

**THE FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA:
THE CASE OF AGOGO AREA IN THE ASANTE-AKIM
NORTH DISTRICT, ASHANTI REGION OF GHANA**



**BY
MOHAMMED IMORO
10084293**

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

DECLARATION

I, Mohammed Imoro, hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Ken Ahorsu and that no part of it has been submitted in part nor in whole to any institution, organization or anywhere other than the purpose for which it was written. It does not incorporate without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution or previously submitted or written by any other person, except where due references are made in the text.

.....

MOHAMMED IMORO
(STUDENT)

DATE.....

.....

DR. KEN AHORSU
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE.....

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, through whose sponsorship I pursued this course, and to any other individual or institution that helped me directly or indirectly to make the study a success.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Allah the Almighty for granting me good health and wellbeing that was necessary to complete this work. I would also like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Ken Ahorsu for his immense patience, motivation and in-depth knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of the research and I could not have imagined having a better supervisor and mentor.

Besides my supervisor, I would also like to thank all the heads of MMDAs, security heads, missions' personnel and individuals who took time from their busy schedules to grant me interviews, and through whose support that I obtain the data I used for this work.

My sincere thanks also go to Mr. Sampson Ayuune and his friend Nana, both of who immensely supported me to administer the questionnaires that solicit views of both indigenes and Fulani herdsmen, and which forms the pivot of this work.

I am also grateful to Dr. Adam Salifu, Samuel Darkey and Ralph who shaped my ideas on how to come out with this work. I also take the opportunity to express my gratitude to everyone who helped me directly and indirectly during this academic exercise.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family: My pretty wife, Hajia Wasila for her massive encourage, support and the patience to endure my absence from home for the one year period of study. My mother, Hajia Amamata and my siblings also deserve a praise for bearing with me throughout the study period.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	II
DEDICATION	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	VIII
LIST OF MAPS	IX
LIST OF TABLES	X
ABSTRACT	XI
CHAPTER ONE	1
BACKGROUND OF FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Study Area	3
1.2 Problem Statement.....	4
1.3 Research Objectives.....	6
1.4 Research Questions	6
1.5 Theoretical Framework.....	7
1.6 Literature Review.....	9
1.6.1 Causes of Fulani Herdsmen Migration in West Africa.....	9
1.6.2 Farmer-Herder Conflict in West Africa.....	13
1.6.3 Accusation of crime.....	19
1.6.4 Pastoralism and Terrorism	21
1.7 Rational of the Study	23
1.8 Scope of the Study	23
1.9 Methodology and Sources of Data	24
1.9.1 Limitations, Reliability and Validity.....	25
1.10 Operational Definition of Terms.....	26
1.11 Organization of the Study	26
CHAPTER TWO	27
OVERVIEW OF FULANI MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN WEST AFRICA	27
2.0 Introduction.....	27

2.1 The history of Fulani Herdsmen Migration to the littoral states of West Africa	28
2.2 The worsening situation in the Sahel.....	30
2.3 Pastoralism and land use in West Africa.....	31
2.3.1 Forms of Transhumance in West Africa	31
2.3.2 Directions of Cross-Border Transhumance Movement in West Africa	32
2.4 Current Dynamics of the Crisis	34
2.5 The nature of Fulani herdsman and Farmers	35
2.6 Governmental Methods of Managing the Conflict in West Africa	38
2.7 Critique of ‘Operation Cowleg’	40
CHAPTER THREE.....	42
DATA ANALYSIS ON FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA	42
3.1 Introduction.....	42
3.2 Data management	42
3.3 Analysis of Qualitative data.....	43
3.4 Data Profiling.....	43
3.5 Data Coding	44
3.5.1 Coding and theme construction.....	45
3.6 Description of respondents.....	46
3.7 Factors that influence Fulani herdsman migration and their settlement in littoral states in West Africa.....	47
3.7.1 ECOWAS free movement and transhumance policy.....	47
3.7.2 Factors that influence Fulani migration	49
3.8 Discussion of results	52
3.8.1 Environmental factors that attracted Fulani herdsman into Asante-Akim North District	52
3.8.2 Cultural factors that attract Fulani herdsman into Asante-Akim North District	55
3.9 Determinants of conflict between Fulani herdsman and indigenous farmers in Asante-Akim North District.....	56
3.9.1 Competition over livelihood resources	57
3.9.2 Institutional factors	59
3.9.3 Legal lapses.....	59
3.9.4 Abuse of media hype.....	61
3.9.5 Destruction of livelihood assets.....	62
3.9.6 Exploitation of Fulani herdsman	65
3.9.7 Political interference	67

3.10 How much crime is traced to Fulani herdsmen?	68
3.11 Conclusion	71
CHAPTER FOUR	72
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	72
4.0 Introduction	72
4.1 Summary of Findings.....	72
4.2 Conclusions.....	74
4.3 Recommendation	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	77
APPENDIX	82
APPENDIX 1	82
APPENDIX 2	84
APPENDIX 3	86
APPENDIX 4	92
APPENDIX 5	98
APPENDIX 6	100
APPENDIX 7	102
APPENDIX 8	127
APPENDIX 9	128
APPENDIX 10	129
APPENDIX 11	130

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

W/A	-	West Africa
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
GSS	-	Ghana Statistical Service
AANDA	-	Asante-Akim North District Assembly
UN	-	United Nations
UK	-	United Kingdom
LDC	-	Least Developed Countries
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
AQIM	-	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
FLM	-	Front de Libération du Macina
AD	-	After Death
ACCORD	-	Africa Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Dispute
FAO	-	Food and Agriculture Organization
ETTP	-	ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol
ITC	-	International Transhumance Protocol
ID	-	Identification
KII	-	Key Informant Interview

LIST OF MAPS

- Figure 1 - Map of the Asante-Akim North District
- Figure 2 - Map of Transhumance Axes in West Africa

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	-	Profile of respondents
Table 2	-	Farmers' opinion on what motivates Fulani herdsmen to migrate to Ghana
Table 3	-	Fulani herdsmen opinion on factors that motivate their relocation to Ghana (multiple responses)
Table 4	-	Fulani herdsmen perception of major factors that attracts them to the Agogo area
Table 5	-	Proportion of farmers who think competition over land and Water use plays a part in the conflict
Table 6	-	Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who think competition over land and water use play a part in the conflict
Table 7	-	Reasons for conflict b/n Fulani herdsmen and Farmers
Table 8	-	Proportion of indigenous farmers who have ever had their farms destroyed by cattle
Table 9	-	Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who think conflict has an Impact on cattle rearing in the area
Table 10	-	Reasons for conflict b/n Fulani herdsmen and Farmers
Table 11	-	Farmers' perception of the perpetrators of crime in the area
Table 12	-	Proportion of indigenous farmers who think the presence of Fulani herdsmen have an impact on crime in the area
Table 13	-	Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who admitted that they have ever been accused of crime
Table 14	-	Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who think similar crimes are committed by indigenes

ABSTRACT

The study examined factors responsible for the increase in migration of Fulani herdsmen from the Sahel and their increasing settlement in littoral states in West Africa. It investigates the factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to the Asante-Akim North District and the factors that are responsible for the conflictual relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in Ghana as well as examine how much of the crime in the Agogo area can be traced to the Fulani herdsmen. Fourteen key informant interviewees were purposively sampled. Qualitative data were obtained using one-on-one interviews with the respondents. The interviews were audio-taped, transcribed and analyzed thematically guided by the environmental conflict theory, to ascertain facts, beliefs, comments, and opinions. The findings revealed that, ECOWAS free movement policy, pull and push factors, which includes climatic conditions, greener pastures, and security among others cause the migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral West Africa. Fulani herdsmen were also attracted to the Agogo area by constant annual grass growth, availability of water, vast field of land, hospitality of the people, social and safety reasons and because the area supported growth of cattle. The study also discloses that legal lapses, lack of trust, media hype of slightest situation, destruction of property and exploitation accounts for the contributing causes of conflict between herdsmen and the indigenous farmers. Most crimes such as rape, murder, destruction of crops, robbery and other crimes were associated with the presence of Fulani herdsmen with only a small fraction attributed to the indigenes. Finally, the study recommends that fodder farming should be encouraged in Sahelian countries and a ceiling put on the number of herds that can be permitted into Ghana. It further recommends that inter-ministerial committees and sub-committee are established to regulate nomadic activities while efforts should be made to disarm Fulani herdsmen to curb crime.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA

1.0 Introduction

The history of Fulani herdsmen migration in West Africa (W/A) is a century-long practice. The migration of nomadic Fulani herdsmen from the Sahel to littoral states in West Africa since the 1970s has been triggered by desertification, drought and other environmental challenges (Tonah 2002). Their migration southward to the littoral states in West Africa since the 1990s according to Tonah (2002), is exacerbated by the continuous expansion of the Sahara Desert (expands approximately 1.5 miles per year). This has resulted in the disappearance of pastures and water, coupled with the emergence of livestock diseases in recent years (Tonah 2002). Fulani transhumance activities in West Africa were concentrated in the spatially populated savanna northern regions of these littoral states. Those regions had less commercial farming activities and the competition for land use which often breeds conflict was practically non-existent. However, the northern parts of these littoral states where the Fulani herdsmen used to migrate to in the past has become less fertile as a result of environmental degradation created by climate change and other human activities (Alison et al 2014 cited in Tonah, 2002).

This pattern of migration is common in the littoral states of West Africa including Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Code d'Ivoire, among others (Blench, 1994). As a result of the poor climatic conditions in the Savannah zone, the Fulani herdsmen are now everywhere in Ghana. They have moved Southward in Ghana to graze around the Volta Lake Basin (from Yeji to Agogo). At the same time, commercial farming activities of indigenous Ghanaians also take place along the

same Basin. (Tonah 2007). In the past, however, land was available in abundance in West Africa and individuals within the sub-region wishing to engage in agriculture easily obtained access. Although there were occasional disputes between the indigenous West African citizens (sedentary farmers) and herdsmen, those disputes were largely minor and were easily resolved by traditional authorities (Basset 1988).

The competition for land use between indigenous crop farmers and the Fulani herdsmen seeking to graze their cattle often create conflict between them. In addition, their migration to farming communities including the Agogo area in the Asante-Akim North District which is close to the Volta Lake with farming activities going on, brings about population pressure and acute competition for rapidly diminishing scarce natural resources for livestock sustenance. This leads to conflict between indigenous crop farmers and herdsmen (Armah, et al 2014).

Recently, the herdsmen have been accused of degrading water bodies, burning vegetation to encourage the growth of fresh grass for livestock grazing, destruction of commercial tree (such as cocoa, cashew, plantain, etc) to feed their livestock. Because of this hostile situation, the Fulani herdsmen are usually armed against indigenous farmers and the security forces (Tenuche, and Ifatimehin, 2009). Given the accusations of crime, management of the crises has become highly politicized (Hagberg, 2000). Although ECOWAS protocol on transhumance to allow Fulani herdsmen access to pasture within the 16-nation community, this policy rather turns to be a driver of the conflict between native farmers and Fulani herdsmen (Armah et al 2014). Considering the sensitive nature of the crisis and its politicization, various governments of ECOWAS member states, especially under the current weak land tenure system that make political decisions in attempt to resolve the crisis, turns to favour indigenous farmers. This has resulted in a lot of violence between indigenous farmers and security agencies on one hand and

the Fulani herdsmen on the other (Armah et al 2014). Even though it may be possible to trace some common crime to some of the Fulani in Ghana, those involved usually appear to be the herdless category (Hagberg 2000). Yet, it is not clear how much blame can be apportioned to the Fulani herdsmen regarding crime in Ghana since unemployment and influx of other West African migrants can equally contribute to the phenomenon.

1.1 The Study Area

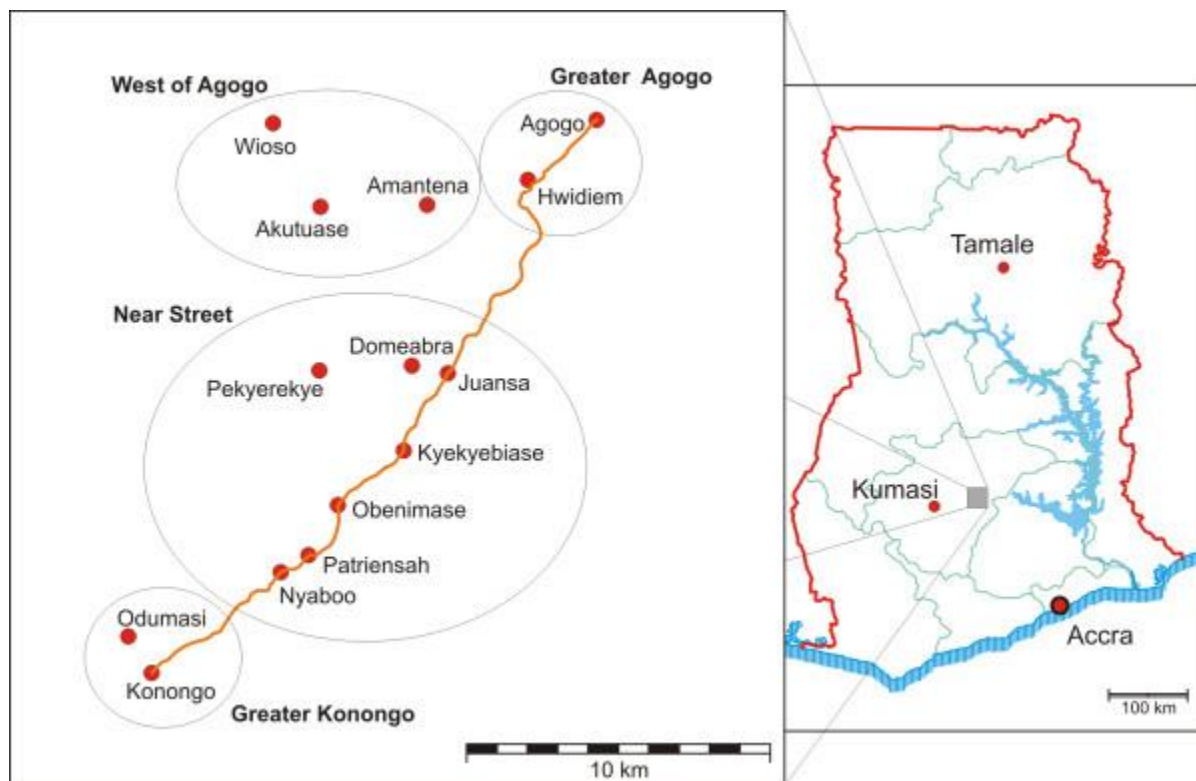
The Agogo area is used as a case study to understand the dynamics of Fulani herdsmen migration, the perennial conflict between them and sedentary farmers as well as the recent accusations of crime against herdsmen. The traditional area is located in the Asante-Akim North District of the Ashanti Region, a forest zone in Ghana. The District capital is Agogo and the District itself is comprised of about 14 communities including the Agogo Township. The Agogo area has a population of approximately 151,000 with the majority ethnic group (about 94%) being Akans and the remaining 6% constitutes other ethnic groups including other West African nationals such as the Fulani herdsmen (GSS 2012 cited in Armah, et al). The total land area of the District is about 1,462kmsq with major economic activity of the Agogo area being Agriculture (Armah, et al 2014).

