THE EFFECTS OF TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENT OF NOMADIC HERDСMEN ON THE ACTIVITIES OF SETTLED FARMER COMMUNITIES IN GHANA.

BY

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THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ART DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

LEGON JULY, 2018
DECLARATION

I, Adiita Patrick, do hereby declare that this study is the result of my own investigation and that, no part of it has been presented for the award of any degree programme elsewhere, with the exception of works cited as source of information references.

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DR AMANDA COFFIE

(SUPERVISOR)

DATE:-------------------------------
DEDICATION

The study is entirely dedicated to Dr Paschal B. Atengdem for his benevolences, love and fatherly support in the affairs of my life.
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First, I wish to acknowledge the infinite hand and mercies of the Lord Jesus Christ in my life and studies during the most difficult moments of my life and the happy times. I also wish to acknowledge the generous and supportive nature of my supervisor who opened her doors and her resources to guide me through this study period.

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The study focuses on the activities of trans-national nomadic herdsmen, principally, how these activities affect settled communities. The study employs interviews and identifies the trends and movement patterns of transnational nomads. These movements usually occur in the months of December and January, that is the period of the arrival of the herder, and during June and July, which mark the return movements of the herder. These movements occasion some relationships with settled communities, which are both mutually beneficial and sometimes contentious.

Various contentious relationships have had their triggers, which have been grouped into immediate and remote causes. The study identifies that the common cause of conflict between the settled farmers and the transnational herdsmen often has to do with competition for resource use along the valleys of the Sissili River, which have seen significant expansions of commercial farms. The study further noted that the relationship between the settled communities and the transnational nomads have had a long-standing peaceful relationship which allowed for the settlement of some herders.

The assessment of the peaceful relation between the settled communities revealed that, in conflict situations, the roles of the traditional authorities are significantly used for the resolution. It was noted that these institutions have worked to put measures that ensured the passage of transnational herdsmen through the study area and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Some of these strategies and measures are the basis upon which this study recommends the use of traditional setups for the peaceful resolution of disputes instead of the supra-community policies, which often do not consider the local dynamics of the conflict.

The study identifies its limitation with respect to time, space and resources and recommends a longitudinal research into the problem since that would allow for a study into the various facets of the socio-cultural dynamics of the problem. It also recommends that state policies towards dealing with conflicts between transnational herdsmen and settled farmers should adopt a bottom up approach to allow for an understanding into the local socio-cultural dynamics of the groups relationship.
CHAPTER ONE

THE EFFECTS OF TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENTS OF NOMADIC HERDSMAN ON THE ACTIVITIES OF SETTLED FARMER COMMUNITIES IN GHANA

1.0 Introduction

Migration is a common phenomenon among the human population. Agyei and Clottey (2007) state that “within the milieu of growing and intensive economic, political and socio-cultural interdependence among state and non-state actors, mass intra and inter-border and continental movements of people have been on the ascendancy”. Global estimates indicate that the global migrant population rose steadily from 2.8% in 2000 to 3.4% in 2017 (United Nations, International Migration Report 2017).

The West African Sub-Region is not new to this growing phenomenon of migration. Historically, migration within the Sub-Region in the pre-colonial era was greatly seen as a common phenomenon as people move in response to climatic and weather changes, warfare and other socio-political factors. The displacement and movement of populations within the West African sub-region as a result of the mentioned factors were to a large extent regarded as intra-migration (Agyei & Clottey, 2007). The movement was also relatively unstructured in the sense that movement of people was not restricted along the artificial borderline as we have today.

However, with the coming of the Europeans, the subsequent partitioning of Africa, and the colonialization of the continent, movements of people gradually became structured and restrictive along borderlines. These artificial borderlines were reinforced upon the attainment of
independence by various governments in the light of economic instabilities, resource scarcity and the threat of insurgencies (Agyei & Clottey, 2007).

In recent times, there has been contestation for land use in Africa following the rapid urbanization, population growth and the challenge of climate change. This has exacerbated the restrictions that are placed on transhumance movement and the competition for water and fertile land resources. The outcome of this competition has sometimes resulted in violent confrontations between different land users mainly in this case, the pastoral nomadic herdsmen and the settled communities (sedentary farmer).

Restrictions have affected the activities of pastoral nomadic herdsmen and transhumance within the West African sub-region as well as sedentary farmers. Tarig (2014) intimated that over the last decade, reporting of farmer-herder violence has increased exponentially maybe because of an increased number of incidents, increased awareness on the issue, or both. As an attempt to regulate and minimize confrontations and effects of the activities of transhumances within the West African sub-region, member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted the 1998 ECOWAS regulation on transhumance. This regulation spells out the conditions under which transhumance can enter and leave a country. Despite this regulation, various countries have reacted differently to the movement of people and transhumance across the borders of the region.

Invariably, some literature and some among of public perception fueled by media reports have posited that the activities of herdsmen have largely contributed to violent crime, arms conflict and the destruction of food crops in the West African Sub-Region (Ikyase & Umara, 2017). These publications on the topic have mainly captured the conflict relation between the herdsmen and the
settler farmers. As noted further by Ikyase and Umara, the activities of trans-border nomads contribute to violent crime and arm conflict in north-central and north-eastern parts of Nigeria as they trade in arms acquired from war-torn Libya and other places. These weapons, as stated, are used to perpetrate crime and fuel tribal and religious conflicts.

Similarly, media reports in Ghana have been inundated with reports such as the publication in the graphiconline.com of 19th February 2016: “These are trying times in Ghana. Commodity prices are falling and the country’s last resort, which is the agriculture sector, is being threatened by the activities of Fulani herdsmen who migrate into the country from the Sahel region of West Africa”.

“These herdsmen, believed to come from the Fulani ethnic group, and their large numbers of cattle engage in nefarious activities such as the destruction of farm crops, arable land, pollution of water bodies, killing and maiming of farmers who dare to stand against their capricious activities, raping of females in the communities, spreading infectious disease among others” (Tonah, 2002).

Some of these media reports and literature have influenced state policies and programmes intended to deal with the conflicts that sometimes occur as nomadic herdsmen contest for land and water resource use with settled communities. (Tonah, 2002, 2003) in a comparative study of the response of the governments of Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana to the migration of the Fulani herdsmen reported, that in spite of the similar social, economic and environmental conditions in both countries, the two governments responded differently to Fulani migrations. He asserted that generally, the Ivorian government was more receptive of the Fulani while the Ghanaian authorities have been hostile to them.
Contrary to the above media opinions, (Opoku, 2014; Tarig, 2014; Tonah, 2002, 2003, 2006) have alluded to the fact that the relationship between farmers and nomadic herders hitherto the past decade was symbiotic with little conflicts among the two groups (herders and farmers), they attributed the rise in conflict among the groups to the depletion of water resource and fertile lands. These they have attributed in turn to climate change and population growth.

This work is, therefore, a study to determine the extent to which the movement of transnational pastoral nomadic herdsmen affect the activities of settler communities (mainly the farming communities) in the Upper East Region of Ghana and what symbiotic relation could be exploited to reduce tension and conflict.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

In recent time, reports of tensions and conflicts between nomadic herders and sedentary farmers have come prominently into the limelight with most of these reports centring on the effects of nomadic activities. These reports are no means new to the discourse on the farmer-herder conflict in the West African Sub-Region and Ghana by extension. Tonah (2000a) citing a publication from the 16th April, 1988 Daily Graphic newspaper stated; “Such populist action is often supported by the mainstream media with assertions like ‘Fulani herdsmen from all parts of West Africa making Ghana their homeland, permanently occupying lands, destroying the environment by cutting down economic trees to feed livestock and attacking local residents’”.

The effects of the activities of pastoral herdsmen within the West African Sub-Region cannot be wholly disputed or underestimated. Studies in the Asante Akim North District in the Agogo traditional area of Ghana have averred further that the activities of Fulani herdsmen have limited
the ability of sedentary farmers from undertaking farming activities and that by extension possess the potential to heighten food security problems (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015; Opoku, 2014).

In view of the heightened urgency to deal with the dynamics and effects of sedentary farmer-herder conflict, government policies, programmes, and energies have mainly been centred on expelling nomadic herdsmen from the country. In the 1970s and 1980s up to the 2000s, successive governments deployed policies and series of action under various code names such as “operation cow leg and operation livestock solidarity” to deal with what was considered the menace of Fulani activities (Tonah, 2000a).

Contrary to the policies of expulsion, Moritz (2006) argued further that West African herders and farmers have long coexisted in symbiotic relationships that endured both peace and contentious engagements. However, reports of violent clashes between these two groups are becoming more frequent.

