditional Area. It asks local knowledge on the pull factors that attract the Fulani nomads to Agogo. It also asks your perception about causes behind the fact that the relationship between the indigenes and the Fulani migrants in Agogo has become one of conflict. Also, the effects of the conflict on Agogo, and Ghana. It seeks to find, to what extent does the policy of expulsion effective and finally the mitigation and preventive responses to Farmer-Fulani Nomads conflict.

Research Intervention

The main tool for this conversation is an interview guide which contains a series of questions that cover fairly the main issues that we will be talking about.

Participant Selection

You were particularly invited for this study because your experience as an individual\agency can provide rich insight into farmer-herder conflict, its causes, effect and its management strategies in this community\country.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is strictly *voluntary* and may not affect your personal evaluation either in this community\agency. A decision not to participate will also not affect you in any way. You may change your decision to engage in this study even as the discussion is on-going.

Procedure

For FGD and personal interviews that are in a local language which I am unable to speak, a moderator who speaks your local language will be here to assist. For the purposes of information control, the researcher might deem it necessary to record conversation for later transcription and data analysis. Please note that this may also be rejected by the respondent, if he\she is not comfortable with it. However, all interviews are given codes and not personal names.

Duration

It is expected that an average interview takes between 30-45minutes.

Risks

This study has little or no effect on your health and psychological well-being as no chemicals will be administered as experiments. Rather some questions asked may be sensitive, personal and might elicit emotional response. Whilst this is not intentional, when such situations arise the participant is under no obligation to continue with the discussion. Appropriate counselling, if it is necessary will also be provided by the researcher.

Benefits

The study does not promise payment or “gifts” in return for being a participant. It is strictly voluntary and for academic purposes ONLY. However, your decision to partake in this study will potentially help in designing appropriate farmer-herder conflict management strategies that will help in the Agogo community\Ghana. It may also confirm what is known and may help identify the unknown in farmer-herder conflict management.

Confidentiality

This study will maintain strict *confidentiality* with the information provided either on personal details or what is said. In no way will personal names be linked to what was said (where it is necessary, permission will be sought accordingly). All interviews are strictly identified by codes. *Anonymity* may also be pleaded by a respondent.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

This is to reconfirm that the study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without any cost to you or the research.

Who to contact

If you have any questions, you can ask me now or contact the address below for further explanation emmana15@student.uia.no or, eagyemang173@gmail.com or arne.o.oyhus@uia.no

Certificate of Consent

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Name of Participant.....

Signature.....

Date.....
(Day\Month\Year)



**Thumbprint
(For illiterates only)**

Appendix 11: Pictures showing burnt farms in Agogo



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork, January 2017)

Appendix 12: A picture showing harvested plantain at Agogo market



Source: Author (Fieldwork, January 2017)

Appendix 13: A picture showing a demonstration by AgogomanMma kuo & youth association



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork, January 2017)

WARNING: !!!

The following pictures contain images that are very disturbing. Viewers discretion is advised!!!

Appendix 14: A farmer who sustained cutlass wounds



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork 2017)

Appendix 15: Another farmer who sustained cutlass wounds



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork 2017)

Appendix 16: A farmer killed in his farmer



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork 2017)

Appendix 17: Another farmer killed in his farmer



Source: Agogo District Police Station (Fieldwork 2017)