From **Figure 1** bellow, it is observed that the Agogo area is close to the Volta Lake noted for both farming and pastoral activities largely because of its fertile and arable lands suitable for both crop farming and grazing field. The area is also endowed with sufficient pasture and drinkable water for livestock consumption. Apart from the Fulani herdsmen who migrate to the area with their livestock, other herdless Fulani migrate there to serve as hired herders to livestock of indigenous cattle owners (Tonah 2000). As part of the series of accusations labeled against the

Fulani herdsmen, a number of crimes are currently attributed to them, including rape, murder and highway robbery among other crimes. But to what extent are the Fulani herdsmen responsible?

Map of Asante-Akim North District

Figure 1



Source: Google map

1.2 Problem Statement

The Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers conflict is a complex crisis bothering on environmental degradation, climate change and weak adaptability capability (Shettima and Tar 2008). It is also a crisis of weak land tenure system as well as clash of rights and philosophies (Hagberg, 2000), to the extent that definition of the crisis is a problem itself. Besides, it is often assumed that Fulani herdsmen migrated from the Sahel Region to littoral states in West Africa. However, since the 1970s there were Fulani domiciled in Ghana and some of them have settled

down and are now full Ghanaian citizens. It is also noted that not all the cattle belong to the Fulani herdsmen, but some prominent Ghanaians who are also in the animal husbandry profession. Indeed, some of the Fulani in West Africa are herdless (Tonah 2000).

Besides, the conflict is predominantly about poor land tenure system in West Africa. In Ghana, some chiefs and other landowners who have cordial relationship and less prejudice for the Fulani herdsmen often sublet to these herdsmen, parcels of land to help graze their livestock (Tonah 2000). However, youth and some indigenous non-stock owners often protest the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in their communities citing their lack of respect for the law and destruction of food crops as the basis (Tonah 2000). To make the crisis worse, the current style of transhumance animal husbandry activities of the Fulani herdsmen is protected by international law (Armah et al 2014). At the same time, land is of spiritual, historical and emotional value to the indigenous communities who are the bona fide owners. It is out of this differences and quagmire that the Fulani herdsmen-indigenous farmers' conflict stem from.

It is very common that in the management of the conflict, government and traditional authorities often side with the local communities and indigenous farmers. As a result, government policies since the late 1990s have been a knee-jack reaction to the crisis whereby it is always assumed that all Fulani herdsmen and their cattle is foreign owned and should be driven out of the country as solution to the crisis (Armah, et al 2014). In the process of chasing the Fulani herdsmen out of communities in Ghana, they naturally feel threatened and sometimes react brutally against the security forces and local citizens. Commentators such as Kwasi Aning, have argue that, it is the non-acceptance, maltreatment and weak integration policies in Ghana that has forced the Fulani herdsmen to resort to common crime. Other commentators such as Ken Ahorsu argues that it is the philosophical differences and varying values to farming and animal husbandry that explains

the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the indigenous farmers. According to El Hadary and Salmat (2011), the most valuable asset to an individual in the Fulani tribe is cattle and one's status in a Fulani society is determined by the number of cattle he/she possesses. The main philosophies that explain the nature of violence between Fulani herds men and indigenous farmers explain violence from either economic or social perspectives. Understanding the underpinnings of violence is key to effectiveness of policy action. A misrepresentation of the violence predicated on weak understanding of the conflict and its violence will lead to inefficient resolution outcomes. It is for these reasons that the research seeks to examine the nature of crimes linked to Fulani herdsmen and to understand the underpinnings of these acts of violence.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research is to:

1. Examine the factors responsible for increasing Fulani migration and their increasing settlement in littoral states in West Africa.
2. Investigate the factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to the Asante-Akim North District.
3. Study the factors that are responsible for the conflictual relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in Ghana.
4. Examine how much of the crime in Ghana can be traced to the Fulani.

1.4 Research Questions

In achieving the above research objectives, the following research questions are addressed:

1. What are the factors responsible for increasing Fulani migration and increasing settlement in littoral states in West Africa?

2. What are the factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to the Agogo area in the Asante-Akim North District?
3. What are the factors responsible for the conflictual relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers?
4. How much of the crime in Ghana can be traced to the Fulani?

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The Neo-Malthusian theory shall form the conceptual framework of this study. The theory explores population growth against scarcity of natural resources as a result of environmental degradation and natural resource depletion to determine the environment-conflict nexus.

The traditional Malthusian theory which was first published by Thomas Malthus in 1798 titled “An essay on the principles of population” argues that population grows in a geometric proportion while food supply grows in arithmetic proportion and that the former would outstrip the latter over time leading to conflict over scarce food supply. Such conflicts would reduce population size to restore equilibrium with food supply (Malthus 1798 cited in Bernauer, et al, 2012). However, the Malthusian theory did not link population growth to environment degradation and natural resource depletion, a gap that is filled by Neo-Malthus theorists.

The Neo-Malthus thesis expands on the food supply assumption. They posit that the anthropogenic exploitation of the environment as a result of advanced technology would lead to a faster depletion than regeneration. This will lead to diseases, scarcity and violence over scarce natural resource. According to Bernauer (2012), there is relationship between environmental changes and insecurity since the former would bring about scarcity in resources. The latter would also occur because of competition over scarce resources leading to violent conflict and crime (Homer-Dixon, 1994, 1999). It is also argued that “decreasing access to renewable natural

resource increases frustration, which in turn creates grievances against the state, weakens the state and civil society and increase the opportunity for instigating an insurrection” (Bernauer, et al, 2012).

Homer-Dixon (1994) identified three (3) types of scarcity: supply induced, demand induced and structural scarcities. Reduced availability of renewable resources that come as a result of continuous consumption and depletion which turn to be faster than their regeneration process is attributed to supply induced scarcity. On the other hand, scarcity that comes as a result of population growth (consumption per capita) is referred to as demand induced scarcity. Finally, structural scarcity comes as result of unequal distribution of access to resources. The three (3) types of scarcity mentioned above are considered to be mutually reinforcing (i.e each can lead to another) and the resultant effect is two (2) social processes: resource capture and ecological marginalization. Resource capture occurs whenever the relationship between population growth and resource depletion is such that it creates unequal access to scarce resource. Therefore, powerful elites in society may attempt to secure enough of resources that is believed to become scarce in future and are in a position to manipulate policies to their own favour leading to weakened institutional response to social grievances and for that matter, increase the risk of violent conflict. In the case of ecological marginalization, unequal access to scarce resources as a result of population growth that has affected resource degradation and depletion, some groups encountering that scarcity may migrate into other locations that are already facing ecological pressure from overpopulation leading to conflict between indigenous citizens and newcomers (Homer-Dixon cited in Bernauer et al, 2012).

However, the cornucopian theory has criticized the pessimistic theoretical viewpoint of neo-Malthusians with the argument that even though population growth will induce resource scarcity

in the short run, man by nature in the long run, would adapt to these scarcities through technological innovations, market mechanisms, social institutions for resource allocations or a combination of all above-mentioned (Lomborg, 2001). In spite of the above criticisms, the Neo-Malthusian theory nevertheless, offers a logical explanation of the Fulani crisis in West Africa. For instance, both supply induced scarcity and demand induced scarcity concepts explain how natural resource, pasture and water depletion coupled with population growth has reduced Fulani herdsmen's access to these resources in the Sahel countries and for that matter, forced their migration to the littoral states in West Africa. Also, unequal access to scarce arable land by Fulani herdsmen that often leads to conflict is explained by the concept of structural scarcity. Finally, the stand-off between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers of receiving communities in the littoral states is explained by the concept of ecological marginalization.

1.6 Literature Review

Conflicts in Africa have cultural underpinnings, typically, indigenous values, norms, and ethnographic practices that predicate conflicts in Africa (Ahorsu & Ame, 2011). Two perspectives dominate the understanding of conflicts in terms of what is considered the main causes of conflict in Africa, these are economic and developmental causes (Songsore, 1983 and 1989, Ewusi, 1976 and Dickson, 1968) and recently, socio-cultural causes (Ahorsu & Ame, 2011 and Yaro, 2010). The review of these main perspectives as well as other philosophical and empirical evidence enhances the understanding of violent crimes involving Fulani Herdsmen.

1.6.1 Causes of Fulani Herdsmen Migration in West Africa

Reuveny (2007) argues that people will adapt to climate change in 3 ways; they may elect to remain at the same place and take the costs; remain at the same place and mitigate the changes or abandon the affected areas altogether. He further argues that climate change results in profound

environmental degradation which a lot of people (particularly those from the least developed countries) will abandon the affected areas and this may result in conflicts between migrants and receiving communities. The author argues that least developed countries (LDC) will face more climate change related migration and conflicts as compared to the developed countries and that may have implication on global terrorism recruitment. He asserts that this may already be ongoing in places like Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia, where British and Italian intelligence agencies have warned are fertile grounds for these activities.

Raleigh and Urdal (2007) analyse statistical data to determine the causal chain between climate change, environmental degradation and armed conflict. From their analysis, it is revealed that medium to high levels of land degradation correlates to higher numbers of conflicts. Increased levels of water scarcity also relate to higher number of conflicts. The authors however noted that the relative increase is always little. An increase in the levels of land degradation correlated with a rise in the baseline of conflicts from 1% to between 2%-4%. They also noticed that high population density, when quantified locally, could be used as a reliable forecaster of armed conflict. The authors explained that this relation exist because densely populated areas and big cities are more suitable for organizing and financing conflicts as they signify strategic targets.

They also noted that while political instability was a potent enabler of internal conflict in poor countries, it did not seem to interrelate with demographic and environmental factors to increase the chances of conflicts. The authors conclude that while demographic and environmental factors play an important role in armed conflicts, they were secondary factors. The assertion by Raleigh and Udal (2007) is corroborated by Nordas and Gleditsch (20007) who argue that despite the lack of convincing sources in government documents, there is an emerging evidence which suggest a causal chains from climate change to conflict. The majority of these researches show

the linkage between climate change and a reduction in vital resources for human life; a subsequent effect of this being conflict.

Folami and Folami (2013) assert that with the increase in climate change, more weather-related disasters also increase and may result in shortage of food and water culminating in loss of income for those who depend on these two commodities for their livelihood. This they blame for the displacement of people from their homes. The authors observe that climate change is implicated for some inter-communal crises in Nigeria and people displaced as a result of this, migrate to other communities where the consequences of climate change is less. The authors employ social disorganization theory to describe the security implications of these migrants and posit that residents of a community with high crime rates will attempt to leave at the earliest opportunity. The residents are also apathetic to community issues thereby rendering the common sources of community control such as the family and the school ineffectual. The theory also links high community turnover to weakened communication channels. This they argue, prevents community members from settling community disputes or forging common goals.

They also argue that push and pull factors are responsible for the migration of the Fulani from the Sahel to the littoral states. They list the push factors as the havoc wrecked by climate change such as desertification, droughts, sandstorms and irregular weather patterns. The pull factors that attracted the Fulani herdsmen to the south include modest weather, market opportunities, vegetation, fodder as well as hope and ambitions. The authors argue that this movement will inevitably result in crises. They found that unfavourable climatic conditions drought and a shortage of pastures for their livestock, shortage of water and outbreak of livestock diseases accounted for the Fulani pattern of migration. Responses gathered from the receiving communities included the harsh climate of the north, the persistent harmattan, the falling of

acidic rain, the flaring of gas in the Niger Delta by oil companies, deforestation and the disappearance of the Green Zone Belt were cited by respondents. Aside the climatic reasons, some of the community members cited a search for market for cattle products as reasons and observed that herdsmen are subsequently convinced to stay due to the favourable climatic conditions. Another reason provided was the political crises over land in the Chad Republic and Niger displacing the Fulani herdsmen.

The authors also explored the relationship between the Fulani and the receiving communities. This part of the research brings to light the obvious animosity between the two groups that fomented a toxic atmosphere. Some of the responses included the belief that the Fulani who had sojourned southwards were the nomadic “Fulani Bororo” who are not the “real Fulani” or the “Hausa Fulani”. According to some of the respondents, the “Fulani Bororo” are the poorer of the Fulani tribes, own fewer cattle, are jobless and engage in begging along the streets as well as stealing. Some of the community members accused the “Fulani Bororo” of allowing their cattle to destroy the farms of people and engage in illegalities such as stealing and killing. While a large proportion of the community members described the Fulani herdsmen as invaders, on their part, some of the herdsmen were of the view that their hosts were cruel to them for no reason. They denied allowing their cattle to craze on farm crops as well as committing the other crimes they were accused of. Some of the Fulani pledged to hold their grounds and not to leave, saying they would use any means at their disposal to stay including resort to violence. These grievances have led to conflicts in the past and still pose a clear danger moving forward.

Tonah (2006) focuses on the migration of Fulani herdsmen to the Volta basin of Ghana and their interaction with the natives as well as other migrants already present with the area. He reports that the wave of migration of the herdsmen to the Volta basin of Ghana increased between

the 1950s to the 1960s, due to the recurring drought that engulfed the Sahel region at that time. This coincided with a period of rapid population growth and the expansion of trade and socio-economic infrastructure which attracted a lot of migrants to the area. Initially the population of the Fulani herdsmen was negligible until their numbers rose significantly in a period of just two decades when their presence could no longer be ignored. The author points out that the most frequent cause of conflict between farmers and herders is the destruction of crops. This normally occurs when inattentive herders allow the cattle to graze unattended, they then stray into people's farms and destroy the crops. This situation has been exacerbated by a change in the Fulani's herding system where cattle owners have forced the Fulani to abandon their old process of herding the cattle into uninhabited areas due to cattle theft. They are therefore forced to keep the animals close to the inhabited areas and farmlands. He also argues that the level of hostility between herders and farmers is reliant on the extent to which individuals and households among the two sides have social, religious and economic interest.

1.6.2 Farmer-Herder Conflict in West Africa

Tenuche and Ifatimehin (2009) analyse the traditional relationship among farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the resource conflict observed in Kogi state in Nigeria to evaluate the effects this has on the livelihood of those involved as well as its implication for sustainability in the communities. They observed that ceaseless conflicts among farmers and the Fulani herdsmen has resulted in several casualties from both sides. Considering this, several policy statements from the guinea savannah region within West Africa have laid the blame squarely with the Fulani herdsmen. The authors argue that vegetal resources such as crops, livestock and water resources play huge roles in the development, preservation and projection of socio-economic strength of society. The continual provision of desirable amenities such as health facilities, schools and food

assistance in towns and cities results in the settlement of grazing around such towns and that such a situation stresses finite resources of those places and strains human livelihood in such areas. The authors underline that the various conflicts that have taken place between the Fulani and the farmers in receiving communities stem from the devastation the Fulani have brought upon the farmlands in those communities. In spite of this, the authorities have so far failed to provide grazing reserves which will cater for herdsmen who migrate to find suitable pasture and water for their herds. They conclude by calling on the states to review existing laws on land ownership in order to ensure accessibility to grazing land which will go a long way in reducing such conflicts.