The heightened tensions and conflicts that are gradually breaking the back of a once peaceful relation between these two groups in the Upper East Region of Ghana gives reasons to be concerned. It is against this background that the study seeks to examine the factors accounting for the changing relationship and the effects of the transnational pastoral nomadic herdsmen’ activities on the settler communities of the Builsa North and South Districts.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What are the trends and movement patterns of transnational pastoral nomadic herdsmen in Ghana?
2. What are the causes and effects of conflict between farmers and transnational nomadic herdsmen in the Builsa North and South Districts of Ghana?

3. What measures and strategies have been adopted to resolve the conflict between transnational nomadic herdsmen and settled communities in Builsa North and South Districts of Ghana?

1.3 Research Objectives

Generally, the objective of the study is to determine the effects of the migratory activities of the transnational pastoral nomadic herdsmen on the settler communities of the Builsa North and South Districts.

More specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Describe the trends and movement pattern of transnational pastoral nomads into Ghana
2. Identify the causes and effects of conflict between settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen in the Builsa North and South Districts.
3. Determine measures and strategies to resolve conflicts between settled communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen.

1.4 Rationale for the Study

The study has become necessary given recent violent confrontation between pastoral nomadic herders and settler communities in various parts of the country. At a conference held in Tamale, on 4th September 2017, on “the menace of Fulani herdsmen”, the graphic online reported that the influx of Fulani herdsmen is challenging the Northern Regional Security Council. Thus, Superintendent Andoh is reported to have said that the Command was seeking permission from the Northern Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) to revamp the implementation of the Aliens
Registration 1974 (L.I. 856) on the registration of Fulani herdsmen to enable the Command to develop a database on Fulanis in the region.

Based on some of these reports, (Dary, James, & Mohammed, 2017) contended that the issue of transhumance and transnational nomadic herdsmen across the northern borders of the country should be treated as a national security threat. They further asserted that border crime and arms movement are deemed to be associated with the movement of the pastoralist. Reports such as the aforementioned and the recent conflict between the farmers and the herders in the Yagba area coupled with the robbery cases recorded in the two Builsa Districts (Builsa North and South districts) have occasioned this study in the area.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study examines communities in the two Builsa Districts where there have been noticeable activities of transnational herdsmen. The scope of the study deals with the annual movement pattern within which transnational nomadic herdsmen arrive in the study area and the time they leave the study area. This provides a window to be able to assess the general activities of transnational nomadic herdsmen and their relation with settled communities. It may not be representative of Ghana, however, it provides an opportunity for assessing the activities of transnational nomadic herdsmen and how local conditions mediate their relation and activities with settled communities. The scope of the study also limits itself to the period 2000 and current happenings in view of the fact that most of the noticeable conflicts were given prominence within the period stated.
1.6 Thesis Statement

The study agrees with the general assertion that transnational movement of nomads have resulted in violence and conflict in Ghana. However, it argues that, the dynamics of these conflicts and relationships between the settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen are overly generalized and proposes a context-based examination and solutions.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The effects of transnational movement of nomadic herdsmen on the activities of settler communities in Ghana is examined through the lenses of the environment/resource scarcity theory. Resource scarcity thinkers have argued that there are relationships found, in which a shortage of renewable resources is the most important factor underlying violent social unrest in developing countries (Magnus Theisen, 2008). A major proponent of this theory, Thomas Homer-Dixon argues that a decrease in access to renewable resource increases frustration and generate grievances, which in turn heighten the opportunity for insurrection. He identified three kinds of scarcities:

1. “supply-induced scarcity: reduced availability of renewable resources due to consumption and degradation being faster than regeneration;

2. demand-induced scarcity as a consequence of population growth or increased consumption per capita; and

3. Structural scarcity caused by an unequal distribution of resources. These three components interact and reinforce each other, resulting in two social processes, resource capture and ecological marginalization” (Homer-Dixon, 1999).
It is further argued that climate change induced resource scarcity will exacerbate migration-conflict link (Magnus Theisen, 2008).

Critics of the environment/resource scarcity theory on the other hand have argued that, the theory borrows heavily from Malthus’ notion that population increase cannot keep pace with food production. The theory’s argument that population increase would out pace production has been found to be flawed because pressure on agriculture resources in agriculture-dependent societies have induced innovation and economic diversification (Magnus Theisen, 2008).

Cutler J. and Stern (1997) based on the model of scarcity argued that nature is not a factor of production. Contrary, they consider natural resource as a resistance to the force of labour of which the poorer the quality of the resource the greater its resistance to labour. It is therefore not the level of the degradation or the shrinking of the natural resource but the extent to which labour can overcome the resistance of the resource.

Political ecologists such as (Gurr, Wratten, & Barbosa, 2000; Hauge & Ellingsen, 1998), and (Khan, 2013) have also argued that factors such as bad governance, corruption and other socio-cultural dynamics are the real causes of both environmental degradation and conflict where the two factors of socio-political and environmental scarcity are not mutual causalities to conflict. Theisen then concluded that it will be spurious to assign any statistical association between resource scarcity and conflict.

Even though the theory has been criticized, this study, based on the arguments of resource scarcity, contends that the expansion of farmlands to areas previously uncultivated around the banks of the Sissili River in the Builsa North and South Districts is ample testimony to the fact
that population growth and deteriorating weather conditions are pushing for competing use of available resources.

The passage for herding by both local animals’ keepers and transnational herdsmen are becoming narrow. This is leading to resource capture by farmers and ecological marginalization of the herdsmen. The result is the visible tensions and conflict that are beginning to show in the two districts.

1.8.0 Literature Review

The literature review focuses on existing scholarship on farmer-herder conflict, causes of conflict between the farmers and herdiers, effects of herdiers’ activities on food production and the conflict management strategies adopted in dealing with the challenge.

1.8.1 Farmer Herder Conflict

Farmer Herder conflict falls within the broad conflict issues that are environmentally related. The association between the environment and conflict are varied and complex. The causes and manifestations are equally considerably varied across the world. Environmental conflict can range from control of vital resources like fossil fuel at national levels to household and individual conflicts relating to the availability and use of a particular resource.

“Competition for finite environmental resources, divergent attitudes and beliefs as well as institutional factors trigger and exacerbate such environmental conflicts” (Hellström, 2001). The issue of scarcity, whether perceived or actual, is a crucial component of understanding environmental conflicts. Based on this assertion, the African journal on conflict resolution defined conflict as “the social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to
acquire at the same moment in time an available set of resources”. (Urmilla & Salomé, 2010, pp. 9-10)

More specifically, (Ofuoku, 2010) refers to farmer herder conflict as the type of conflict that involves farmers and herders of animals in their relationships and competition for the use of land and water resources. He contended that conflict among these groups is as a result of the herdsmen movement.

Atta-Asamoah and Aning (2011) also opined that farmer-herder conflict are environmental related conflict orchestrated by pressures put on the environment as a result of population expansion or induced by climatic conditions. Tonah (2006) furthered this argument by stating that the environmental pressures that engulfed the Sahel Regions of Africa in the 20th century forced many herdsmen to move towards the forest zones of West Africa. He argued that the differences in culture and the competition for land and water resources have left a trail of conflict issues along the movement pattern of the herdsmen.

No matter the nature of the conflict, the likelihood that it effects on the environment and humans can not be underestimated. Therefore, in dealing with the issue of settled or sedentary communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen, a holistic examination of the causes of conflict, effects and conflict management must be used.

1.8.2 Causes of Farmer-Herder Conflict

Various reasons could be attributed for the strained relationships between nomadic herdsmen and settled communities. However, (Phillips, 2001) states that globally, the perception of who constitute a nomad leads to a wrong interpretation of nomads life and social structure. He avers
that the wrong perception of the nomads is influenced by the non-nomadic perception of the social evolution of society. This wrong perception of the nomads could serve as a point of divergence and by extension create conflict relationships.

It is important to state that nomadic activities all over the world have often come into conflict with the sedentary lifestyle and to some extent state policies. Johnsen, Benjaminsen, and Eira (2015) noted that Norwegian policy objectives aimed at securing sustainable reindeer husbandry through participation have failed in West Finnmark mainly because of the lack of participation in policy design and implementation resulting in tensed relations with reindeer nomads and road users.

Similarly, (Whanda J., Mala, & Dan, 2016) have argued that the conflict relationship between settled communities and pastoral herdsmen in Africa is often triggered by population growth which necessitates the expansion of farmland because agriculture is largely done with little technology. The impact usually results in the encroachments of the routes used by pastoral nomadic herdsmen. This, in their view, is the major factor that accounts for the conflict between settled communities and pastoral nomadic herdsmen.

Another cause of conflict generally as observed by (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2011) in the African context is the composition of the population dynamics mainly, the age, sex and migration. They contended that these various compositions have the potential to spark violence depending on the activities of the composition. It is argued that if a migrant’s activities compete with the survival of another group (indigenous inhabitant), it has the potential to start a conflict. In most cases, the competition for water and pasture resources in Africa result in conflict between the pastoral nomadic herdsmen and the sedentary (usually crop farmers) communities.
Generally, within the West African sub-region, there are some common causes of conflict between settled communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen that transcend time and boundaries. (Adams, Emmanuel, & Atelhe, 2017) stated some of these as attributes of economic, political and socio-cultural, and religion factors.