Akinyetun (2016) highlights the critical factors that predispose herdsmen to engage in murder of innocent civilians in Nigeria. The study noted that, due to the nature of their occupation as pastoralists, they hardly occupy territories forever, but keep migrating with the same hunter and gatherer lifestyle that has been handed to them by generations before them. He argues that even though the primitive style of cattle rearing has been with the group for all this while, they were relatively peaceful minded in the past. However, the dynamics has since changed in recent times and Fulani herdsmen now “changed tactics from mere land grazing to barrel-induced-land grazing”. The author points out that Fulani herdsmen are now engaged in perpetrating genocide on innocent citizens as well as kidnapping people as a way of clearing land for grazing. The study acknowledged respondent Fulani herdsmen who cite their cattle seizure by Boko Haram operatives and cattle rustling by other assailants as reasons for carrying weapons. According to the author, Boko Haram activities have forced the herdsmen and their cattle out of the Sambisa forest in the North of Nigeria. The forest was hitherto reserved for cattle grazing. The study estimates that displaced cattle herds with a population of about 20 million cattle have now

moved to the middle belt of Nigeria where they come into contact with agrarian farmers who rely on crop farming for their livelihood. In their quest to retrieve land from owners of indigenous population of the agrarian communities, Fulani herdsmen usually embark on mass unprovoked killing of civilians and displacing others in the process, to clear and occupy their land to enable them graze their cattle.

The study further establishes that rapid rise in population has led to tremendous increase in demand for housing and as a result, land that was hitherto used for grazing fields or farming are now used as human settlements. The phenomenon coincides with increasing cattle population in Nigeria. The study notes that, while the killing of innocent citizen by the Fulani militia continues without government intervention, some members of these communities have also adopted strategies of regroup to retaliate, leading to reappraisal attacks. The proliferation of illegally obtained weapons by the Fulani militia according to Akinyetun (2016), is also to blame for the heinous crime since it serves as catalysts in the violence. The weapons are often sold and bought through illegal means and in most cases, not registered by owners. He concludes that if not checked, the Fulani herdsmen crisis in Nigeria would throw the country onto total anarchy.

Abiadum Alao (2012) argues that while many countries in the sub-region have recorded devastating conflicts in the past two and half decades, majority of the conflicts have been resource-centered, particularly land. This has deteriorated inter-group relations in communities. Changes in climatic conditions has been blamed for these conflicts as the phenomenon reduced the availability of these natural resources bringing about intense competition for their use. He points out that changes in climatic conditions such as prolonged drought has resulted in land encroachment by neighbours at the community level and also comes with violent response/resistance from original owners of the land. This is mainly due to the fact that herd

owners are forced out of their land as a result of these droughts that brings about lack of pasture and water, and they are compelled to relocate to unfamiliar lands that may belong to other indigenous farmers.

Atta-Asamoah and Aning (2012) sought to understand the factors responsible for the wave of conflicts that swept through the West African sub-region in the past few decades. They identify environmental change among other accompanying dynamic as drivers of conflicts in West Africa. The increasing desertification in West Africa is a major source of environmental conflict. It estimates that about 1.3 million hectares of forest reserves in the sub-region were lost to desertification between 1990 and 2000. This was the result of over dependence and over exploitation of natural resources to the extent that their depletion turns to be faster than regeneration. In this case, they argue that West African migration of late is environmentally induced. In sub-Saharan Africa, “migration is a form of coping mechanism adopted by settlers when environmental factors turn harsh”.

The study also finds harsh and worsening environmental conditions (desertification and prolonged drought) in the Sahel region as having given birth to the influx of “environmental refugees”. In this case, massive movement of Sahelian population southwards to forest zones in search of water and arable land with sufficient pasture is on the increase. They conclude that it is on the basis of search for greener pasture that migrant herdsmen troop to Ghana and other littoral states in their numbers in recent times. However, when such moving populations, especially herdsmen settle to share scarce natural resources with local residents who also rely on the same resources for their livelihood, conflict often emerge between the two groups. Atta-Asamoah and Aning also finds that while herdsmen are present in Ghana seeking greener pasture, some of them are responsible for the destruction of lives and properties at the community levels. For

example; some herdsmen and their livestock often destroy crops, attack people, cause bushfires and conduct highway robbery with sophisticated weapons. As a result of Fulani herdsmen activities the study observes, residents of some communities in the Upper East and Upper West regions where they settle in their numbers have to abandon their economic activities as traders have become easy prey to Fulani herdsmen attacks. The study further reveals that in 2006, Fulani herdsmen alone constituted about 80% inmates of the Tamale prison who were convicted over various crimes including; motorbike theft, cattle rustling, murder, rape and highway robbery. It is therefore concluded that environmental change was to blame for certain violent conflicts and violent crimes in West Africa.

Armah, Luginaah, Yengoh, Taabazuing and Yawson (2014) list structural factors which they consider to increase the incidence of conflicts between pastoral herders and local farmers as; scarcity of resources, declining interdependence of pastoral and agricultural economies, institutional failure to settle disputes, the larger political situation and cultural differences among herders and native farmers. The authors deduce from their study that; in Ghana over 70% of people rely on the exploitation of the environment for their livelihood, this brings them into confrontation with herders who compete with them for these natural resources resulting in conflict.

Agyemang (2017) conducted a study on the causes and effects of the farmer-herder conflict in the Agogo Traditional area and observes that the availability of special pasture, land for leasing, water availability and the absence of tsetse fly (glossing) among other reasons serve as the pull factors of Fulani herdsmen to the Agogo traditional area. He further finds that Fulani presence in the Agogo traditional area often brings them into contact with crop farmers. In the process of searching for pasture, herds may destroy crops leading to conflicts between herdsmen and

sedentary farmers. The study also finds the killing of innocent people, threat and intimidation, rape, sexual harassment, highway robbery by Fulani herdsmen, cattle rustling and killing as reasons for the conflict. The author noted the humanitarian, economic, and social and security implications the conflict may have on the community. Finally, the study identified that even though government had an intervention policy (operation cowleg); the policy is not sustainable because most of the cattle belonged to indigenous Ghanaians.

Boateng (2015) argues that the causes of conflict between farmers and herdsmen in the Asante-Akim North District is attributed to competition over land and water use. The study finds that the fertile nature of the soil and climate of the area makes crop cultivation all year round possible. The study observes that crops such as maize, plantain, watermelon among others are cultivated on commercial quantities in the area due to the above stated conditions. At the same time, these crops contain high nutritional value for cattle who easily feed on them, especially during the dry season. This has led to the destruction of farm crops and pollution of drinking water. Reported rape cases, robbery and murder of natives is also observed to be in the ascendancy due to herdsmen's presence in the area. On the other hand, natives take the law into their own hands and engage in reprisal attacks on Fulani herdsmen who are hired by owners of the herds. The study concludes that the conflictual relationship between the two groups has led to loss of lives, injuries and loss of livelihood.

Yaro (2010) identified changes in the land tenure systems as a key source of conflicts between Fulani Herdsmen and local farmers. In his work he situates violent clashes between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in a broader context of what he identifies as a regional shift from traditional land tenure systems to more complex socio-economic and politically induced land tenure system changes. More specific to the study area, Yaro (2010) attributes conflicts to conflicting and

multiple claims over land and unequal access to natural resources and marginalization of minority groups in access and use of land.

1.6.3 Accusation of crime

Gregory Burton (2016) examines the current Fulani herdsmen crisis of agrarian communities in the middle belt of Nigeria and noted that the conflict stems from “a long history of feuding, farming and herding”. Burton asserts that the rapid increase in urbanization, desertification and lack of action by the Nigerian government in curbing the situation, contributes to the prevailing communal conflicts in the country. As a result, Fulani herdsmen violence has led to more deaths in Nigeria in 2016 than Boko Haram, a Nigerian popular terrorist group. The study indicates that even though there exist, accusations of collusion between Fulani brutalities and Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, the objectives of the two groups were not the same, in spite of similarities of methods. Indiscriminate killing of innocent people by Fulani militia, is aimed at seeking land, recognition in the country as well as vengeance.

The author estimates that Fulani militants were responsible for about 1,229 deaths in 2014 in Nigeria. The first quarter of 2016 also witnessed about 488 deaths in the country which were attributed to Fulani herdsmen, compared to 330 by Boko Haram in the same period. The Fulani ethnic group has a great majority of its people as herders, and their attacks are either for gaining access to grazeable land for their cattle, or retaliation for the killing of their kinsmen. Burton also discovers that while Boko Haram carry out their activities in the north, Fulani militants do so in the middle belt of the country. Burton’s study also found that Fulani herdsmen, unlike Boko Haram do not adopt suicide as their modus operandi, rather, they resort to the use of firearms to cause casualties on agrarian populations and cause death of people while displacing others, a strategy to clear land for grazing of their cattle. Therefore, solution to the crisis must not treat it

as terrorism, but conflict borne out of grievances of shared common resources between the two groups through which the concerns of Fulani as an ethnic group will be addressed. The study also acknowledges the conspiracy among drought, desertification and various government restrictions which are not in consonance with Fulani practices and has substantially reduced land availability for Fulani herds in West Africa, a reality they are yet to accept. Today their competition with other tribes has led to thousands of deaths that now surpass deaths attributed to Boko Haram.

Olusola (2018) highlights the modus operandi of Fulani herdsmen in the brutal murders of masses of farmers in the rural communities in Nigeria as well as the implication their action has on human security. The study implicated climate change, desertification and Boko Haram activities that rendered pastoralism difficult and has displaced the herdsmen with their cattle who now migrate toward the southern zone of the country. He observes that their movement have brought them into conflict with the local sedentary farmers whose farm crops have been destroyed by the cattle. The herdsmen have also constituted militia groups to perpetrate murder of civilians, destruction of their properties and displaced others to enable them grab land belonging to the local citizens. Olusola (2018) discovers that the farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria has now taken an ethno-religious dimension. While Fulani herdsmen are predominantly Muslims, the local sedentary farmers are predominantly Christians and other faiths. The mass murder of Christian sedentary farmers by Muslim Fulani herdsmen has therefore given room for researchers to now consider religion as one of the reasons for the conflict. In addition, he posits that the Fulani herdsmen switching from wielding the traditional long stick to sophisticated and dangerous weapons such as AK47 rifle when on herding expedition has been blamed for the violence. While government inaction in terms of security deployment is usually not forthcoming,

rural residents form vigilante groups as well as engage the services of local hunters to lynch herdsmen who are regarded as security threat to the rural citizens. In reappraisal attacks therefore, herdsmen also mobilise and attack rural communities and cause mass murder. The situation, he concludes, has led to the loss of thousands of lives and displacing more people in rural Nigeria.

1.6.4 Pastoralism and Terrorism

Fulton and Nickels (2017) conducted a study in which they concluded that Islamic terrorists groups based in the Sahel and Sahara regions have discovered a new strategy and now exploit the grievances of pastoralists, majority of whom are Muslim, to mobilise supports for their terrorist agenda. The study asserts that conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsmen is not new to west Africa and have existed long before the emergence of terrorism in the sub-region. The Authors estimates that about 60,000 people have died in pastoralist related conflicts since 2001. And that such killings and atrocities can be classified as structural violent conflicts and crimes which is usually borne out of structural marginalization, discrimination, unequal access to scarce resources such as pastureland and water that often breed frustration and increase grievances. It cites the ongoing conflict between Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria where the government gives preferential land right to the indigenous people termed as natives, and at the same time, marginalised and discriminated against those classified as settlers, including herdsmen. It also cites the 2001 Pastoral Charter of Mali that sought to resolve dispute between farmers and Fulani herdsmen, but ends up favouring sedentary farmers to the disadvantage of the herdsmen.

The study therefore identified a nexus between terrorism and the structural marginalization that breeds frustration and grievances among herdsmen. The study also found that the difference between Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Front de Liberation du Macina (FLM) is

that the latter has its modus operandi of mobilising nomadic Fulani herdsmen who in most cases are muslims, to attain its terror agenda. Climate change and desertification present West Africa citizens with intense competition over scarce and diminishing natural resources such as pasture, land and water. The situation the study found “will be worsened through pastoralist association with terrorists who actively aggravate hostilities and manipulate ethnic and religious differences attached to crop farming and pastoralism”.

Corroborating the findings of Fulton and Nickels, McCaregor (2017) noted that apart from Islamic terrorism which is gradually shaping the Sahel region, there is an emerging, but equally deadly and dangerous conflict between sedentary farmers and nomadic herdsmen in the region. He argues that at the time resources such as land and water are diminishing in the Sahel, semi-nomadic Muslim herders of the widespread Fulani ethnic group are increasingly turning to violence against settled Christian communities to preserve herds and their way of life, and in the process, claim of genocide and forced islamization have become common in the region. Therefore, conflicts of economic in nature have become both religious and ethnic in character in both Mali and Nigeria. The study found that almost all the Fulani population in the region are Muslims and about a third of the ethnic Fulani population upholds the traditional nomadic or semi-nomadic style of cattle rearing. It also observed that their practice of wielding long sticks and machetes have shifted to sophisticated weapons such as the AK47 rifles against attack by wild animals and cattle rustlers. The author argues that their cattle rearing style of moving from one location to another in search of water and pasture has brought them into conflict with sedentary farmers whose crops are usually destroyed in the process of nomadic movements. The issue of crop destruction brings about anger among farming communities whose complains or confrontations are usually met with Fulani herdsmen attacks, atrocities and reappraisal actions by

farming communities. Many citizens of these communities have fled to seek refuge in other parts of the country and their land is taken by armed Fulani herdsmen for grazing. It also observed that the traditional conflict resolution mechanism could not work in this scenario because the herdsmen have no ties to the local communities. Finally, the study blames the crisis on climate change and desertification that has led to scarce arable land and water and created intense competition over land and water use. Unfortunately however, the conflict is taking ethnic and religious dimensions.

1.7 Rational of the Study

The findings of this study aims to aid the understanding of the linkage between environmental change and Fulani herdsmen migration and settlement in the littoral states of West Africa which underpins the rising farmer-herder conflicts in the sub-region. It helps to understand why crime accusation is made against these herdsmen. The recommendations of the study will serve as a useful guide to policy makers in West Africa on how to curb environmentally induced conflict that is associated with farmers and migrant herdsmen in the sub-region.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The study covers the Fulani herdsmen migration in West Africa and the factors responsible for their pattern of migration from the Sahel region to littoral states in West Africa and conflict generated as a result of their migration to these littoral states that is accompanied by accusations of crime and violence (Tonah, 2003). The Agogo traditional area in the Asante-Akim North District is used as a case study to understand the dynamics and how much crime is blamable to the Fulani in the area.

1.9 Methodology and Sources of Data

The study adopted a mixed method study design approach: using both qualitative and quantitative data collection instruments for data collection and analysis to understand how migration and settlement of Fulani herdsmen in littoral states, conflictual relation between them and sedentary farmers and crime accusations against herdsmen within the West African sub-region. Qualitative research is the most suitable method for research of this nature as it allows in-depth information to be obtained and analysed as well as allows some flexibility in data collection (Hesse-biber, 2006). Its descriptive nature allows for the collection of substantial amount of data which could not be obtained through questionnaire and other types of quantitative studies (Hesse-biber, 2006).