This assertion is partly shared by, Agyemang (2017) who added that the issue of armed robbery by the Fulani herdsmen was one of the reasons for the conflict relationship between the settled communities and herdsmen. In Ghana, (Opoku, 2014) contended that the conflict situation in the Agogo traditional area of Asante Akim North District is complex due to a number of reasons. He identified population growth, the involvement of Ghanaian cattle owners and climatic conditions. According to him, the response of farmers on the causes of the farmer-herder conflict are; shooting of innocent citizens by herdsman, destruction of food crops, raping of women on their farms, herdsmen causing bushfires, pollution of water bodies by herdsmen and cattle rustling.

Sharing a similar opinion about climatic conditions (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015, pp. 54-55) contended that “pastoralism is shaped by the changing climate which exacerbates competition for natural resources between pastoralist and farmers”.

In the opinion of (Tonah, 2006), the most frequent cause of conflict between sedentary communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen along the Volta basin is the destruction of crops by cattle. He argued that on most occasions, the farmers and herdsmen live in separate communities and usually have minimal social interactions except commercial activities. In a similar vein as Opoku, Tonah contended that the root cause of conflict is the destruction of crops because of the changing pattern or competing needs for land use along the Volta Basin.
Generally, the factors (whether human or environmentally induced) that cause conflict between sedentary (farmers) and whether transnational nomadic herdsmen or settled pastoralists may have universal similarities. However, there are local dynamics pertaining to culture, religion, social structure, politics and others that mediate the nature and outcome of the conflict.

1.8.3 Effects of Farmer-Herder Conflict on the Settled Communities

Whatever the nature of the conflict, it is likely to have several impacts on both the transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settled communities. These have been observed to range from physical harm to both humans and the physical environment. The effects specifically have been seen to exacerbate the plight of food security, the creation of insecurity in various communities, causing harm and sometimes death. Globally, the conflict between herders and settled farmers are minimal in developed countries as compared to developing countries. (Dwyer & Istomin, 2008) acknowledged that if models could be developed to appreciate better the association the herders have with their animals in Nenet and Komi in Russia, a significant among of the challenge in dealing with the environmental effects of the reindeer could be resolved.

Similarly, in most African countries where the activities of transnational herder have conflicted with settled communities, the effects have always resulted in reduced crop production and insecurity (Ofuoku, 2010). The net effect of the conflict between the farmers and herdsmen as observed by (Adams et al., 2017; Opoku, 2014) is the worsening food insecurity of the continent, the loss of lives, the raping of women, bushfires and pollution of water bodies as well as the spread of diseases.

In Ghana, a significant amount of damage has been caused to lives and property as a result of the conflict between farmers and transnational herdsmen. (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015; Tonah, 2000a)
noted that the conflict between settler communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen have resulted in the loss of lives and property, insecurity, and reduced food production. Media reports have supported these assertions in recent times. Reports from peaceonline.com, ghanaweb and citationline.com indicated that 13 people died in the Northern Region in 2015, nine people in 2017 in the Agogo Traditional Area and two in the Central Region in 2018. More so, herdsmen and farmers conflict have an outreaching resultant effect on education. Tonah maintained that many children dropped out of school because of the cumulative effects of the aftermath of the conflict on family income (Tonah, 2002).

The implications of the effects of conflict and other unstable relationship between settled communities and transnational nomadic herders on the individual as well as the community demand that strategies and measures are put in place to forestall or limit the effects of the conflict.

1.8.4 Farmer Herder Conflict Management Strategies

Different strategies have been deployed to resolve conflict relationship between farmers and transnational nomadic herdsmen across different parts of the world. In Nenet and Komi, (Dwyer & Istomin, 2008) advocated that a deeper understanding of the relationship that exists between the herdsmen and their reindeers in order to be able to design policies that consider the socio-psychological needs of the pastoralists.

In most African countries, the functional driver of conflict between settled communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen is resource competition sometimes coupled with irreconcilable socio-cultural perceptions. In such circumstances, (Urmilla & Salomé, 2010) proposed the holistic management of environmental policies and programmes which are usually sub-divided and micro-managed by different organizations and agencies.
In Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire, (Tonah, 2003, p. 103) noted that different policies have been employed over time to manage the coming and relationship of transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settled communities. These policies reflected the needs of the countries at the given time. He noted that the two countries encouraged the coming of the herdsmen in the 1970s and 1980s largely as a result of augmenting the meat needs of the countries. In Ghana, the Meat Marketing Board was established to capture the bulk of the animal trade in the Upper East Region. “In Côte d’Ivoire, the government set up in 1970 the Société́ pour le Developpement des Productions Animales (SODEPRA), a parastatal organization charged with the responsibility for developing the livestock industry in the country”. In Ghana, even though the country have made tremendous strides in halving hunger records against the millennium development goal in record times, the 2017 global hunger index indicated that the country’s record of 16.2 fell below the region’s figure of 29.4 (Klaus et al., 2017). It is, therefore, necessary to harness all sectors in the agricultural Industry to ensure food security. These must include the management of conflicts that threaten food production.

Strategies employed in the Agogo traditional area as highlighted by Opoku (2014) include: avoidance, mediation, negotiation and adjudication. However, major state strategies such as operations “cow leg”, the operationalization of the ECOWAS protocol on the movement of people and good and the adoption of the regulation on movement of transhumance have to a large extent not been beneficial to managing the conflict relation between settled communities and the transnational herdsmen. A comprehensive management strategy ought to factor the idea that “conflicts are not only fueled by economic considerations but the perceptions of unfair treatment and marginalization in the decision-making process. Conflict resolution cannot be
attained through legal means only, but a combination of legality, provided by the state, and legitimacy built on local people’s rights and social justice”. (Armah, Luginaah, Yengoh, Taabazuing, & Yawson, 2013, p. 1742)

1.9.0 Sources of Data

The source of data for this study is organized based on both primary and secondary data sources. The study combined both primary and secondary sources because of the benefit it gives. Primary data provide are useful firsthand information about the phenomenon under study. It also allows for an in-depth study and understanding of the phenomenon that secondary data may not provide due to time laps or differences in study objectives. On the other hand, secondary source of data provides theoretical bases for the study, it provides an idea about current happenings about the phenomenon, and it also provides vital and detailed information about the phenomenon due to its generation by experts or organization with the requisite resources to fund it (Walliman, 2017). On the aforementioned, the study therefore combined both primary and secondary sources.

1.9.1 Primary Source of Data

Primary sources of data as (Anderson & Arsenault, 2005) stated is the data that a researcher gathers from the field which is unrefined and deserving of processing before it could be used. Alternatively, primary data could be term as the collection of data from a first-hand informant or from direct artifact which has not been subjected to any form of processing.

The primary source of data for this study was undertaken by conducting ten structured interviews with four chiefs, four assemblypersons, and the two stations officers in-charge of the Sandema
and Fumbisi Police Stations. Additionally, fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with farmers and transnational herdsmen.

The interviews were conducted with the chiefs and the police to get an understanding of the cases that are reported to them as institutions vested with some authority, the causes of the conflicts reported and the measures taken to resolve them. In additions to seeking answers to the aforementioned, the interviews with the assembly persons were to understand the measures the assemblies are taken to resolve conflict between farmers and transnational herdsmen.

The interviews with the fourteen farmers and transnational nomadic herdsmen were to gain an insight into the movement pattern of the transnational nomadic herdsmen, the effects of these movements on settled communities, the causes of conflict between the settled community members and the measures adopted to resolve conflict between them.

1.9.2 Secondary Sources of Data

On the other hand, secondary data are less easily defined than primary sources. Generally, they are accounts written after the fact with the benefit of hindsight. They are interpretations and evaluations of primary sources (Alan Bryman, 1994).

The secondary sources used for this study included published articles, books, journals, media reports and publications from renowned organisations and international bodies and internet sources. These secondary data allow study to explain the conceptual issues as well as theoretical underpinnings in the topic under investigation with justification from their earlier findings. Secondary sources of data was also used because if provides a broad and general perspective of the knowledge and challenges involved in dealing with the topic (Greenhoot & J. Dowsett, 2012)
1.10.0 Research Methodology and Design

The methodology adopted for this study is qualitative. It explored the effects of transnational movement of nomadic herdsmen on the activities of settled farmer communities in Ghana through interviews. Qualitative methods of data collection were used through the conduct of ten structured interviews and fourteen semi-structured interviews as indicated in table 1 and 2. This was necessitated by the study’s adoption of the deductive approach to collecting and analyzing data based on the study reason that, the theory of resource scarcity is very relevant in assessing farmer – conflict; that the competition for scarce resources is the reason for the conflict between settled farming communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen.

The study made use of an interpretive descriptive approach to analyze the data obtained from both primary and secondary sources of data. Even though the descriptive approach has some limitations as noted by (Neergaard, Olesen, Andersen, & Sondergaard, 2009) some of which include the potential of the describer to impose his/her views, sensibilities, and inclination in the final product especially when the study is conducted by a novice. It also has the potentials to be inspired by ground theories which can affect the validity of the study.

Despite these short-comings of the approach, this study finds it necessary to use interpretive descriptive approach because it offers the opportunity for the study to resist the temptation of classification and rather provide a bases for in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. It also allows for a description of the informant experiences similar to the informants own language (Anderson & Arsenault, 2005), (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008).
1.10.1 Study Population

The targeted population of the study was the farmers cultivating along the Sissili river valley in the two districts, the transnational nomadic herdsmen, the community leaders (chiefs/sub-chief, assembly members), and the districts police command units in the two districts.

1.10.2 Sampling Size

The sampling for the respondents were purposively selected for their knowledge and expertise in the given area and their availability to respond to the issues. The interviews are conducted at two different levels; the farmers and herders’ interviews and community leaders and police interviews. Table: 1 and 2 indicate the category of respondents at the leadership level in the districts, and the farmers and herders’ interviews at the various locations.

A total of 24 interviews were conducted. 10 of the structured interviews were conducted for settled community leaders and personal of the Ghana police in the two district. Structured interviews were used because most of the leaders could communicate fluently in the English language and therefore need little intervention for verification. On the other hand, fourteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with transnational herdsmen and settled farmers as shown in table 2.

To ensure validity and reliability, the study employed recording and transcription of the primary source of data obtained through the interviews conducted, classification and the use of descriptive approach to ensure that the study stays close to the experience of the respondent. It also ensured that secondary sources of data were thoroughly reviewed for their authenticity. This
was done by the use of scholarly articles, published books, media reports from credible media house and publication and document from established international institutions.

Table 1: Structured Interviews Respondents and Locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of community</th>
<th>Chiefs/divisional/sub-chief</th>
<th>Assembly person</th>
<th>Police</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kandema (sandema)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doninga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanjarga (kalasa)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weisi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fumbisi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gbedembilisi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Semi Structured Interviews Respondents and Locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Transnational herders (group leader)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kadema</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogninga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanjarga (kalaasa)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weisi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gbedembilisi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poo</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.11 Ethical Consideration and Limitations

In conducting this study, the following ethical consideration as noted by (Alan Bryman, 1994) were observed. The study ensured that the data gathered and used (including pictures and names) had the consent of the respondents. It also ensured that the study did not impose its demands were on the participants, therefore the information obtained was willing given and that the participants were fully informed about the overall objectives of the study. There were no pressure or coercion on the participants to provide any form of information. ultimately, confidentiality and anonymity of participants were observed and that where this principle has to be breached, the participant consent was sought.

The study also encountered some limitations in the course of the study. One major limitation noted in the study is the limited time for the study. The study noted that because of the limited time, participant especially the transnational nomadic herdsmen participants were limited. Another limitation to the study was the language barriers. The study needed competent interpreters to communicate with the transnational nomadic herdsmen who would be able to respect the ethical consideration of the study yet be able to solicit the need information. There was also the issue of managing the expectation of the participants and the larger community. It was noted that participant could not make a distinction between the study and the that any other public forum to solicit from government and non-governmental organization for various needs.

There were other cultural, religious, and socio-political dynamics of the study area that were observed. It was noted that among the transnational nomads, it was not acceptable to communicate with their females in whatever form without the explicit acceptance and presence of the head of the group.
The issue of resources needed was also another limitation. The study noted that there was the need to travel between communities for the needed information and sometimes need to sleep in order to track the movement of the transnational herders.

Even though these limitations were encountered, the study ensured its validity and reliability by varying the methods used in obtaining the data. Where language was a barrier, semi-structured interviews were used to allow for the varying of the questions. The socio-cultural values of the respondents were also observed to able study to solicit the needed information. The over-riding objective of the study as an academic work was also made known to the respondents in order to reduce their expectations of government intervention.

1.12 Organization of the Study

This section provides an idea of the arrangement of the various chapter in the study. It gives a brief description of the constituents of the various chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter seeks to present a general overview of the study the rational and objectives of the study. It introduces the phenomenon and discusses the general perspectives of the phenomenon. In view of the growing tensions, and challenges associated with the transnational monadic movement, the study using a qualitative methods sought to the establish the trends and movement pattern of the transnational nomadic herders, the causes of conflict and effect of the conflict and the resolution strategies used in the study area.
Chapter Two: Trends and Movement Partners of Transnational Herders.

The chapter provides an overview of the study area, and then seek to establish the nexus between the trends and movement patterns of the transnational nomadic herders to the availability of pasture and water in the study area as well as other favourable factors.

Chapter Three: Causes and Effects of Conflicts Between Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen and Settled Communities.

This chapter gives an in-depth analysis of the causes and effects of conflict between the transnational herders and settled communities. It also offers an insight into the measures and strategies used by the study area for the resolution of conflict among the settled communities and the transnational nomadic herders.

Chapter Four: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter Four comprises of the summary of the findings, the study’s conclusions based on these findings. It also proffers some recommendation for further studies and for policy design.
CHAPTER TWO

TRENDS AND MOVEMENT OF TRANSNATIONAL NOMADIC HERDSMEN IN GHANA

2.0 Introduction

Different theories and principles have been applied to understand the relationship between farmers and herdsmen. Kaderi (2017, p. 64) noted that resource access theory is very useful as “Property generally evokes some kind of socially acknowledged and supported claims or rights - whether that acknowledgment is by law, custom, or convention”. On the other hand, (Dary et al., 2017) alluded to the fact that in the basket of farmer herder relation, the principles of considering remote factors are as relevant as the immediate triggers of conflict. In this vein, a better appreciation of the farmer-herder relation in terms of the trends and movement patterns of the transnational nomadic herdsmen can be made from the institutions (social, cultural, political and economic institutions) and the availability of environmental resources that can effectively mediate the kind of relationship that could fuel conflict or peaceful co-existence between the two groups.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to provide an overview of the origin, and migration of the transnational nomadic herdsmen into northern Ghana, trends and patterns of the transnational herdsmen movements, and the factors (physical environment, economic activities, and socio-political structures) that account for the trends and movement pattern of the transnational nomadic herdsmen.
2.1 The Origin of Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen

The transnational nomadic herdsmen that migrate into the study area belong to the pastoral nomads spread across the West African Sahel Region. According to (Phillips, 2001; Tarig, 2014; Tonah, 2000a), these sahelian pastoral nomads are variously referred to as Fulani, mainly among English speaking people, a borrowed word from the Hausa word (Fula), they are known as Puel mainly among French speakers which is also borrowed from Wolof and Fulbe among Portuguese speakers. The literature also indicated that this ethnic group is spread across the West African Sub-Region with large population sizes in Mali, Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Burkina Faso. Some appreciable numbers of this ethnic group are also found in Ghana, Cote d’Voire, Sierra Leone and other countries. A comparison of the huts or shelter of transnational nomadic herdsmen revealed close similarities. Plate 1, 2 and 3 indicate places in Poo in Burkina Faso, Kanjarga and Dogninga in the study area.

This study particularly gathered that most of the transnational nomadic herdsmen that migrate into the study area are mostly from Burkina Faso and Mali. Eight different set of transnational nomadic herdsmen were interviewed during the study period at different parts of the study area. Table 3.1 indicates the name of the particular location the interview was conducted with the transnational herdsmen, the number interviewed and the origin of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. These interviews were conducted with mainly the head herdsmen.
Figure 1: Herders settlement in Poo in Burkina Faso (source: field data)

Figure 2: Herders settlement in Kanjarga (source: field data)
Figure 3: Herders settlement in Doninga (Source: field data)

Table 3 places were interviews were conducted with transnational herders and their origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name of location</th>
<th>Number interviewed</th>
<th>Origin of herders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kalaasa (Kanjarga)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mopti (Mali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nyansa (kanjarga)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nobre (Manga province of Burkina Faso)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yipaala and Kunkuna (Doniga)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mopti (Mali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bachiesa (Fumbisi)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nobre (Manga province of Burkina Faso)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Weisi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pissi (Manga province of Burkina Faso)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gbedembilsi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Zabre and Poo (Burkina Faso)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Poo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Poo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the interviews, four of the groups stated that they migrated from Burkina Faso noticeably, Nobre, Pissi, Zabre, and Poo. The set interviewed at Gbedembilisi indicated that they were of two sets of herdsmen form Zabre and Poo who jointly undertook the journey. They stated that their initial homeland was Dori in the Massina Region of Mali and they later moved and settled variously in Zabre and Poo in the south western parts of Burkina Faso.