The Agogo area in AAND was selected as case study for this research while purposive sampling techniques were used to select fourteen (14) respondents for interviews. The 14 respondents were, heads of three (3) ministries, two (2) security chiefs, four (4) traditional leaders, heads of mission of three (3) West African embassies in Ghana as well as the heads of the Ashanti Regional Coordinating council and the Asante-Akim North District Coordinating Council. The use of purposive sampling technique implies that not all members of the population stand the chance of being selected since it does not adopt the simple random sampling method (Boxbill, 1998). In spite of its non-random nature, the technique is usually used by researchers who intend to achieve some specific objective or purpose (Ackah, 2014). Therefore, purposive sampling was used in this research with the objective of selecting experts and technocrats who have extensive knowledge on the research problem as well as individuals directly involved in the research problem.

However, because qualitative case-study research such as this is subject to criticism of being illustrative than testing theoretical arguments, the study is complemented by quantitative analysis through the use of questionnaire to help in an in-depth analysis of the Fulani crisis in the Agogo area that will help come up a robust and generalizable finding with respect to the crisis in the West African sub-region through the lenses of environment-conflict thesis. In order to gauge the mood of the study area therefore, 200 questionnaires were administered among respondents. It comprises of 100 respondents who were indigenous Ghanaians and were either residents, farmers, workers or displaced individuals. The other 100 questionnaire was administered among Fulani herdsmen in the Agogo area. Finally, data collection days and time spanned from Monday to Friday weekly for a period of three (3) weeks and was obtained between 8:00 am to 4:00 pm daily. Throughout the period, omissions, misrepresentations, distortion of facts and ideas were avoided to guarantee the accuracy of the research.

1.9.1 Limitations, Reliability and Validity

The limitations of a study describe the boundaries and prompt readers to appreciate the limits within which the results can apply in other situations (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Projecting the limitations of a study demonstrates the researcher knows the research process and acknowledges the weaknesses of the approach (Tesfaye, Abera, Balcha, Nemera, & Belina, 2015; Velte & Stawinoga, 2017). In this case study, the conflict between Fulani Herdsmen and indigenous famers was the focus. A limitation of this study was the sample size. Though the design aimed for a representative sample, the author acknowledges that the study sample is not the standard statistically derived representative number for the entire population. The study aimed for more representative of groups than a statistical number representative of the entire population. Based on strength of sample size, this study has a weaker basis for generalization

than a study with a statistically representative number though this study focused sampling on representative of interest groups.

1.10 Operational Definition of Terms

The Fulani people originally hail from the Sahel part of West Africa. They are found in countries such as Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso Senegal among others. The ancestry of the Fulani people can be traced to a cross breeding between the Berber people in the Maghreb Region of North Africa and black West Africans around Senegal, Guinea, and Mali in the 8th Century A.D. When some Berber tribe migrated from North Africa southward (Folami and Folami, 2013). Their contact with the black West Africans produced a hybrid called the Fulani. From 900-1900 A.D, they spread across West, Central and East Africa and are now considered to be one of the most populous ethnic group in West Africa, with animal husbandry as their major occupation (Burton, 2016). They are also noted for their transhumance fashion of animal husbandry moving from one region to the other, and sometimes, one country to the other in search of pasture and water (Folami and Folami, 2013).

1.11 Organization of the Study

The study is organized as follows:

Chapter one: The research design;

Chapter two: Overview of Fulani herdsmen migration and settlement in West Africa;

Chapter three: Data analysis on Fulani crisis;

Chapter four: Summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF FULANI MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN WEST AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the history of Fulani herdsmen migration in West Africa, the worsening situation in the Sahel region as well as the nature of pastoralism and land use in the sub-region. It also examines the current dynamics of the crisis generated by the migration of herdsmen to the littoral states in West Africa, the nature of the two groups (Fulani herdsmen and farmers) as well as governmental policies across the sub-region over the years. The chapter concludes with a critique of government of Ghana's policy to curb the crisis.

2.1 The history of Fulani Herdsmen Migration to the littoral states of West Africa

The Fulani also known as Fulbe are the most prominent pastoral category in West Africa and they live in the Sahel area of the sub-region. They seasonally migrate to littoral states south of the Sahara in search of pasture and water (Tonah, 2003). The peak of their migration to the littoral states in the sub-region such as Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Togo, Nigeria and among other countries was in the 1960s and 1970s when they lost about 30% of the livestock to recurring drought and animal diseases (Franz, 1990). To avoid recurring losses under the harsh climatic conditions in the Sahel region, many Fulani herdsmen have been forced out of the region to the savannah zones of West Africa where they can find sufficient pasture for their cattle (Adebayo, 1997).

Fulani herdsmen first settled in the Ivory Coast in 1958. The Savannah zone in Northern Ivory Coast, notably Nielle, Tingrella and other towns was their base. After the early settlers in the late 1950s were accommodated, the country was greeted by a wave of migrant Fulani herdsmen in larger numbers who were fleeing severe and recurring drought in the Sahel region (Tonah, 2003). Their increasing number made it impossible for the Savannah part of the country alone to sustain them, and they have since spread to other parts of the Ivory Coast since the 1970s (Tonah, 2003).

In the case of Ghana, Fulani herdsmen started settling in the country since the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to this period, however, they were engaged in cross-border transhumance to the country. Their movement involved coming down to the Savannah part of the country during the dry season (January to May) and return to their countries of origin whenever the raining season started (Tonah, 2003). The peak of their seasonal migration to Ghana and other countries south of the Sahel occurred during the 1950s and 1960s. The main objective was to search for fodder

during the dry season and market for cattle products when they came to contact with indigenous traders (Tonah, 2003).

In the 1970s, the Fulani herdsmen who penetrated through Ghana from Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso were usually based and settled in in the Northern part of Ghana such as Bolgatanga, Bawku, Navrongo and Sandema areas (Tonah, 2003). The area was suitable for them mainly because of its rural nature which allowed them easy access to pasture, and the vast land also allowed cattle to move freely without destroying crops. During the dry season, the area was endowed with crop residues such as cowpea, groundnut leaves, maize, millet and sorghum to feed cattle (Tonah, 2000).

Unlike other littoral states in West Africa, however, Nigeria has a large indigenous Fulani population domiciled in the North of the country. Fulani in Nigeria belong to the Peul or Fulbe ethnic group and have existed in the country for thousands of years with majority of them as pastoralists in profession (Burton, 2016). While it is estimated that the Fulani tribe comprises of about 20 million people scattered around West African countries, Nigeria currently has about 7million of their population, and the remaining 13million are scattered in countries like Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea etc (Burton, 2016). The Sokoto Caliphates that existed until 1903 for example, was a Fulani-led one. Nevertheless, Sahelian herdsmen still migrate to Nigeria with their cattle in their numbers (Burton, 2017).

In recent times (after the 1970s) however, the Northern part of Ghana has become less attractive to migrating Fulani herdsmen due to its deteriorating environmental and climatic conditions that has now rendered the Savannah soil less fertile for crop and pasture production (Folly, 1997). The worsening environmental conditions in the Savannah part of Ghana seems to have been triggered by a conspiracy of rapid population growth that has led to short fallow period, bush fire

on annual basis and high rate of migration of Fulani herdsmen who continuously settled there (Madsen and Nielson, 1997). Due to the unattractive nature of the Savannah zone in recent years, migrant herdsmen have moved further to the middle and southern parts of Ghana, especially communities along the Volta River. Fulani herdsmen are now found in the Southern part of Ghana including the forest zone (Tonah, 2003). Areas such the Afram Plains, the Agogo area in the Ashanti Region, and some parts of Eastern and Volta regions are now haven for nomadic activities. The same pattern of southward migration is also observed in other countries such as Togo, Benin, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast (Tonah, 2003).

2.2 The worsening situation in the Sahel

When the availability of renewable resource such as grazeable pasture and drinkable water continuously shrink as a result of consumption and environmental degradation, a situation of scarcity, competition and conflict is triggered (Homer-Dixon, 1999). “An increasingly important source of conflict in the Sahel-region where natural resources are diminishing is competition over their use which is increasingly becoming tense and violent conflicts are becoming more frequent” (Bennett, 1999 cited in Agyemang, 2017). Environmental degradation and population growth has outstripped the availability of renewable resources such as pastureland and water in the Sahel region which is accompanied by resource scarcity (Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012). This has compelled large segments of herdsmen population to migrate into the littoral states of West Africa that are already ecologically stressed with pressure over scarce resources and generating risk of violence between natives and newcomers (Homer-Dixon (1999; Okoli and Atelhe, 2014; Tonah, 2005). In the past, recurring drought as a result of poor rainfall and the prevalence of livestock diseases that resulted in the loss of a great number of livestock in the Sahel culminated in the influx of herdsmen to the littoral states of West Africa (Tonah, 2003).

2.3 Pastoralism and land use in West Africa

In accordance with Article 25 of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty (1993), member states are obliged to cooperate in the area of agriculture to help the sub-region achieve food security. The ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol (1998) was promulgated and ratified to allow herdsmen from the Sahel region within West Africa have access to littoral states in the sub-region for grazing, a strategy to overcoming pasture and water scarcities (ETTP, 1998). Article 5 of the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol (1998) states that “all transhumance livestock shall be allowed free passage across points of entry into and departure from each country on the conditions that they have ECOWAS International Transhumance Certificate (ITC)”. Article 6 of the protocol also mandates host countries to quarantine herds without the ITC, while Article 14 mandates member countries to fix time periods migratory livestock may move in and depart countries.

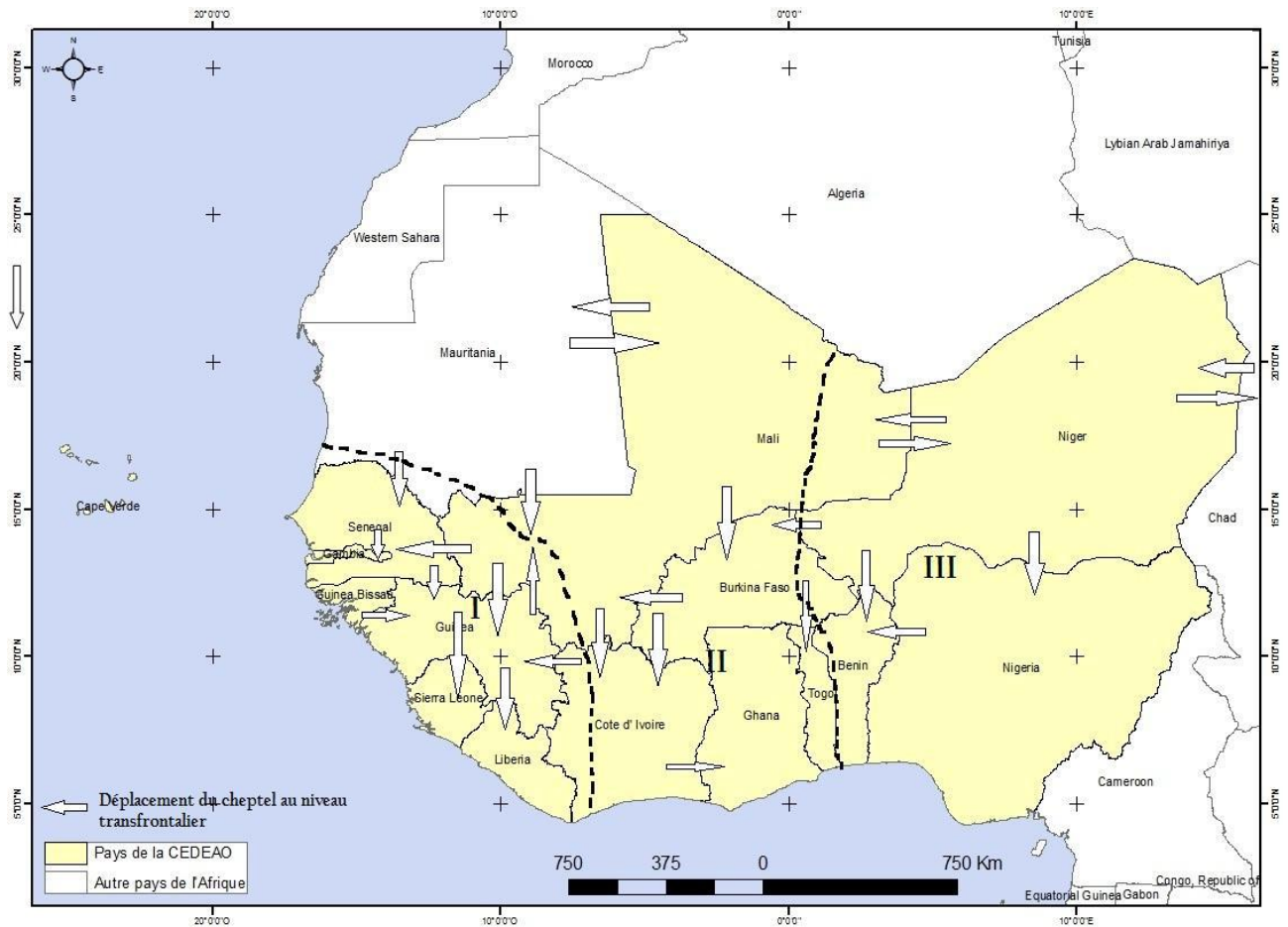
2.3.1 Forms of Transhumance in West Africa

According to Abbagana and Youla (2009) there is a direct correlation between ecological constraints and Fulani transhumance activities in West Africa and they are either engaged in short or long range transhumance. They however acknowledged that socio-cultural, economic, health and other agricultural factors may also influence the phenomenon. Herdsmen may evacuate their livestock and relocate to other areas within their countries of origin to cede land for crop farming, but only return after harvest, to enable the cattle feed on crop residues, a practice termed as short-range transhumance (Boateng, 2015). While short-range transhumance has avoided conflict between herdsmen and farmers, the long range one involves a north-south cross-border movement of Fulani herds during the dry season (January- May) and often accompanied by south-north return movement when the rains set in, and conflict over land use at destinations is a feature of this practice (FAO, 2012).

2.3.2 Directions of Cross-Border Transhumance Movement in West Africa

Majority of West African states are experiencing cross-border transhumance movement, and while the dry season witnesses north-south cross-border transhumance movements, the rainy season also witnesses south-north return movements of herdsman (FAO, 2012). Fulani transhumance movement in West Africa is zoned into 3; the Western zone, the Central zone and the Eastern zone. The Western zone comprises Fulani herdsman who are engaged in cross-border transhumance along countries that border the Atlantic Ocean. Some of these countries includes Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leon, Cape Verde, Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania, Guinea, Liberia and among others (FAO, 2012). Fulani transhumance activities in the central zone includes movement between Burkina Faso and Mali to Ghana, Togo and the Ivory Coast. The number of cattle associated with cross-border transhumance movement in the central zone increased from 35,000 in 1983 to 63,000 in 1999 and further to 80,000 in 2009 (FAO, 2012). In the Eastern zone, Fulani transhumance is observed between Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria and Benin. While North-South movement is observed to occur from Niger and Burkina Faso to Benin and Nigeria during the dry season, South-North return movement is usually observed to occur from Nigeria and Benin back to Niger and Burkina Faso during rainy seasons (FAO, 2012). The various zones are marked in figure 2 below;

Figure 2: Transhumance axes in West Africa



Source: Adapted from FAO (2012)

In all the three zones identified, route select by Fulani pastoralist in their transhumance movement is quite flexible and the choice of routes depends largely on information gathered from successful migrant herdsman and experiences gained from long period of transhumance over the years (Agyemang, 2017). But the major factor that are usually considered in the selection of routes include availability of pasture and water along the way, presence/absence of crop farms, presence of security on the way, land availability as well as safety issues such as cattle rustling and prevalence of animal diseases (FAO, 2012). However, poor land tenure system in many societies in West Africa has resulted in conflict between herdsman and farmers and now pose as challenge to the objectives of the ECOWAS Protocol (Armah, et al 2014). The conflict

situation is further exacerbated by resource scarcity and cultural differences between herders and farmers (Armah et al, 2014; Hagberg 2000). The competition over right of land use may lead to destruction of crops and reprisal attacks of killing of cattle which usually leads to conflict between farmers and herdsmen (Agyemang, 2017).

2.4 Current Dynamics of the Crisis

Factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to Ghana include Favorable weather, availability of pasture for grazing, absence of deadly diseases for livestock and available market for cattle products (Tonah 2006, cited in Agyemang, 2017). Over the years, however, scholars have predicted that climate change is expected to cause large scale migration, especially, from desert areas dependent on rain-fed and irrigation agriculture to a fierce competition (both direct and indirect) over natural resources such as land and water (Messer 2010). The world's next wars will be over water and land, but not oil as often been the case (Barnaby, 2009; Gleick, 2008 and Wolf, 1998). While climate change has forced farmers who hitherto relied on rain-fed agriculture to move closer to grow their crops on the river banks of the Volta Lake, the same areas are targeted by migrant Fulani herdsmen who seek to graze their livestock, creating a competitive situation which has led to deadly violent clashes (Tonah, 2002).

The relationship between Fulani herdsmen and farmers was cordial during the initial stages of their settlement in littoral states (Tonah, 2003). Due to the Fulani ethnic group's mastery of the cattle rearing profession, some indigenous cattle owners in Ghana at the initial stages entrusted their cattle to the care of Fulani herdsmen, in turn, herdsmen got cow milk from entrusted cattle for nutrition (Tonah, 2003). After the 1970s however, when Ghana started experiencing rapid population growth and environmental challenges, the hitherto cordial relationship between the two groups (farmers and Fulani herdsmen) began turning hostile until it got to its nadir in recent

years (Tonah, 2003). Environmental scarcities such as water and diminishing arable pastureland and crop fields has pushed both farmers and Fulani herdsmen to the same location which has turned in to battleground between the two groups (Tonah, 2000). The situation is further exacerbated and often lead to conflict when Fulani herdsmen settlement in littoral states is faced with hostility and ecological marginalization by indigenous population such as denying them access to land and water (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014). While farmers feel their survival depends on their crops, Fulani herdsmen also feel their survival is dependent on their cattle and each of these groups may be willing to take to violence to protect their vital interests and ultimate survival, and therefore, the militant posture of herdsmen and farmers ought to be understood in that context (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014). Also, lack of access to grazing land by the Fulani herdsmen and the government's policy (Operation Cowleg) to drive them away as they are seen as foreigners, increases frustration and grievances among Fulani herdsmen and has led to crop destruction, killing of cattle and deadly conflict between the herdsmen on one hand and the farmers and security agencies on the other (Agyemang, 2017). Fulani herdsmen engaged in transhumance face a common challenge of conflicts over damaged crops, conflicts over cattle rustling, conflicts over the use of watering points, conflicts over land and conflicts over the use of protected areas. However, a herdsman's ability to take decisions regarding conflicts that confront him on the way depends on whether he is owner, partial-owner or herder transhumant (FAO, 2012).

2.5 The nature of Fulani herdsmen and Farmers

The farmer-herder conflict in many West African societies, including the Agogo area, is often accompanied by perennial accusations and counter accusations of crime (Tukur, 2013). While indigenous farmers accuse herdsmen of destroying crops, plantations and polluting water bodies, other crimes such as rape, murder and robbery are also attributed to the nomads. In 2014 alone,

an estimated 1,200 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria and nearly 500 deaths in the first quarter of 2016 was attributed to Fulani brutalities in the same country (Burton, 2014). In Zamfara and other State of Northern Nigeria, rural communities were under herdsmen's attack on daily basis and who accused Fulani herdsmen of "committing murder, gang-rape, destruction of property and massive theft of livestock while security forces did nothing" (McGregor, 2017). This has led to reprisal attack by the rural communities who resort to forming vigilante groups. 'Sakai', one of such vigilante groups banned by the Nigerian government but still operates and sometimes "carry out illegal arrests and summary executions of Fulani herdsmen in retaliation of Fulani brutalities" (McGregor, 2017). In the wake of the presence of Fulani herdsmen in the Ghana, many of them have been implicated in various crimes including destruction of life and property, destruction of crops, attack on people, highway robberies with sophisticated weapons and bush-fires across the country (Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012). "In 2006 alone, about 80% of the inmates at the Tamale Prison were migrant herdsmen convicted for various crimes including highway robbery, motorbike theft, murder, cattle rustling and rape" (Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012)

Yet, the herdsmen's side of the accusation is not widely publicized to offer a balance assessment of who are the actual perpetrators and victims of these crimes since Fulani herdsmen also suffer from brutalities in some communities in West Africa (Tukur, 2013). 'Boko Haram is one of the groups that visits a lot of brutalities on herdsmen in Nigeria including executions and snatching of their property including cattle. According to Thebaud and Batterburry (2001) "the Fulani herdsmen have borne a large proportion of blame for most conflicts and environmental degradation in policy statements in the Guinea and Savannah regions of West African states". Tukur (2013) corroborates this assertion by arguing that, Fulani pastoralists are among the most

misunderstood, vulnerable and marginalized groups on the African continent. Conditions such as their closed family systems, resilience towards conditions of attacks, and courage to protect their livelihood has contributed to the misunderstanding of their posture (Boateng, 2015). There is therefore media campaign against them attributing various kinds of crime such as violent attacks, murder, robbery, rape, crop destruction and cattle rustling to the Fulani Nomads (Tukur, 2013).

Inappropriate theories and theorizing by scholars of farmer-herder conflict are some of the contributory factors to the negative perception against the Fulani nomadic herdsman. “Cattle Complex”, which views pastoralists as “irrational in their livestock accumulation and seeking prestige rather than the sustenance they provide” is one of such theories (El-Hadary and Salmat, 2012, cited in Boateng, 2015). “The Tragedy of the Commons” is another example of an inappropriate theory that portrays that “herders would seek to intensify the exploitation of resources, because the benefits of increasing productivity are for the individual, but the costs of degradation are borne by everyone including those who accuse the Fulani herdsman of destroying the environment” (El-Hadary and Salmat 2012 cited in Boateng, 2015).

Sticks and machetes usually held by Fulani herdsman in grazing fields are common working tools and it is necessary for every herdsman to carry such weapons (Abdulai and Yakubu, 2014). While sticks are required to separate fighting cows, direct and control them, the machetes are used to slaughter cows that show signs of dying in accordance with Islamic tradition and for salvage value. During the dry season when grasses are dry, machetes are useful tools to enable herdsman cut down tree for their cattle to graze, a way of preventing weight loss among cattle (Abdulai and Yakubu, 2014). The study suggest that Fulani herdsman are armed with guns beyond the traditional sticks and machetes which they argue are meant for protection against cattle rustlers and dangerous wild animals like lions and hyenas. It was therefore concluded that

ammunitions were part of the requirements by cultural practices of herdsmen (Abdulai and Yakubu, 2014 Cited in Boateng, 2015). This implies that, it is not possible to conduct pastoral activities without weapons, and as rational beings, whenever they come under attack, they are likely to use such weapons on the adversary who are likely to be indigenous sedentary farmers or security agents. Against this background that they are cited for various crimes bringing to light, the linkage between settlement of Fulani herdsmen and accusations of crime.

2.6 Governmental Methods of Managing the Conflict in West Africa

“Desertification and case studies such as Dufur in Sudan, climate stresses in Sub-Sahara Africa have consistently been implicated in conflictual outcomes where poor governance, lack of democracy, violent disregard of human right and other political and management factors exist” (Messer, 2010). Poor governance constitutes the structures behind the fanatical violence between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria which is deeply rooted and politically entrenched (Olufemi, 2013). The Nigerian government gives preferential land right to those perceived as indigenes while marginalizing and frustrating those viewed as settlers groups, including the nomadic Fulani herdsmen (Olufemi, 2013). National laws in some instances are manipulated by politicians to protect indigenes leading to resentment among nomadic herdsmen (Olufemi, 2013). Lack of access to land (land tenure system), pasture and water opportunities continues to be the biggest challenge to pastoralists in West Africa, and Fulani herdsmen are continuously marginalized by government officials while traditional livestock migratory routes are also continuously encroached by indigenous farmers (Tukur, 2013).

The issue of poor governance couples with “the unwillingness on the part of pastoralists to confine their animals as well as the farmers quest to take advantage of the lucrative crop opportunities during the dry season is the reason for conflict in many parts of Ghana during the

period” (Tonah 2002, cited in Boateng, 2015). Also, Fulani pastoralists regard land as a common resource just like water and air that belongs to no single individual and could be used by anyone including grazing activities, therefore, any attempt to stop herdsmen from grazing in such uncultivated land will be perceived as depriving them a common, but vital natural resource crucial for their survival which they will not hesitate to reply (Blench, 1994).

In an attempt to curb violent conflict that characterizes the relationship between indigenes and Fulani herdsmen, many governmental policies in the West African sub-region seek to expel Fulani herdsmen and their cattle to liberate communities from herdsmen activities (Agyemang, 2017). The expulsion of migrant Fulani herdsmen is not new in West Africa and many countries in the sub-region have adopted that policy in the past although its sustainability is challenged in most cases (Agyemang, 2017). It has been practiced in countries like Ghana, Plateau State in Nigeria (2012), Senegal (1989), Guinea (between 1920 and 1930), the Ivory Coast, Liberia among other countries (Hegberg, 2000). While many countries adopted the expulsion policy due to high unemployment, increasing crime rate, to curb conflict between migrant herdsmen and indigenes as well as other economic factors, others have carried it out due to agitation by indigenes in receiving countries who classified these herdsmen as aliens (Tonah, 2006). The Ivory Coast and Togo, however, have liberal accommodative policies towards Fulani herdsmen in recent times and for that matter the scale of conflict between farmers and herders in those countries does not appear severe (Tonah, 2003).

In Ghana, the history of expulsion of migrants dates back to the late 1960s and early 1970 when the Aliens Compliance Order by the Progress Party Government led by Prime Minister Busia resulted in the force eviction of migrants from other West African Countries on the basis of rising crime and other economic conditions (Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012). The policy of

expelling Fulani herdsmen was however carried out for the first time in Ghana in 1988/89 following violent clashes between herdsmen and members of the Ghanaian communities that was seen as threat to the country's security (Tonah, 2006). The policy dubbed 'Operation Cowleg' draws its taskforce from the various security agencies of the country who engage Fulani herdsmen and their cattle in a battle to flush them out to curb violence, environmental degradation, and crimes attributed to them (Tonah, 2006). A similar exercise was carried out nation-wide by decentralized 'Operation Cowleg' forces in 1999/2000 by the country for various offences including crop damage, pollution of water bodies, raping of women, murder of people among other reasons (Tonah, 2006). In the light of the current herdsmen and farmers crisis in the Agogo area, expulsion of Fulani herdsmen from the community by 'Operation Cowleg' forces under the supervision of REGSEC has resumed based on the recommendations of the Dadson Committee Report of 2010 (Agyemang, 2017). Although the current policy of 'Operation Cowleg' which seeks to expel the Fulani herdsmen from the Agogo traditional area offers them the laxity to relocate to other communities outside Agogo, herdsmen have resisted with arm attacks on security forces and indigenous adversaries (Agyemang, 2017).

2.7 Critique of 'Operation Cowleg'

However, the extent to which the expulsion of Fulani herdsmen (Operation Cowleg) is not a sustainable policy is clearly evident by the recurring nature of nomadic activities and conflicts in Ghana including Agogo. It is observed that some of the cattle although driven by migrant Fulani herder, belong to indigenous Ghanaians who took up animal husbandry as their profession, but hired the services of these herders (Tonah, 2006). Therefore, driving them away or killing the

cattle as currently adopted by ‘Operation Cowleg’ forces may have dire consequences on some individual Ghanaians’ source of livelihood and food security in the country in general (Agyemang, 2017). Beside, killing of cattle by ‘Operation Cowleg’ forces to protect crops of indigenous farmers amounts to destroying the livelihood of one segment of those in the Agricultural profession to protect another segment of the same profession and since livelihood is about survival, the strategy could lead to increase in grievances among herdsmen and may further exacerbate the crisis than to curb it (Hegmerg, 2000). It is based on the expulsion and marginalization breeds grievances and conflict thesis that Atta-Asamaoh and Aning (2012) assert that the lack of access to land and marginalization is to blame for the frequent farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana, besides the fact that the policy contravenes the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol. In conclusion, the lapses of the policy supports the assertion by Messer (2010) that poor governance is implicated for climate related violence in developing countries, since Fulani herdsmen migration to littoral states in the sub-region is underpinned by environmental change.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS ON FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three deals with the analysis of data from fieldwork and other sources to help the understanding of why Fulani herdsmen migrate from the Sahel to the littoral states in West Africa including Ghana. It also helps to uncover the conditions in the Agogo area, Asante-Akim North District that attract migrant herdsmen. The analysis of data also examines the reasons for conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani herdsmen as well as the crime accusations against the latter, in the study area.

The findings of the study is therefore based on field work that was conducted over a period of four (4) weeks in the Agogo area and the Kumasi and Accra Metropolis. The analysis was done in accordance with the relevant literature on the Fulani crisis and the theoretical framework of the study and the research questions, all of which have been examined in earlier chapters of the study. Due to the nature of the study, however, a mixed method of qualitative and quantitative research were adopted. The study's qualitative and quantitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) and descriptive statistics. This chapter describes details, the four steps in thematic analysis as presented by Attride-Stirling (2001) and the process in generating quantitative results for the study after discussing data management procedures used to organize the study's data for analysis.

3.2 Data management

All conducted interviews were recorded and checked for voice file clarity. Recorded audio data were transcribed verbatim into English. Verbatim transcription eliminated the tendency of losing

respondent's contribution to interpretation or summary during transcribing. Transcribed interviews were uploaded into NVivo 11. Completed quantitative questionnaires were entered into STATA.

3.3 Analysis of Qualitative data

The data was analyzed using a four staged data analysis procedure, which involved profiling respondents to identify background characteristics, coding transcripts to identify themes that answer the research question and constructing thematic networks that provide details on themes and quotes.