All the eight groups interviewed except the one interviewed in Kalaasa and Poo stated that their movement usually starts in the month of December or early January and they make a return journey in June and July. The group in Kalaasa stated that, they moved into the country through Paga in the Kasena Nankani West District in October or November more than a year ago and have not since returned.

It is insightful to note that the two groups interviewed in Poo, Burkina Faso, stated that their movement into Ghana is often motivated by information received from their kinsmen in Ghana on the harvesting of crops, the availability of water and pasture and the willingness of the communities to accept them.

Interviews with farmers and community leaders, in Gbedembilisi, Fumbisi, Kanjarga and Dogninga, indicated that the herdsm migrate from Paga or any of its surrounding areas. These assertions they said were based on their interactions with the herdsm themselves when they come seeking for space to settle. Another interview with the Kanbonab (Sub-chief) of Kandema in the Builsa North District indicated that the herder who usually comes to settle during the dry season especially in December explained to them that they migrate from a town known as kpaliwongo (kpalaga) a community around the border between Burkina Faso, Ghana and Cote D’ivoire.
What was clearly established in these sets of interviews is that; both settled community farmers and the transnational nomadic herdsmen agreed that the transnational herdsmen usually travel into the country from either Burkina Faso or Mali. They move into the country in the month of December and move out in the month of June/July.

2.2 Herdsmen Migration into Northern Ghana

The migration of Fulani herdsmen into northern Ghana according to Tonah (2006) started in the early years of the twentieth century. The period coincides with a condition of severe drought in the Sahelian Regions of West Africa that diminished the access of herders to water and pasture for their animals. These conditions then force many of the herders out of the Sahelian Region into Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire.

Most herder migrants arriving in Ghana are said to have migrated from south western Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Nigeria. Their initial planned destination for the first migrants was the northeastern corner of Ghana between Bolgatanga and Bawku along the Volta basin. This area is known to have been sparsely populated and with lush vegetation along the Volta basin for animals (Tonah, 2000a).

Transnational pastoral herdsmen engage in herding of their own animals or animals of the local community members and trade in livestock and milk. They also maintain constant contact with their kindred in their places of origin and continuously exchange information with them with respect to pasture, water, and socio-cultural issues. The expansion of farmlands into fringe areas previously uncultivated has pushed some Fulani herdsmen to move further southward to the borders of the forest belt and subsequently into some forest zone (Tonah, 2006). They have also
adopted new routes for their perennial movements, which accounts for the large number of herders using the Gbedembilisi valley area.

There is another group of herder migrants, who came into the country in search of opportunities to hire themselves out to herd local farmers’ animals for payment. This group usually are young men who have lost the animals to drought or have been pushed out because of environmental pressure. These groups often settle in areas where they could herd animal for the locals. A sizeable number of these groups of trans-nomadic herdsmen were found in Kanjaga and Doninga.

The final group of migrants into Ghana are the seasonal migrants. These groups often migrate with large herds into the country mainly from Burkina Faso during the dry season. The movement is often triggered by the drought during the dry season and they make a return journey when the rains set in. They often solicit - from settled Fulani tribes - for information on pasture and water availability as well as permits to pass or for the use of land.

Both literature and this study saw the need to categorize these migrants in order not to overly generalize the transnational nomadic herders’ relation with the farmers and settled communities.

2.3 Trends and Patterns of Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen Movement

There was no official record or data on the trends of nomadic herdsmen in terms of their numbers that either arrive to stay or traverse to other places. It was therefore difficult to establish the trends in terms of inflows or outflows of the transnational herdsmen. However, interviews with farmer and some transnational herdsmen indicated that a minimum of six groups of transnational herdsmen pass through Doninga and Kanjaga communities in a given month between December and June. The interviews also revealed that the intensity of the movement of the transnational herdsmen increases when the dry season sets in early than usual. The study therefore in part
agrees with the assessment of the factors responsible for these movements by Olayoku (2015) that the transnational nomadic herdsmen movement are determined by:

1. Weather conditions of the place of origin and place of destination.
2. Access to water and pasture
3. Conflict in the place of origin or destination
4. Socio-cultural and religious incompatibilities of both place of origin and destination
5. Access to markets and respectability of the host community.

The study established that, the trends of the transnational herdsmen are greatly influenced by the duration of the wet season of the Sahel Region. It was discovered through interviews with the police command that cases reported involving transnational herdsmen are on the high in December and January, even though general crime in the area is always high around that time. The command also indicated that in June 2018, there were two reported cases of farmer-herder conflict in the Builsa South District. This happens to coincide with the return movement of the transnational herdsmen and the planting season of farmers of the settled community. Other interviews with herders and settled farming communities also established the fact that movement pattern is a dictate of the weather and that it occurs around December and January. The second trend of that movement is the return journey in June and July.

2.4.0 Factors responsible for trends and patterns of transnational herders’ movement.

As indicated, the study seeks to establish the factor responsible for the seasonal trends and patterns of the movement of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. This is done in line with the assessment indicated by Olayoku (2015)
2.4.1 Physical Environment of the Study Areas.

The Kassena Nankana Municipal and the Kaseena Nankana West Districts politically border the study area (the Builsa North and South Districts) to the north; the Sissala East District borders the study area in the west. In the south the area shares boundaries with the Mamprugu Moagduri District and to the east with the Manprusi West District. The two districts cover a total land area of 2,220 square kilometers.

These districts have a significant proportion of their land cover falling within the catchment area of the Volta basin. A number of tributaries of the White Volta dissect the land. Some major tributaries of the White Volta in the study area include Sissili, Tono, Asebelika, and Abelikpien. Most of these rivers dry up in the dry season especially in February and March. However, they retain significant amount of water at different sections of their courses, which are used by animals and sometimes for irrigation. These spots of water along the valleys are equally points of attraction to the transnational herdsmen as they provide the needed water and pasture for their animals.

The two districts have a single rainfall season, which usually starts in April and ends in October. Annual rainfall ranges between 85mm to 1150mm and the vegetation is usually savannah woodland consisting of deciduous fire resistant trees, herbs and grasses of various densities (Ben, 2011). The period of the dry season, which would have reached its peak with high temperatures in Burkina Faso and most Sahel countries, triggers the movement of the transnational nomadic herdsmen into the study area.

This movement of transnational nomadic herdsmen usually starts from southern Burkina Faso through the Kassena Nankani West District. Their movement usually starts in December and
they make a return movement in June and July when water and pasture become available in their homelands.

It is important to also highlight the fact that the lush vegetation and water in the valley attract usually unguided local animals and transnational nomadic herdsmen for water and pasture. Figure 1 is a map of the study area showing the various communities and the river Sissili that is a major route for the movement of transnational nomadic herdsmen. The physical environment of the study area is a key attraction to the transnational nomadic herdsmen.

Fig. 1 A map of the study area.

Source: Builsa North District Assembly, 2010
2.4.2 Economic Activities of the Study Area

The economic activities of the settled farmer communities have great impact on the trends and pattern of movement of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. Most of the settled communities’ members engage in agricultural activities. The agricultural sector employs about 96% of the people of the Builsa South District and about 67% of the people of the Builsa North District. Basically, the people engage in both cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals on subsistence basis. However, the alluvial soil along the Fumbisi valleys passing through the following communities: Doninga, Kalaasa, Weisi and Gbedembilisi, are very good places for the commercial cultivation of rice. It is worth emphasizing that the Weisi and Gbedembilisi portions of the valley have been cultivated on commercial basis. Crops produces include maize, millet, soya beans, beans, groundnut, and rice among others (Builsa South District composite budget, 2016). Residues of the crops produced along this valley are a point of attraction for transnational nomadic herdsmen who use the valley planes in December.

Herding of animals (mainly cattle, goats and ship) are also practiced in all the communities across the study area. The transnational nomadic herdsmen actively use the valley beds along the tributaries mentioned as they settle or transit through the study area. It also worth noting that, interviews with farmers, community leaders and transnational nomadic herdsmen indicated that the latter group provide services to some of the local or settled communities’ members on arrival to the study area. This is by taking up the herding of their cattle, which they may send downstream out of the study area to feed them and on their return are paid for their services. The presence of enough pasture along the tributaries of the Sissili River and the residues of rice, bean and millet on the cultivated farms are the first attraction of the transnational nomadic herdsmen to the study
area. On most occasions, their trade appears to find favour with some of the community members who also engage in the rearing of animals.

2.4.3 Socio-Political Structure

There are two forms of governance systems in the study area: the central political administrative system and the traditional authorities. In terms of central political administrative system, the Builsa South and Builsa North are under separate districts assemblies. However, the traditional political system is organized under one traditional authority. The “Sandema-Nab” (king) is the overload and paramount chief of the Builsa traditional area. He exercises jurisdiction over the area with the help of eight (8) divisional chiefs and each of these divisional chiefs have sub-chiefs under them known as the “Kanbon-nalima” to help them. Land in the Builsa North District is not owned by individuals but rather by families. The heads of the various families take care of the land on behalf of the family. A chief however oversees the distribution and sale of land.