3.4 Data Profiling

Fourteen key informant were interviewed and profiled with their nationality, organization and their designations. Each respondent's profile is key to the process of analysis because it provides characteristics of respondents that are able to account for differences in their perspectives on the subject areas. The table (1) contains detailed interpretation of the profile of each respondent on a row using profile variables as column headers.

Interpretation of Table:

Table (1) details the profile of each respondent on a row using profile variables as column headers

Table (1). Detail profile of respondents

Respondent I.D	Nationality	Organization	Portfolio	Setting
R.1	Ivorian	Embassy of the republic of Ivory Coast in Ghana	Head of cultural and scientific office	Ghana
R.2	Ghanaian	Ghana Police Service	District Police Commander, Agogo, Asante-Akim District	Ghana
R.3	Togolese	Embassy Of The Republic Of Togo in Ghana	Deputy Head Of Mission	Ghana
R.4	Ghanaian	Attorney General's and Ministry of Justice	Chief Director	Ghana
R.5	Ghanaian	Fulani Herdsmen Association in Agogo Area	Vice Chaiman	Ghana
R.6	Ghanaian	Fourth Infantry Battalion, Ghana Army	Commander	Ghana
R.7	Ghanaian	Ministry of Interior	AG. Chief Director	Ghana
R.8	Ghanaian	Chief of Fulani in Ashanti Region	Paramount Chief	Ghana
R.9	Ghanaian	Ashanti Regional Coordination Council	Chief Director	Ghana
R.10	Ghanaian	Ashanti Regional Traditional Council	Odikro	Ghana
R.11	Ghanaian	National Security Ministry	Chief Director	Ghana
R.12	Nigerian	Nigerian High Commission in Ghana	Head of Research	Ghana
R.13	Ghanaian	Alhaji Abdul-Karim Guruzah	Cattle Owner	Ghana
R.14	Ghanaian	Asante-Akim North District Assembly	District Coordinating Director	Ghana

3.5 Data Coding

After profiling respondents, each transcript was examined and all respondents coded in ways that answer the research questions. Both inductive and deductive approaches was used to code the

transcribed interviews. Deductively coding was guided by findings in the literature review. Inductive coding identified and coded responses from the key informant interviews that responded to the study's research question of identifying factors responsible for increasing Fulani migration and settlement in littoral West African States. more specifically, it contains factors that attract Fulani herdsmen to the Agogo area in the Asante-Akim North District and factors responsible for the conflictual relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers. Relevant quotes were highlighted and coded into three levels of themes, basic themes were the first level of themes that described collective response of quotes that are relevant in answering the study's research questions. The underlining contribution in two or more basic themes were brought together under and organizing theme that categorized their contribution. Two or more organizing themes were brought together to summarize results under each research question.

Each research question is presented as a Global theme, with subsequent organizing and basic themes under in the first column. Respondent IDs (as indicated in **appendix 5**) are column headers from column two to the last column where the total number of row responses are indicated. (*) is indexed in the column where respondent ID intersects with basic themes. This shows the distribution of basic themes and their contribution respondents. **Appendix 6** contains details of coded data.

3.5.1 Coding and theme construction

The coding frequency table and thematic framework are presented to provide procedural clarity to the process of coding. First the study's research questions were stated as major themes. Transcribed interviews were coded into sub-themes depending on the similarity and differences in their contribution to answering the research questions. In the coding frequency table, the key

informant interview respondents were used as column headers in the tables. The rows were labeled by the emerging themes, a * is placed in the row where the respondent IDs intersect with the themes to show that the identified respondent contributed to that theme. The last column in the coding frequency summarizes the total number of frequencies on that particular theme. The coding frequency table is appended for illustration. The thematic framework is the next table that is constructed. In the thematic framework, the emerging themes are described and coded quotes are presented for illustration. The thematic framework is appended for illustration.

3.6 Description of respondents

In the qualitative study, fourteen (14) key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted involving both Ghanaian and foreign institutions. Respondents in the study came from different institutional backgrounds, including the National Security Ministry, other security heads, regional and district coordinating councils, Attorney General Office, Togolese, Nigerian and Ivorian embassies in Ghana and traditional authorities. In the quantitative study, 200 respondents were interviewed comprising 100 Fulani herdsman and 100 indigenous farmers. These respondents composed of both males and females who were 18 years old and above.

3.7 Factors that influence Fulani herdsmen migration and their settlement in littoral states in West Africa

Migration is generally induced by multidimensional factors, including economic, social, political and environmental, among others (Armah et al, 2013). Results from KIIs affirmed three broad factors that influence the increasing migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states in West Africa (W/A), including foreign policy, pull and push factors. The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of people and the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol has been identified as the main foreign policy drivers influencing the increasing migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of West Africa (FAO, 2012). Other factors such as tourist attraction, settlement, favourable climatic conditions, abundant greener pasture or feed for cattle, stable security were identified as the main pull drivers of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of West Africa (Armah et al, 2013; Agyemang, 2017). Harsh economic and climatic conditions, unstable political and social environment, factors such as lack of adequate feed (greener pastures) for cattle also encompassed the main factors that push Fulani herdsmen from their countries to littoral states in West Africa (Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012)

3.7.1 ECOWAS free movement and transhumance policy

ECOWAS has a protocol that allows free movement of citizens among ECOWAS nations. Results from the coding frequency showed that 5 KIIs out of 14 KIIs affirmed that the ECOWAS free movement policy and the ECOWAS treaty on Transhumance Protocol (1998) are the main foreign policy that significantly stimulates the upward trend of migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of the sub-region. This is because unlike in the past where Fulani herdsmen needed strict documentation and visa to travel to any West African country, the two ECOWAS protocols has paved way and given impetus to migration of people from other nations freely, leading to the increasing migration phenomenon. Also, the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol makes

it legal for Fulani herdsmen with international transhumance certificates to migrate from Sahelian countries to littoral West Africa in search of pasture (ETTP, 1998). Consider the following quotes:

“...ECOWAS has a protocol on free movement of people and property...”[District Police Commander, Ghana Police Service, Agogo, R.2]

“...There is already an ECOWAS Protocol on Transhumance that was initiated to streamline the activities of pastoralists. However, the current crisis is an indication that the protocol may be ineffective and requires some restructuring or replacement...”[Chief Director, Ministry of National Security, Ghana, R.11]

“...Their arrival to Togo is not restricted; therefore, there is an increase in their number to Togo...”[Togolese Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Togo in Ghana, R.3]

The above narrations confirm that the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people and properties and the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol are the main policy factors that have contributed significantly to the exodus of Fulani to Togo and other littoral states of West Africa. However, the increasing rate of migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of West Africa has reached problematic levels which is attributed to ineffective implementation of the ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol (Armah, et al, 2013). According to the Chief Director of Ministry of National Security in Ghana, the migration trend of Fulani herdsmen has reached a crisis level, which can be attributed to some defects in the two ECOWAS protocols.

“...There is already an ECOWAS Protocol on Transhumance that was initiated to streamline the activities of pastoralists. However, the current crisis is an indication that the protocol may be ineffective and requires some restructuring or replacement...”[Chief Director, Ministry of National Security, Ghana, R.11]

This implies that, though the ECOWAS protocol partly intended to streamline the activities of nomads and pastoralists, it however influences a massive exodus of Fulani herdsmen into littoral

states of the sub-region (FAO, 2012; Armah et al, 2013). Therefore, in order to address the migration crises, there is the need to restructure or replace the current ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people and the Transhumance Protocol.

3.7.2 Factors that influence Fulani migration

Internal socio-economic, political and climatic factors were cited by respondents as the main factors that pushed Fulani herdsmen from their countries to littoral states of West Africa. **Table 1.** which contains results of multiple responses of respondents indicates specifically that, four factors were affirmed as the main internal push factors for migration of Fulani herdsmen, including economic hardship (cited by 20% of respondents), unfavorable climatic conditions and lack of greener pastures to feed animals (cited by 99% of respondents), lack of security (13% of respondents) and 3% cited other reasons. For Fulani herdsmen to leave their home countries in the Sahel to the littoral states, there are certain unfavorable internal factors that force them to migrate, which according to KIIs include economic hardship, unfavorable climatic conditions, lack of security and limited greener pastures (feed) for their animals in their home countries (Hegberg, 2000; Atta-Asamoah and Aning, 2012).

Among these push factors, unfavorable climatic conditions in terms of drought and hot temperatures in the countries of Fulani herdsmen were affirmed as the most dominant and pressing factors that forced Fulani herdsmen to leave their home countries to other countries in West Africa (100% affirmations from KIIs), while the second and third dominant push factors are respectively lack of security (political, social and ethnic instability) and inadequate greener pastures to feed their animals (see coding frequency table in appendix 2). This is because the predominant economic and cultural activity of Fulani people is the rearing of cattle and other

animals, which thrives on favourable climatic conditions, sufficient availability of greener pastures (feed) and stable political, ethnic and social environment (Tonah, 2003).

In the absence of good quantities and stable rain falls and the consequent growth of sufficient pastures for animals and peaceful political and ethnic environment, the main economic stay of the Fulani personal economy would become sagged, pushing them to migrate to other places where the conditions are relatively better and favourable (Tukur, 2013). Economic hardship is, however, the least dominant factor that pushes Fulani herdsmen to migrate from their home countries to other littoral countries in West Africa. This is because the economic hardship of Fulani herdsmen is a function of favourable climatic conditions, availability of pastures for animals, and stable security situation (Adebayo, 1997). Therefore, in terms of priority, the causal factors of economic hardship become the most pressing push factors that influence Fulani herdsmen to migrate out compared with the outcome factor, which is economic hardship (Adebayo, 1997).

Table 2. Farmers’ opinion on what motivates Fulani herdsmen to migrate to Ghana (multiple responses)

	Frequency	Percent
Economic hardship	20	20
Unfavourable environmental conditions	91	91
Poor security reasons	13	13
Other reasons	3	3

Source: Field Data, 2018.

3.7.3 Pull factors that influence Fulani herdsmen migration.

Migration is generally influenced by external socio-economic, environmental, climatic and political factors that attract people to move from their home countries to the destination countries where these external factors are available (de Hass, 2014). Results from KIIs indicate that availability of greener pastures, stable security situation, favourable climatic conditions, favourable and availability of settlement homes and tourist attractions are the external factors

that motivate Fulani herdsmen to migrate to a particular country. Before Fulani herdsmen migrate to a country, they consider the availability and favourability of these factors and conditions in the destination country so that when they are available and favourable, they migrate (de Hass, 2014). The coding frequency table, (*Appendix 6 Table 2*), shows further that among these external pull factors of Fulani herdsmen migration, availability of pastures for animals in the destination country is the most influential pull factor that motivates migration among Fulani herdsmen (about 82% affirmations from KIIs), followed by security factors such as stable political, social and ethnic environment (45% affirmations from KIIs), while the remaining factors such as general climatic conditions, tourist attractions and settlement issues are all affirmed as the third most important pull factor for migration of herdsmen to a destination country (each with 18% affirmations from KIIs).

Availability of pastures as feed for animals is the most dominant factor that attracts Fulani herdsmen to littoral West Africa. This is because rearing of animals is their most important source of income and livelihood, while the main source of survival and growth of the animals lie in sufficient availability of feed (El-Hadary and Salmat, 2012). The affirmation of availability of pastures for animals as the most dominant pull factor that increases migration of Fulani herdsmen is corroborated by quantitative results that showed that 99% of Fulani herdsmen interviewed cited pasture and water availability in Ghana as the main motivation why they migrated to the country. Other important pull factors Fulani herdsmen considered before they migrated to Ghana included favourable weather conditions (36%), availability of market (34%) and high level of security (9%) which is a consistent study by Agyemang (2017).

Table 3. Fulani herdsmen opinion on factors that motivate their relocation to Ghana (multiple responses)

	Frequency	Percent
--	-----------	---------

Availability of pasture and water	99	99
Favorable weather	36	36
Availability of market	34	34
Security reasons	9	9

Source: Field Data, 2018.

3.8 Discussion of results

This section discusses the findings the study with the Neo-Malthusian view on conflict centered on resource scarcity. Apart from the general factors that influence the increasing trend of migration of Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of West Africa, the study further specifically explored and examined locally-motivating factors that induce Fulani herdsmen to migrate and settle in Asante-Akim North District. Results from both qualitative and quantitative data indicated that environmental, social, cultural, climatic and economic factors were the broad factors that attracted Fulani herdsmen to Asante-Akim North District (Boateng, 2015; Agyemang, 2017 and Tonah, 2006).

3.8.1 Environmental factors that attracted Fulani herdsmen into Asante-Akim North District

Environmental factors such as availability of water bodies, vast and quality pasture lands among others are fundamental determinants of the productivity and economic efficiency of livestock farming and pastoral nomadism (Tukur, 2013). Results from KIIs in the coding frequency table, (*Appendix 6 Table 2*), revealed that the Asante-Akim North District, specifically, Agogo, is endowed with favourable and sufficient environmental resources such as vast pasturelands, quality and pastures and adequate availability of water from the Volta Lake and other water bodies which is consistent with the findings of Boateng (2015) and Agyemang (2017). The results from the coding frequency table, (*Appendix 6 Table 2*), also revealed that the availability of vast fields of greener pastures for grazing by animals was affirmed by majority of KIIs as the most dominant factor that attracted Fulani herdsmen into the district (82% affirmation by KIIs),

followed by availability of water (64% affirmation by KIIs) and high quality of pasture (18% affirmation by KIIs) in that order. Examples of quotes from KIIs that confirmed that availability of vast fields of pastures for grazing of Fulani cattle is the dominant factor that attracts Fulani herdsmen into the district are as follow:

...The Agogo area has vast stretches of land which is also very fertile and endowed with green grass at all times...[Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

...In my opinion, the factors that attract the herdsmen to the Agogo area include the availability of vast land which is termed as ungoverned land that is not occupied by human settlement and for that matter good for cattle rearing...It is also as result of the fact that the area is endowed with green grass all year round (both rainy and dry season) which provides enough feed for the cattle which ultimately improve their weight...[Army Commander, Fourth Infantry Battalion of Ghana Arm Force, R.6]

...The herdsmen are attracted to the Agogo area largely because the vast land and availability of pasture...[Acting Chief Director, Ministry of Interior, Ghana, R.7]. Also see in table 25 below.

The quotes imply that pasture lands for animal grazing is not only adequate in the Agogo area but it is also available all year round so that it provides fodder security for the livestock of Fulani herdsmen. Thereby, reducing their costs of providing feed and increasing their productivity as a result of adequate feeding (Agyemang, 2017). This result is confirmed with quantitative data in table (**Table 3.**) shows, that 98% of Fulani herdsmen interviewed affirmed availability of sufficient pasturelands for grazing by their cattle as the factor that attracts most Fulani herdsmen to the area followed by availability of water (67%), availability of market (8%) and security reasons (6%) in the area. This is consistent with the findings of Tonah (2003) that the main objective of Fulani herdsmen in transiting to Ghana was to search for fodder during the dry season and therefore due to the unattractive weather conditions in the Savannah zone, they moved to the middle and southern parts of Ghana, especially communities along the Volta River.