The “Teng-Nyam” (People believed to be original natives or first settlers) are usually considered the landlords or original owners of the land. These “Teng-nyams” are also custodians of the shrines and gods of the lands. Therefore, in matters regarding land disputes, these various traditional authorities are of utmost importance. For so many years the system of resolving conflict between settled community members and transnational nomadic herdsmen have resulted in peace and hence the attraction of the transnational herdsmen to the area.

2.4.4 Land Acquisition and Land Use Process in Ghana.

Land in Ghana and by extension the African continent is largely held in the hand of individuals, families or clans. In Ghana, (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015) indicated that land is owned through
two main systems – customary and statutory land tenure system. They indicated that, under customary land management system, about 80% of the total land of Ghana are administered through this system. They categorized the system of management under, “allodial titles, free hold titles, customary free hold or common free hold; lease hold and lesser interest or sheared cropping”

Customary land tenure systems are mainly administered by individuals, chiefs or family or clan heads or anybody clothed with the authority to do that. The system is administered under the prevailing regulation in the area. In the opinion of Yeboah and Shaw (2013), land holding systems in Ghana are categorized into three main types. These are public lands, customary lands and vested lands. They argued that customary land management systems involve lands collectively owned and managed by kingdoms clans and families. The authority to regulate the use of the lands are conferred on elders, chiefs and sub-chiefs. On the other hand, public lands are managed by the state. The state derives its legal authority from acquisition or what has been inherited from the colonial government after independence and which the constitutions permits.

A third form of ownership and management is what Yeboah and Shaw described as the hybrid land ownership and management system. This combines legal authority and customary authority to own and manage land. These aforementioned observations were confirmed with the interviews conducted with the various community leaders. However, most of them indicted that the transnational nomads are seasonal users of the land and usually do not require some of the legal processes needed for land to be given to them. In relative terms, the farmers when interviewed laid claims or entitlement to the lands they cultivate.
2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study identified that the source of most of the transnational nomadic herdsmen as mainly coming from Burkina Faso and Mali. The trends and patterns of their movement are dependent on the relative ease with which they can access pasture and water, the acceptability of the use of these resources by settled communities. They are particularly attracted to the study area due to the physical environmental factors of the both the place of origin and destination, the economic activities, the socio-political structures and land acquisition and uses in the study area. The study therefore establishes that the trends and patterns of transnational nomadic herdsmen are perennial in nature occasioned by the drought conditions in the sahel regions of West Africa. Their movements are patterned along water and pasture sources in the volta basin.
CHAPTER THREE

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN TRANSNATIONAL NOMADIC HERDSMEN AND SETTLED COMMUNITIES.

3.0 Introduction

The chapter presents an analysis of the causes and effects of transnational nomadic herdsmen activities in Ghana. It specifically assesses the conflict relation between the transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settled communities in the Builsa Districts. It also offered an idea as to how conflict resolution and other relationships with the transnational nomadic herdsmen were conducted. Some of these measures and strategies to resolve conflict are unique and particular to the challenges of the study area.

3.1.0 Causes of Settled Communities and Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen Conflict.

Farmer herdsmen relationship has not known many confrontations in the study area until 2000. Records to the effect that farmers and herders had engaged in conflict before 2000 were virtually non-existing in the police offices, the districts assemblies, or records of the traditional councils. The chief of Kanjarga traditional area stated that the Kanjarga community had been peacefully coexisting with transnational nomadic herdsmen and had mutual relations with the herdsmen for many years. The herdsmen existence was not noticed by most of the settled community members because their activities were confined to the fringes of the community. They were also free to settle on the banks of the Sisilli River since cultivation was not done around the area, he stated.

It was also realized during interviews with farmers and herders in Weisi and Dominga that these herdsmen were allowed to settle on a specific portion of the valley to feed on the residues of the crops produced during the dry season. The reason was that the droppings of the animals would
fertilize the farm for the next planting season as well as reduce the burden of clearing the land for the next cultivation.

There were other similar symbiotic relationships that were expressed in Fumbisi, Gbedembilisi and Kandema in Sandema such as trade in animals and dairy products and the temporary transfer of animals to the transnational nomadic herdsmen to take care of them as they stay or travel further southwards with the animals in search of feed.

These symbiotic relationships as expressed are gradually giving way to tensed and conflict confrontation between the settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen mainly because of competition for land and water along the banks of major rivers in the study area. The study gathered that the major source of conflict between the transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settled community farmers could be grouped into immediate causes and remote causes.

3.1.1 Immediate Causes of Conflict between Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen and Settled Communities.

The immediate causes are the direct activities of either parties that could trigger off conflict between the transnational herdsmen and the settled farmers. These were identified as; competition for resource use, stealing of animals, competing interest with settled pastoralist, and the destruction of economic trees.

3.1.1.1 Competition for Resource Use

The most common cause of conflict that was identified and accounting for most of the tensed and conflict relations was the destruction of crops by the animal of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. Most farmers in the communities lamented about the destruction of their crops by the
animals of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. It was also realized that some farms of the settled communities in Kanjarga, Doninga and Weisi were cultivated close to the banks of the river Sissili. Respondents also stated that these new farms hitherto were uncultivated and so are very fertile than their regular farms. The interviews with farmers and some community leaders further averred that farmers have expanded farms much closer to the banks of the rivers stated. They also agreed that they cultivate beans and vegetables along the banks of the various rivers during the dry season. Some herdsmen who have been interviewed stated that some of their animal sometimes stray into farms and cause destruction. They however stated they have always resolved such issues with the farm owners sometimes compensations are paid.

In respect of the information provided above, this study avers that the major cause of conflict between the settled community members and the transnational nomadic herdsmen is competition for land and water resources. It further provides, per the assessment of this study, that the scarcity of land and water resources for farming and for the passage or stay of the transnational nomadic herdsmen is largely the cause of conflict between the two groups. The scarcity of water and land along the banks of the rivers in the study area therefore make it more relevant in applying resource scarcity theory in studies of this nature.

3.1.1.2 Stealing of Animals

Another immediate cause of conflict that was noted was the stealing of animals. In almost all the communities, both settled farmers and transnational nomadic herders alleged the stealing of their animals by each group. The herdsmen complained that some settled community members kill their animal, which they sell as “bush-meat” (game) to people in the market. Some group of herdsmen stated that when they fiercely resist the activities of these thieves, it often results in conflict.
Settled community members also complained that the transnational herdsmen would deliberately steal other peoples’ animals along the course of their journey without the community members noticing because of the large numbers of their herds. They alleged that these animals are sold at different places. This has resulted in conflict confrontation between the settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen. There is also a growing suspicion between both groups about each other’s’ conduct and has resulted in some communities mobilising to attack transnational nomadic herdsmen.

3.1.1.3 Competing Interest with Settled Pastoralist

It is important to note that both settled communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen have interest in both pasture and water availability. It was realized that settled community members are most often than not farmers and herders who normally would not travel with their herds outside their communities. They allow their animals to roam and even graze in the valleys during the dry season. Settled community members also place value on their animal as symbols of wealth much as the transnational nomadic herdsmen. In other words, their competing interest in the pasture and water because of their interest in increasing their stocks often creates tensions and conflict between the transnational herders and the settled herders. Both their desire to increase stocks lead to further competition among the two parties for water and pasture which sometimes gets worse and results in confrontations and conflicts

3.1.1.4 Destruction of Economic Trees

As a result of the increased stocks and the subsequent competition for pasture, some herdsmen engage in the cutting down of trees to feed their animals. These trees, often of economic value to farmers and their households, are one of the immediate causes that run through all the
Most settled community members complained that the herdsmen usually cut down economic trees like the Shea tree and the Dawadawa tree to feed their animals. This reduces Shea and Dawadawa yields which affect mostly the women who, as the collectors of shea nuts and dawadwa seeds, acts as significant contributors to the family income. Therefore, the cutting of these trees significantly affects the family income and most settled communities have resisted this act fiercely. The district assemblies have also passed bye-laws to prevent the cutting of these trees and as a way of preventing conflict between herders and non-herders in the communities.

3.1.2.0 Remote Causes

The remote causes as the study identified were issues that are usually not directly related to the immediate conflict between the farmers and the transnational nomads. There are underlining factors that exacerbate the tensions and conflicts as triggered by the immediate factors. They were identified as issues relating to socio-cultural differences, alleged rape cases, armed robbery cases and the expansions of farmlands into fringe areas.