Apart from seeking feed for their animals, another important resource that Fulani herdsmen require for the survival and sustenance of their animals is adequate water availability. Therefore, according to some KIIs, Agogo receives the greatest influx of Fulani herdsmen because of the proximity of the area to the Volta Lake and its endowment with natural water bodies. The following quotes from the some KIIs, supports the assertion.

“...The cattle may be moving to the Volta Lake area to graze and water and return on daily basis...”[Chief Director, Attorney General and Ministry of Justice, R.4]

“...The place is also close to water bodies for cattle to drink...”[Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

“...Finally the closeness of the area to the Volta Lake which serves as source of drinking water to the cattle while the banks of the lake also contain grass to feed the cattle is a pull factor...”[Army Commander, Fourth Infantry Battalion of Ghana Arm Force, R.6]

“...There is also available water in the area which I think they need badly to water their cattle...”[Chief Director, Ashanti Regional Coordination council, R.9]

Table 4. Fulani herdsmen perception of major factors that attracts them to the Agogo area (multiple responses)

	Frequency	Percent
Availability of pasture and water	98	98
Favourable weather	67	67
Availability of market	8	8
Security reasons	6	6
Other	3	3

Source: Field Data, 2018.

The above quotes attribute the increasing influx of Fulani herdsmen into Agogo in the Asante-Akim North District to availability of water bodies in the area, while the rest of the KIIs pointed to the proximity of the area to the Volta Lake. They do not only provide sufficient pasture and water all-year-round for the cattle to drink, but also provide green pasture for the animals.

Therefore, the closeness of Agogo to the Volta Lake and other water bodies available in the area are the main driving force behind the upsurge of Fulani herdsmen migration into the district.

Besides pasture security, which dominates in influencing Fulani herdsmen to migrate into the district, some KIIs also mentioned the quality of pasture available in the area, which is considered nutritious for the cattle as another motivating factor why Fulani herdsmen prefer Agogo to other areas. According to respondents from both Fulani herdsmen and Ashanti Traditional Authorities, Agogo is also endowed with a special type of pasture that is most nutritious and accelerates the growth rates and productivity of cattle, leading to higher economic returns. Consider the quotes below;

...There is a certain category of grass that looks like sugarcane which is very nutritious and helps cattle to gain weight quickly and which is abundant..... As soon as the cattle graze little of this category of grass, they get satisfied... [Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

...Fulani herdsmen themselves have confessed that the nature of the grass here makes their cattle increase in weight quickly... [Odikro, Ashanti Regional Traditional Council, R.10]

These narrations therefore imply that the area does not only possess sufficient pasturelands and water, but it is also endowed with high quality and nutritious pasture that contributes significantly to growth of cattle.

3.8.2 Cultural factors that attract Fulani herdsmen into Asante-Akim North District

The value of good hospitality for strangers as a cultural practice by the Agogo people was identified as one of the factors that also attracted Fulani herdsmen into the district. The people of Agogo and Ghanaians in general, welcome visitors with open arms and this may serve as an attractive factor to the Fulani herdsmen to the area. Results from KIIs in the coding frequency table (*Appendix 6 Table 2*) indicate that good hospitality of the people of Agogo is the main cultural factor that attracts Fulani herdsmen into the area. According to some KIIs, the Asante

people are culturally hospitable to strangers and have flexible settlement arrangements and land acquisition processes, making their areas the target places for Fulani herdsmen.

...The availability of water and the hospitality of the Ghanaian people are other crucial factors. For example the Ashanti tribe are very accommodative and easily lured. They also yield to money and are willing to rent land for money...”[Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

...In addition, the people of Asante-Akim are very hospitable and welcome everyone who wishes to settle there... [Odikro, Ashanti Regional Traditional Council, R.10]

These imply a direct correlation between hospitality among the people of Agogo and the level of migration by Fulani herdsmen into the area. Unlike in other places in the country where land for settlement is allocated only to indigenes, the quotes indicate that among the Ashanti tribe, land acquisition is largely based on affordability, regardless of individuals’ settlement status. This makes the area the biggest target for Fulani herdsmen and other migrants.

3.9 Determinants of conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in Asante-Akim North District

Conflict is caused by a multitude of socio-economic, environmental, political and institutional factors. These can either be remote or immediate (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012). In this study, the various factors that cause conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in the Agogo area were evaluated. Competition over livelihood resources, institutional weaknesses (such as abuse of the media and discrimination), destruction of properties by parties and political interference were identified as the main causes of the conflicts.

3.9.1 Competition over livelihood resources

Resources such as arable land and water are the primary natural resources that are used for production and generation of adequate livelihoods for their households (Tonah, 2006). Local farmers depend on arable land and water for production of crops for consumption and sale, and the Fulani herdsmen compete with the farmers for arable lands for pasture and drinking water for their animals (Tonah, 2006). Arable lands and water are scarce and these two groups are engaged in competition for these natural resources making competition unhealthy, leading to conflicts (Agyemang, 2017). The study however found that, while farmers accuse the herdsmen of grazing on farm crops, leaders of the Fulani community also blame farmers for cultivating on cattle routes and expelling herdsmen from lands they already occupied.

“...The major reason for the farmer-herder conflict is completion over resource use and since that hinges on survival on both sides, this relationship is generally hostile. Each of the two(2) parties sees the others’ activities as impeding the survival of the other. While the indigenous farmers see the Fulani herdsmen as threat to their farms and livelihood, the same way the herdsmen see the farmers as threat to their survival....”[Acting Chief Director, Ministry of Interior, Ghana, R.7]

“...The major reason why there is conflict between the two groups is that, the herdsmen allow their cattle to graze on farm crops deliberately leading to confrontation, attacks on farmers and reprisal attacks from groups....”[Army Commander, Fourth Infantry Battalion of Ghana Arm Force, R.6]

“...farmers are also to blame for farming on cattle routes, denying herdsmen access to pasture...”[Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

“...In addition some of the farmers also chase lands that has been occupied by cattle or that are on cattle route due to their fertile nature as a result of cattle droppings...”[Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

The Chief Director at the Ministry of National Security attributes the conflict to normal competition between joint users of natural resources.

“...The conflict between farmers and herdsmen is as a result of competition over water and land use...”[Chief Director, Ministry of National Security, Ghana, R.11].

The quotes above affirm that competition over natural resources such as land and water is a major driver of conflict between farmers and herdsmen. Therefore, if adequate provision and demarcation of lands and other resources are provided for both farmers and Fulani herdsmen, then the competition and the resultant conflicts will be minimized if not eradicated. The attribution of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers to competition over natural resources such as arable land and water source by KIIs is strongly supported by quantitative results involving both Fulani herdsmen and farmers. When Fulani herdsmen and local farmers were asked whether or not competition over resources contribute to their conflicts, 94% and 93% of Fulani herdsmen and local farmers affirmed that the competition does contribute respectively. In addition, quantitative result of respondents in table 6 shows that about 96% of cited completion over natural resources as reason for conflict compared to ethnic difference (92%) and politics (55%). See table 4 and 5.

Table 5. Proportion of farmers who think competition over land and water use plays a part in the conflict

	Freq.	Percent
Yes	93	93
No	7	7
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2018.

Table 6. Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who think competition over land and water use plays a part in the conflict

	Freq.	Percent
Yes	94	94
No	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Field Data, 2018.

Table 7. Reasons for conflict b/n Fulani herdsmen and Farmers (multiple responses)

	Frequency	Percent
Ethnic differences	92	92
Competition for natural resources	96	96
Ownership of cattle	92	92
Politics	55	55
Chieftaincy	2	2

Source: Field Data, 2018.

3.9.2 Institutional factors

Institutional weaknesses such as slow or lack of justice in the judicial process hearing dispute between the parties, poor investigation on the part of the security agencies and unguarded language on local media networks also contribute to the eruption and escalation of the conflicts. Results from coding frequency table indicate that legal lapses and abuse of media hype are the two main institutional factors that contribute to increasing the incidence of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers in the Asante-Akim North District.

3.9.3 Legal lapses

The legal system, which has the mandate to settling and preventing conflicts through the delivery and administration of justice to all persons without discrimination, has been less effective and

efficient in delivering on this mandate. This has led to dwindling confidence in the legal system, thereby, influencing people to use conflict as the quickest way of seeking justice. Results from KIIs indicate that both local farmers and Fulani herdsmen do not have confidence in the legal system because they believe the legal system is unfair and slow, which in turn leads to increased incidence of conflicts as the means of resolving misunderstanding and disagreements. According to the Vice Chairman of Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo, the legal system is corrupt. Justice depends on the individual's access to resource availability and based on that Fulani herdsmen resort to arms instead of the legal system for justice, leading to increasing cases of conflicts in the area.

“...In the same vein, the system is to blame in the sense that, in Ghana people break the law or take it into their own hands when they have enough resources, because they are able to pay for their freedom. Therefore, when one is aggrieved, your chances of obtaining justice depend on whether the perpetrator has resources or not and whether he is well connected or not. As a result, Fulani herdsmen are not even bothered to report their grievances and end up taking the law to their own hands...”[Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

The Acting Chief Director at the Ministry of Interior also shares a similar view about the legal system, which discriminates against the Fulani herdsmen because they are not incorporated into the formal legal system due to the fact that they are not permanently stationed in one country or community. As a result of this, the Fulani herdsmen turn to violence as the means of achieving justice against the local farmers who are given more legal support in their home country.

“...However the Fulani herdsmen do not have much legal support because they are moving and not sedentary enough to be incorporated into the community's legal framework. But since the sedentary farmers own the land, they turn to receive more legal support. Because there are no mechanisms in place, the conflict is rather exacerbated than contained. While one group think

they are the bona fide owners of the land, the other group feel discriminated against in the use of common natural resource... ”[Acting Chief Director, Ministry of Interior, Ghana, R.7]

The above quotes imply that unfairness and discrimination of the legal system in favour of the rich and the indigenous farmers are the main weaknesses of the legal system that contribute significantly to increasing the incidence of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers. This finding is consistent with the predictions of Homer-Dixon’s (1999) Structural Scarcity Assumption that unequal distribution of, and access to, natural resources and other services contribute to social grievances because those without access to these resources may mobilize to fight those with enough resources, leading to conflict. This findings that discrimination and weaknesses in the legal system contribute to conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers is empirically supported by evidence in Nigeria that the manipulation of national laws to protect indigenes against Fulani settlers fuels resentment among nomadic herdsmen, leading to violent conflicts between the two groups (Olufemi, 2013)

3.9.4 Abuse of media hype

The media is generally considered as the fourth organ of government and a voice for the voiceless in society. However, results from KIIs in table 2 of Appendix 6, showed that access to the media for exaggerating and projecting of self-interests is dependent on your settlement status and resources, leading to further escalation of little misunderstandings into violent clashes. Thus, when there is a little misunderstanding between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers, the latter resorts to the media to hype their side of the issue against the former, which usually blows simple and little misunderstandings out of proportion, and thereby causing fear and panic and escalation of violence. For example, the leaders of Fulani herdsmen are quoted saying;

... On the part of the Agogo people, they hype little misunderstandings and end up inciting bad press on the herdsmen to make them appear as criminals walking on the street. In such a

situation, any Fulani herdsman accused of any crime will be a forgone conclusion even by the police. This is one of the discouraging factors that even do not allow the herdsmen air their grievances or report any attack on them and end up taking the law into their own hands... [Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

...The Agogo people also use the media to hype any little misunderstanding that could be resolved amicably and end up escalating the situation... [Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

Analysis of these quotes imply that the abuse of media is solely done by the indigenous farmers, perhaps they are the indigenes, and therefore have more access to media houses than the Fulani herdsmen, who are regarded as settlers. Therefore, having more access to the media, when there is a misunderstanding that could have been resolved amicably occurs, the indigenous farmers resort to the media to demonize the Fulani herdsmen, thereby pronouncing them criminals without giving them hearing and making them targets for arrests by Police. These factors, among other things, create a sense of dissatisfaction with law enforcement agencies and as a result, they take the law into their own hands by fighting the indigenous farmers for justice. In effect, the unequal access to, and abuse of, the media by the indigenous farmers is one of the factors that contribute to increasing incidence of conflicts in the area. This finding is corroborated by Tukur (2013) who argued that Fulani pastoralists are being maligned by media campaign by attributing various kinds of crime such as violent attacks, murder, robbery, rape, crop destruction and cattle rustling to them, which further destabilizes peace in the areas.

3.9.5 Destruction of livelihood assets

Conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers are also influenced by negative externalities arising from their livelihood activities. While the activities of Fulani herdsmen sometimes lead to destruction of people's farms, especially farms along cattle routes, the local farmers in protecting their farms also resort to killing of cattle, leading to conflicts between the

groups. Results from KIIs in table 2 of appendix 6 indicate that majority of the conflict cases between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers are traced to destruction of farm crops and killing of cattle in the course of carrying out their production activities. However, destruction of farms and water by cattle is the most dominant cause of conflict, with 9 out of 14 KIIs affirming it, compared with the killing of cattle by local farmers, which received affirmation from 3 out of 14 KIIs. The following quotes all confirm that cattle owned by Fulani herdsmen destroy crops of local farmers. However, most of the cases of crop destruction are traced to strange and wandering Fulani herdsmen who are usually armed. Therefore, without any proper dialogue and investigations, these destructions lead to violent conflicts between local farmers and Fulani herdsmen who are settlers in the area.

“...On their way there however, they usually unintentionally graze their cattle on farm crops...Therefore when these strange herdsmen destroy the crops, the farmers may not call for dialogue and impose fines, but resort to confrontations with herdsmen who are usually armed...”[Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

...However, the new arrivals usually cause destruction to crops leading to conflict between herdsmen and indigenous farmers... [District Police Commander, Ghana Police Service, Agogo, R.2]

...Also as mentioned earlier, in the Agogo area where the cattle are escorted on daily basis to the Volta lake area may result in cattle feeding on farmer’s maize, watermelon and other crops that normally brings stand-off and sometimes armed conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers largely due to the absence of cattle routes... [Chief Director, Attorney General and Ministry of Justice, R.4]. Also, see table Table 7&8 of Appendix 8

.

These imply further that the use of weapons by Fulani herdsmen in the course of undertaking their daily pastoral activities also contributes to the conflicts because when the cattle destroy the

farms, the least reaction from the farm owners usually receive violent reprisal attacks from the Fulani herdsmen. This use of weapons by Fulani herdsmen is confirmed by McGregor (2017) who posited that Fulani herdsmen are typically armed to protect their herds from rustlers, wild animals and other threats, making them targets for violence and confrontation with local farmers.