3.1.2.1 Irreconcilable Interest and Cultures

The study through the interviews and by observations realized that there are cultural and religious practices that are fundamentally different from each other. The study area is made up of mainly Builsa who are traditionalist or Christian. There are minority groups of Muslims who are mainly found in the towns. However, most of the transnational nomadic herdsmen encountered during the study stated that they were Muslims. Even though not widely stated, some settled community members indicated that the transnational nomadic herdsmen are quite unfriendly and they disrespect their sacred places and shrines (grooves) during their movement. It was also noted that most of the communities has reserved grooves, which they consider sacred. The vegetation of
these places of worship are usually rich because nobody is allowed to cut from these places. It is also true that most of the transnational herders are usually unaware of these sacred places and their animals may or they themselves may cause destructions to these sacred grooves.

Language is one of the areas where the two parties often misinterpret each other’s actions or expressions. One community leader stated that they have to drive some transnational nomadic herdsmen out of the community for naming one of their children (Atenka-nyona) to imply that the land they met is a terra-nullius. To them, that was a mark of disrespect and an insult to their hospitality.

3.1.2.2 Alleged Rape Cases

Even though no single case of rape has been reported to the police between 2000 to 2017 involving transnational nomadic herdsmen, respondents in all the villages visited mainly community leaders indicated that their women could no longer freely roam in the forest to pick shea nuts for fear of being raped by the transnational nomadic herdsmen. One of the chiefs indicated that if the rape cases were even true, no community member would report it unless the woman is badly hurt for reason of stigmatization. There is therefore that subtle anger among settled community members against the transnational nomadic herdsmen and which may be used along with other triggers of conflict to escalate conflict.

3.1.2.3 The Alleged Involvement of Herders in Arm Robbery

Another remote cause of conflict between the herders and the settled community members is the alleged involvement of transnational nomadic herdsmen in armed robbery cases. The police command indicated that there were about four (4) armed robbery cases in the Builsa South District and about two (2) in the Builsa North District in 2017 and one (1) each in both districts
in the 2018. The most recent robbery case on 23rd August, 2018 in Fumbisi had four of the alleged suspects believed to be of the Fulani group of herders in the communities. The other cases in which no arrest were made are alleged to have been committed by Fulanis, an ethnic group known mainly to be the transnational nomadic herdsmen. Coincidentally, these cases were recorded between November and February, the period within which the transnational nomadic herdsmen come into the country. There is, therefore, a growing resentment against the transnational nomadic herdsmen among settled community members.

3.1.2.4 Expansion of Farms

The Builsa South District has attracted commercial farmers because of the rich alluvial soil found along the valley plane of the Sissili River. This has led to the tremendous expansion of farms closer to the passage areas of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. Harvesting of the farm produce are sometimes delayed until December or January. This period is also the time the transnational herdsmen also use the valley plane. It is often in the interest of the commercial farmer to drive away the transnational nomadic herdsmen. The interest of the farmers over the use of land contradicts that of the transnational nomadic herdsmen. Two of the commercial farmers interviewed accused the transnational herdsmen of setting fire to their unharvested crops or the destruction of the crops by the animal. It is often stated that most of the herdsmen and some community members set fire to dried grasses so that new and leafy ones could sprawled out to feed the animal. The competition for the use of land and the conflict associated with it emphasizes the appropriateness of the resource scarcity theory.
3.2 Effects of Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen Settler Community Conflicts on the Communities

As noted by (Bukari & Schareika, 2015) and (Tonah, 2000b, 2006) the Fulani ethnic group who are the main group involved in transnational herding are often in the minority group in most part of the country where they are found. Bukari and Schareika, and Tonah noted that the “indigenous” people often discriminate against these minority groups. This discrimination further lead to the seclusion of the group by limiting their ability to integrate with the settler community and further heightens stereotype beliefs about each other. This assertion was found to be true during the study. Most respondents of the settled communities stated that the transnational herders are uncultured or uncivilized. Some even stated that they will not consume milk or any of the herders’ products out of despise for them. These perceptions are fertilized by the further seclusion of the herders from the main communities and by language barriers.

The seclusion of transnational nomadic herdsmen and the growing perception of the transnational nomadic herders as being armed robbers with the concomitant effects of heightened tension among the settler communities are creating a state of insecurity in the communities, the result is that, some activities such as shea nuts picking have reduced drastically.

Another effect of this tension is the harm and physical injury that some settled community members and some transnational nomadic herdsmen have suffered. It was noted during the study that the cases that came to the police as a direct result of conflict between farmers and herdsmen were two (2) all in 2016. However, the police and some community leaders revealed that there were other cases, which were handled by the traditional authorities but were not documented. In all the cases reported, there were various degrees of injuries suffered.
Another grief effect of the tensions and conflict is low production of food crops and shea nuts. The destruction of food crops and the cutting of the shea tree to feed animals have direct impact on the amount of food produced within a particular year. The fear of being attacked by the transnational nomadic herdsmen have also limited the ability of the farmers to produce in large quantities. It has also limited the ability of the transnational nomadic herdsmen to trade their animal at the local markets. The overall impact is the fact that food production is curtailed and therefore become expensive in the local market.

Another effect is that, the local cattle breeders who had the opportunity to give their animals to the transnational nomadic herders so that they could be better fed during the dry season can no longer do that out of fear. The general effect of the local cattle breeders’ inability to utilize the transnational herdsmen pass is their creation of exclusive areas for their animals thereby further narrowing the passage used by the nomadic herdsmen. This leads to further resource conflict and further straining the tensed situation.

One effect that would need serious consideration and further studies is the issue of rape and the psychological effects on the victims. Even though as stated, the study was not able to interact with any victim and the police recorded no case of that sort, it prominence among discussants during most of the focus group discussions led the study to posit that the respondent were not willing to reveal beyond highlighting the presence of the issue. It was understood to mean that cultural as well as personal reasons would make reporting such cases very difficult. This notwithstanding, the study recognizes that the effects of such cases, if they exist, would put a great burden on the victims who are mostly women.
3.3 Measure and Strategies to Resolve Conflict among Settler Communities and Transnational Nomadic Herdsmen.

The triggers of conflict are usually many and mixed. Settled communities conflict with transnational nomadic herdsmen are by no mean way exceptional to the general or known causes, however, they have their unique factors or causes which vary in time and space. Even though these conflicts have their unique traces, they sometime lend themselves to universal resolution processes yet still; other universal resolution processes are counterproductive. In this respect, Tonah, acknowledged that state intervention such as ‘Operation Cow Leg’ may lead to the marginalization of one of the parties in the conflict. The application of the “one side fit all” polices may not entirely deal with the problem and hence the reoccurrence of the conflict or the total failure of the policies in certain context in terms of time and space.

Armah et al. (2013) acknowledge the differences in the complex factors that cause conflict between settled communities and nomadic herdsmen and stated that various measure to resolve the conflict of farmers and herders may include avoidance, mediation adjustments and specific state intervention measures.

This study identified that most of the issues raised as resulting into the conflict between the settled communities and the transnational herdsmen have specific cultural and environmental tags to them. The ways by which the people had solved such issues also vary across time, space and the circumstances. These measure and strategies may vary drastically from the known state intervention measures in Ghana. They also vary from the measures applied by other communities with similar conflict situation.
The study identified that though people of the Builsa ethnicity occupy the study area predominantly, they share a trait with the transnational nomadic herdsmen, as they too place value in the number of cattle one has. This largely defines their accommodation of the transnational nomadic herdsmen and their peaceful coexistence and relationship for the past years before the 2000s.

Some of the measures that were identified included the creation of a symbiotic relation where the transnational nomadic herdsmen would feed their animal on the residues of crops cultivated in the valleys and farms of the members of the settled communities and in return, the droppings of the animals fertilize the soil for the next planting season. It was also realized that this type of relation, which cut across the study area, was developed to the extent that some of the transnational nomadic herdsmen had land to settle permanently. These settled herdsmen periodically relay information to their kinsmen or allow their kinsmen to visit to ascertain environmental conditions before the annual trans-border movement. In this type of relation, it is easier to deal with the transnational herdsmen when conflict arises since there is always a lead fellow that can be contacted.

The major strategy adopted, apart from the mutual benefit of herding and cultivation, was to allocate part of the land near water bodies to transnational herdsmen who will settle on the land for a number of year as so agreed by the two parties and that pastoralist would act as the liaison between the transnational herdsmers and the settled communities.

This type of relation also allows for another form of measure that promotes peaceful existence and conflict resolution. The local community cattle owners through the liaison could request the services of a hired pastoral nomad from other places to help in herding the cattle of the local owners. It was realized during the study that this form of cooperation was very effective and
widespread in many communities and the settler transnational nomadic herders were fully integrated into the communities. It was also realized that about two or more local cattle owners jointly and usually procure the services of transnational nomadic herdsmen and that they would seek to secure the welfare of these transnational nomadic herdsmen. Issues relating to the activities of the herdsmen are therefore often forwarded to them. It therefore becomes easier for whatever conflict between the parties to be resolved with ease since the local cattle breeders are members of the community and the language and cultural barriers are broken.

Another strategy that the study noticed was the use of traditional institutions in the resolution of conflicts. It was realized that when conflicts emanate from the destruction of crops by the animals of the transnational nomadic herdsmen, the issues are always resolved with the traditional authorities. The various hierarchies of traditional authorities are fully exploited to the maximum use. Each of these authorities have different roles they perform in the resolution of conflict. In most case, the Teng-nyam” (landlord) are made to offer sacrifices to appease the gods if physical injury is involved. In other cases, compensations are paid to the victim of the destruction in the case of crops or the killing of an animal.

3.4 Conclusion

The study established that the movement of the transnational nomadic herdsmen occurs in two phases. The first is the annual arrival of the transnational nomadic herdsmen in the month of December and January. The second phase occurs in June and July when the transnational nomadic herdsmen are to return to their place of origin. It was also noticed that these transnational nomads either settle or pass through the study area using mainly the river Sissili valley plane.
In the movement of these transnational nomadic herdsmen, they relate diversely with settled communities. Their relations and activities have had different implications for the settled communities. The study identified that relationship between the transnational herdsmen and the settled communities are both mutual and sometimes confrontational. The relationships are often determined by the two parties’ interest in water and land resources. Other causes of strained relations, which has become prominent since the 2000s has been grouped into remote causes and immediate causes.

The study also identified that because of the unique symbiotic relation between the settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen, they have adapted different measures and strategies to resolve conflict and tensed situations between the two groups. It was noted prominently the roles of the various traditional authorities and how various individual such as settled pastoralist and local cattle breeders play in the resolution processes. It is important to note that even though the situations may be similar various measure must be adopted in resolving conflicts between the transnational nomadic herders and settled communities because of the variation in time and space.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study by providing a summarized account of the main findings of the study and the conclusions that are made from the study. After having drawn conclusions from the finding, it provides a way forward by way of recommendations as to how policies, state and traditional institutions could get involved in managing and resolving the conflict between transnational nomadic herdsmen and settled communities.

4.1 Summary of Study Findings

The study set out to identify the trends and movements of transnational nomadic herdsmen, the cause of conflict and tension between settled communities and the transnational nomadic herdsmen. The study set achieved the stated objectives using structured and unstructured interviews. In all, a total of 18 focus group discussions and 13 interviews were held with transnational herders and farmers of settled communities, chiefs, Assemblymen and community leaders, and the police.

It was discovered that most of the transnational nomadic herdsmen migrate from Mali and Burkina Faso. The trends and movement pattern of the transnational nomadic herdsmen are dictated by environmental conditions of the place of origin and the place of destination, access to water and pasture, conflict in the place of origin or destination, socio-cultural and religious incompatibilities of both place of origin and destination, access to markets and the respectability of the host community.
As the transnational nomadic herdsmen move, their activities generate both mutual and conflict situations that need to be manage. The various ways by which the activities of the transnational herdsmen are mutually beneficially have accounted for the peaceful coexistence between the two parties. However, it was also realized that there are a number of factors that could trigger conflict among the settled communities and the transnational herdsmen. These causes were identified as immediate and remote causes.

The immediate causes were identified as the cause that most often would cause direct confrontation between the two parties. In other words, the immediate causes are usually the drivers that could easily be identified as the direct cause of the conflict. These included direct competition for water and pasture and the destruction of crops, the stealing of animals as alleged by both sides, competing interest between the transnational herdsmen with settled pastoralist, and the destruction of economic trees.

The remote causes are seen as those that are not directly linked to the conflict but are more of background causes that would fuel the conflict. These are usual not expressed as causes of the conflict but ride on the backs of the immediate cause. These however have the potential to prolong a conflict if they are not identified and dealt with. Some of these that were identified during the study included; irreconcilable interest and culture, alleged cases of rape, armed robbery and farms expansions.

The study further identified that some of the conflict were basically resolved using the traditional authorities in the study area. Due to the complex nature of the study area, where the settled communities’ members are both farmers as well as pastoralist, where the activities of both groups may adversely affect the activities of each other group, or if handled well could create mutual benefits, endogenous conflict resolution strategies and measures have been greatly exploited.
more than exogenous measures like state interventions and policies. Some of these measures such as mediation, avoidance, and integration have been used at different times. However, quite unique to the study area is the ability to create space specifically for the relative permanent settlement of the transitional nomadic herder. This is done to create a link between the transnational herdsmen and the settled communities. It also helps in conflict resolution because of the middleman who act and break the language barriers.

Another different strategy or measure to ensure that tensions are managed well is the creation of shared responsibility. In other words, there were places that it was noted that the land had shared usage. The farmers would cultivate the land in the wet season and the residues of the crops mainly rice, millet and bean are left for the transnational nomadic herdsmen whose animal droppings fertilized the land for the next cultivation season. This system allows for the shared responsibility in caring and protecting the land.

Compensations payments were another means by which issues of conflict were resolved peacefully. The study noted that transnational nomadic herdsmen through the liaison could easily link up with settled community members using the traditional institutions to compensate farmers whose crops are damaged by their animals and the same processes could be used to forward their grievances.

The study also noted that because of the mutual interest both parties have in their animals they turn to cooperate on many issues. In most of the communities, the transnational nomadic herdsmen take up herding of the animals of the local cattle breeders some times for a fee and as a way of gaining access to the lush vegetation. In this symbiotic relation, the transnational nomadic herdsmen gain some among of protection form the local communities and their activities generate mutual benefits rather than conflict.
4.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study averse that the relationship and activities of the transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settled communities are better appreciated in context. In other words, the environment, time and circumstances are all important in determining the causes and effects of the transnational nomadic herdsmen activities on the settled communities. The appreciation of the contextual differences provides a better opportunity for the provision of measures and strategies in resolving conflict.

4.3 Recommendations

The study recognizes the complex factors involve in the issues of settled communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen relations.

One of the major cause of conflict as identified by the study is the expansion of farm into territories known to the nomadic herders. As (Blench & Dendo, 2003) had stated, the study recommends the creation of access to water and pasture resources for the transnational nomadic herdsmen by both local and national government policies.

The study also recommends that government policies aimed at resolving conflict between the farmers and the herdsmen should adopt local conflict resolution measures used by the communities’.

In addition, the study recommends that known traditional institutions like the traditional councils that have handled settled communities and transnational nomads should be studied and given resources and capacities to work by government.
This study also recognizes the limited time for the study which might have eliminated some important factors. Therefore, the study recommends a longitudinal study of future phenomenon by researchers and academics.
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APPENDIX I

LEGON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

RESEARCH INTERVIEW GUIDE (2018)

This interview guide is designed to solicit information on the effect of farmer herder conflict in Ghana. The research is purely for academic purposes and does not seek to expose, victimize or vindicate anybody. Your responses shall be treated with the utmost confidentiality they deserve.

Interview Guide for Transnational Herdsmen

A) Bio-data of respondent (tick where appropriate)

1. Name of community ______________________________________________________

2. Sex of respondent: Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Age of respondent: 10 – 20 ☐ 21 ☐ above 31 ☐

4. Where is your country of origin? ______________________________

5. Name of Place of origin _____________________________________________

B) Movement Trends and Pattern

6. When do you move?

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7. When do you move back to your area of origin?

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8. How long have you been in this area?
9. Why did you have to move from your place of origin?

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C) Causes of Farmer Herder Conflict

10. Do you encounter settler communities during the cause of the movement? Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Describe the nature of the relationship with:

A) Settler community leaders.

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B) Ordinary settler community members. -

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12. What cause conflict between the transnational nomadic herdsmen and the settler communities?

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13. What are the effects of conflict between settler communities and transitional herdsmen?

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14. What measures are there to resolve conflict between settler communities and transnational nomadic herdsmen?

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4. Ethnicity: Builsa ☐ Fulani ☐ Manpurisi ☐ Others ☐

5. Occupation: farming ☐ herding ☐ trading ☐ other ☐

6. Function of Respondent Care taker ☐ owner ☐

Movement trends and pattern of transitional nomadic herdsmen

7. When do transitional nomadic herdsmen come or pass through the area?

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8. what accounts for the movement of transnational nomadic herdsmen?

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9. Where do they come from?

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10. How long do they stay on the land or spend in passing through? _________________

11. How do they get passage through the land?

12. How do they get permit to settle on the land?

Causes and effects of conflict among settler community and transnational nomadic herdsmen?
13. What activities do the transnational nomadic herdsmen undertake during their stay or passage?
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

14. What activities do you undertake during the dry season?
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

15. How do you relate with the transitional herdsmen?
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

16. Do the activities of transnational nomadic herdsmen affect your activities? __________

17. How do their activities affect yours?
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

18. What cause conflict between the settler community and the transnational nomadic herdsmen?
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
19. What effects does the conflicts have on the community?

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________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

20. What can be done to resolve the conflict?

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