On the other hand, some KIIs affirmed that local farmers also engage in killing cattle owned by the Fulani herdsmen under the guise of protecting their farms. This action by local farmers also causes conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers. According to the Fulani herdsmen leadership, the cattle are usually poisoned or gunned down by local farmers and armed military forces, provoking reprisal attacks from the Fulani herdsmen, leading to violent conflicts. Examples of quotes from the Fulani herdsmen leadership are as follow;

“...One of the major reasons why there is conflict between herdsmen and farmers is the issue of crop destruction by cattle. It is important to note that some of the farmers went for bank loans to develop their farms and in the event that the crops get destroyed by cattle, conflict is usually triggered by attacks and reprisal attacks...[Coordinating Director, Asante-Akim North District, R]

“...Another source of the conflict is the indiscriminate killing of cattle by both the indigenous farmers and the security forces through poisoning and shooting with rifles. This is carried out in most cases to cause pain and loss to the cattle owners, and since herdsmen are also armed, they are likely to retaliate which might lead to reprisal attacks...”[Vice Chairman, Fulani herdsmen association in Agogo area, R.5]

“...Another source of the conflict is the killing of cattle belonging to herdsmen. These cattle are either poisoned or shot dead triggering reprisal attacks by herdsmen...” [Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

These narrations imply that the killings of cattle by local farmers are planned and deliberate with the objective to cause financial loss to the Fulani herdsmen, which the Fulani herdsmen always

retaliate, leading to violent conflicts. In effect, the killing of cattle by local farmers is influenced by several factors, including protection of farms, retaliation for crops destruction and accidental poisoning among others. therefore, the destruction of each other's livelihood assets is found to contribute significantly to conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers, thereby confirming the theoretical prediction of the Eco-survivalism theory that in the wake of scarce resources, groups are in a position to protect their livelihood assets in a competitive manner which may lead to violent conflict (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014). This finding is further supported by empirical evidence that Fulani herdsmen and farmers are willing to fight each other in order to protect their respective livelihoods because whereas indigenous farmers feel their survival depends on their crops, Fulani herdsmen equally feel their survival is dependent on their cattle (Abass, 2012; Agyemang, 2017). Refer to pictures in appendix 10 and 11 for maize farm destroyed by cattle and reprisal attack of poisoned cattle.

3.9.6 Exploitation of Fulani herdsmen

Exploitation is one of the major causes of conflict between farmers and herdsmen, especially, when the exploited decides to revolt against the exploiter. This is common between indigenes and settler herdsmen in the Agogo area, where some formers take advantage of the settlement status of the latter. Results from KIIs similarly revealed that both local people and chiefs of the Agogo area subject the Fulani herdsmen to economic exploitation in terms of compensation payment for farm damages and payment for lands belonging to indigenous farmers among others. Exploitations by local people and chiefs are, however, less dominant factors that influence conflict because only one KII in each case affirmed that they contribute to conflict incidence in the Agogo area. For example, according to the paramount chief of the Fulani herdsmen, farmers set up Fulani herdsmen by cultivating along cattle routes so that when their

farms are destroyed by the cattle, they inflate the compensation packages for the Fulani herdsmen to pay, thereby stimulating conflict between the two groups.

“...Another concern is that the citizens of Agogo are indulged in cheating and extortion of Fulani herdsmen. They intentionally grow crops on cattle routes or pasture lands which hitherto were not used for crop farming with the intention of getting the crops destroyed by cattle so that they could surcharge cattle owners for the damage. A water melon farm which could not fetch GH500 will end up attracting surcharge of GH5,000 for its owner creating frustration...”[Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]

This implies that local farmers are carefully engineering the conflict with the Fulani herdsmen by economically exploiting them under the guise of demanding for compensation for their crop losses arising from cattle destruction. In other cases, chiefs of the Agogo area collected bribes from the Fulani herdsmen and offered them access to land. Some the land are owned and cultivated by the indigenous farmers and when offered without consultation with the owners, it creates confusion and consequently leading to violent conflicts between the chiefs-backed Fulani herdsmen and the indigenous farmers. A narration by the Acting Chief Director at the Ministry of Interior explains as follows;

...It is observed that when the Fulani herdsmen arrive, some chiefs normally receive money, cattle and etc. from the herdsmen and offer them unfettered access to land which may bring misunderstanding between the indigenous farmers on one hand and the chiefs and Fulani herdsmen on the other. Because the booty is not shared with the indigenes... [Acting Chief Director, Ministry of Interior, Ghana, R.7]

Therefore, economic exploitation of the Fulani herdsmen by local farmers and chiefs in terms of compensation payments and allocation of occupied lands to them also contribute to generating conflicts between the herdsmen and the local farmers in the Agogo area.

3.9.7 Political interference

Political campaign promises contribute to conflicts between the indigenes and the Fulani herdsmen in the Agogo area. Results in the coding frequency table show that 3 KIIs affirmed that political interference is a contributory factor to conflicts between the two parties citing unfulfilled campaign promises of flushing out Fulani herdsmen and restoring the lands of the local farmers. According to the KIIs, when the politicians make the promises of evacuating the Fulani herdsmen from the Agogo area, after obtaining power, the people take the law into their hands and try to forcefully evict the Fulani herdsmen from the area when the politicians are not fulfilling their promises. This has led to violent confrontations in the area. Sample narrations from KIIs are as follow;

...The other reason for conflict is political capital. Politicians during campaign times usually assure the disgruntled indigenous farmers of their support or use their power to expel the Fulani herdsmen from the Agogo area and would want to live up to their promises when they finally have power. This political profiteering has led to proposition of unsustainable and knee jack solutions that will in the future cause conflict to erupt again... [District Police Commander, Ghana Police Service, Agogo, R.2]

...But the idea of cattle killing is usually fueled by political entrepreneurs... [Paramount Chief, Fulani Traditional Authority in Ashanti Region, R.8]. See also Table 9 Appendix 8

This implies that politicians are milking political power from the conflict and as a result, retarding the efforts of key stakeholders from finding sustainable solution to the problem. Therefore, political interference does not only engender new cases of conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers, but it contributes to cementing the problem, making it difficult to be permanently resolved. This is consistent with the findings of Olufemi (2013) that, in Nigeria, the structures behind the fanatical violence between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in is deeply rooted and politically entrenched.

3.10 How much crime is traced to Fulani herdsmen?

Generally, most crimes in the study area were traced to Fulani herdsmen. The Tables, 10, 11 and 12 respectively show both indigenes and Fulani respondents revealing the dominance of crimes traced to Fulani herdsmen.

Table 10. Farmers’ perception of the perpetrators of crime in the area

	Freq.	Percent
Indigenous farmers	1	1
Other Ghanaian tribes	3	3
Fulani herdsmen	82	82
All tribes	14	14
Total	100	100

Asante-Akim North District Assembly, 2018.

Table 11. Proportion of indigenous farmers who think the presence of Fulani herdsmen have an impact on crime in the area

	Freq.	Percent
Yes	94	94
No	6	6
Total	100	100

Source: Asante-Akim-North District Assembly, 2018.

Table 12. Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who admitted that they have ever been accused of crime

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	89	89
No	11	11

Source: Asante-Akim North District Assembly, 2018.

More specifically, respondents traced murder, rape, robbery and destruction of crops to Fulani herdsmen. Among the qualitative respondents, Fulani herdsmen were accused of rape more than

any other crime. Below are various expressions indicating crimes that are traced to Fulani herdsmen

...The herdsmen have been accused of many crimes in the area including rape, murder, robbery and destruction of crops... [Vice Chairman, Fulani Herdsmen Association, Agogo area, R.5]

...but I am aware that when the herdsmen were roaming in the Agogo environment, there were daily reports of murder, robbery, destruction of farm crops and rape... [Commander, 4th Infantry Battalion Ashanti Region, R.6]

...Crime accusation labelled against herdsmen is a reality not only in Agogo area, but other parts of Ghana such as Northern Volta which also experiences such incidents and accuses them of rape and robbery... [Chief Director, Ministry of Justice, R.7]

There were some instances where respondents admitted that some of the crimes traced to Fulani herdsmen were exaggerated, however such respondents admitted some of the allegations were genuine as evident in the quote below

...However there are instances of genuine violence and genuine rape... [Paramount Chief of Fulani, Ashanti Region, R.8]

Some respondents indicated that Fulani herdsmen were able to commit these crimes because they were armed with sophisticated guns that made it easier for them to commit these crimes as expressed below

...Another major reason for the conflict is the numerous murder activities engaged in by herdsmen. Because the herdsmen are armed with sophisticated rifles, they usually gun down indigenous farmers... [Head of Research, Nigerian High Commission, Ghana, R.12]

The respondent proceeded and reported an instance of murder committed by a Fulani herdsman against an indigenous farmer. Refer to picture in appendix 8 and 9 for a case of murder and arrest of the alleged perpetrator who is a herdsman.

...Another example is the incident that led to the murder of a sub-chief called Okonfuwo Kwesi Badu in 2016. He had heaped his maize that was harvested the previous day. On his return to visit the farm the next day, he found that the entire maize was eaten by cattle. When he confronted the herdsman over the destruction, the latter shot him dead instantly... [Coordinating Director, Asante-Akim North District Assebly, R.14]

The discussion of crimes traced to Fulani herdsmen revealed that that indigenes also retaliated and committed crimes against the herdsmen. Crimes committed against Fulani herdsmen were either committed by aggrieved individuals or organized groups. They sometimes poison cattle belonging to Fulani herdsmen as shown in the picture of appendix 11 and the killing of cattle belonging to herdsmen.

...Another contributory factor to the conflict is the indiscriminate killing of cattle belonging to herdsmen by indigenous farmers. The farmers either poison the animals or shoot them to death leading to frustration and anger among herdsmen who usually retaliate with armed attacks. Cattle owners and Fulani herdsmen contend that cattle rustling contribute in no small measure to the conflicts in the Agogo traditional area. The animals are rustled when they go to graze. The cattle are sometimes killed in the forest and the meat is transported to the town market to sell. In addition, cattle owners claim dissatisfied farmers shoot cattle that stray into their farms on sight. Again the Operation Cowleg Team stationed at the District to prevent the conflict also engaged in sporadic shooting of cattle deemed to be causing harm to farms and properties in their periodic patrols... [Cattle Owner, Guruza, Kumasi, R.13]

Similar perceptions were reported in the quantitative survey where nearly all interviewed Fulani herdsmen reported that indigenes commit similar crimes against them as shown in table 13.

Table 13. Proportion of Fulani herdsmen who think similar crimes are committed by indigenes

	Freq.	Percent
Yes	98	98
No	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Asante-Akim-North District Assebmly, 2018.

The findings on crime is also consistent with assertion by Atta-Asamoah and Aning (2012) that Fulani herdsmen are responsible for various crimes in the three Northern regions, and who constituted 80% inmates of the Tamale Prison in 2006, convicted for various offences such as highway robbery, murder, rape, motorbike theft, among other crimes.

3.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, Fulani herdsmen migration from the Sahel and settlement in the littoral states of West Africa is induced by push and pull factors. Conflict between migrant herdsmen and indigenous farmers is underpinned by competition over scarce natural resources such as land and water. Destruction of livelihood assets, exploitation of herdsmen, abuse of the local media, political interference and institutional weakness into conflict and crime such as murder, rape, highway robbery, among others were generally traced to herdsmen although some crimes were also committed by indigenes.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses summaries of the research findings, conclusion and recommendations based on the research.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study set out to understand the reasons behind Fulani herdsmen migration from the Sahel to the littoral states in West Africa and the conditions in the Agogo area that attract migrant herdsmen to the area. It also sought to find out the reasons why there is perennial conflicts between indigenous farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the area and the extent to which these herdsmen are blameable for the crime they are often accused of.

The study found that,

- ECOWAS protocols (free movement of people and treaty of transhumance) are the main drivers of conflict between the two groups.
- Unfavourable climatic conditions, lack of security and limited pasture (feed for their animals) in the Sahel countries were identified as key driver influencing the migration of Fulani herdsmen from the Sahel to the littoral states of West Africa.

- Vast arable land and good pastures, water, stable security situation, favourable climatic conditions, and hospitability were identified as pull factors that attracted Fulani herdsmen to migrate to the littoral states of West Africa. However, among all these factors, unfavourable climatic conditions in the Sahel that serves as push factor was found to be the most dominant driver of migration among Fulani herdsmen to littoral states of West Africa.
- It was found that both environmental and cultural factors also contributed significantly to herdsmen's migration to the Agogo area. Availability of water bodies, vast pasturelands and high quality of pasture for animals' feed are the favourable climatic conditions that make the Agogo area the choice and destination of Fulani herdsmen. However, among all these factors, availability of vast fields of pastureland was found to be the most dominant and crucial factor that attracted most Fulani herdsmen into Agogo, followed by availability of water, especially the closeness of the Agogo area to the Volta Lake, while high quality pasture was identified as the least important factor.
- Competition over natural resources, discrimination and institutional weaknesses such as poor land tenure system, slow legal process, abuse of the media, destruction of livelihood assets, exploitation and political interference were identified as the main causes of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers in the area.
- Competition over scarce arable lands and water sources, discrimination against Fulani herdsmen in the administration of justice, unequal access to media that favour indigenes, cattle rustlings, destruction of farms and water sources by cattle, economic exploitation of Fulani herdsmen by local farmers and chiefs and political profiteering in the conflict

situation were the key factors that engender conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers in Agogo.

The high crime rate in Agogo is found to be traceable to Fulani herdsmen. The crimes were rape, murder and destruction of property. Indigenes and organized groups also often committed crimes in retaliation against the Fulani herdsmen.

4.2 Conclusions

The study concludes that migration of Fulani herdsmen from the Sahel region to the littoral states of West Africa and their settlement in the Agogo area is underpinned by environmental change, and the frequent conflicts between herdsmen and indigenous farmers is hinged on environmental scarcity. Most crimes in the Agogo area attributed to herdsmen are the result of herdsmen's possession of sophisticated weapons, as well as drug use. And that some crimes that are attributed to the herdsmen were actually perpetrated by indigenes.

That climate change, environmental degradation, natural resource depletion, scarcity and increased population growth has increasingly become sources of conflict in West Africa, for that matter, the Agogo area. As competitors and joint users of scarce natural resources such as land and water bodies, violent conflict has become a feature of farmer-herder relationship in the Agogo area and the spread and use of small arms and light weapons is making the conflict deadlier. The possession of small arms and light weapons by herdsmen has embolden them to intimidate, rape women in the area, cause murder and engaged in highway robbery.

4.3 Recommendation

- Fodder farming should be encouraged in Sahelian countries as climate change adaptation strategy to curb mass migration of Fulani herdsmen who relocate to littoral states with their cattle. Such a measure can prevent further migration of herdsmen from the region that would have negative effects on the economies of Sahelian countries. Such measures have been adopted by countries like Ethiopia and proven effective.
- There should be a deliberate policy by government of Ghana to regulate the number of herds coming into the country to ensure that the number of herds accepted commensurate with available resources. Such a measure will address the lapses in the h ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol which recognizes member countries' rights to regulate the number of cattle coming into their respective countries. To ensure the effectiveness of this measure, a robust border control system, man by competent immigration officers will also be needed. Local authorities should also be tasked to register and tag herder and their herds that are permitted in the country and assigned each to an assembly member who is responsible for monitoring their movement.
- There should be separate zonal enclaves for grazing and crop farming far apart from each other. This should be accompanied by creation of cattle routes to enable livestock have easy access to pastureland without destroying crops on the way. It would also help curb indiscriminate farming of crops on cattle routes which creates frustration among Fulani herdsmen. This will help curb the problems of livelihood assets destruction which is one of the major drivers of the conflict. Ranches should also be established to discourage traditional mode of pastoralism. A multi-sectorial committee that comprises all the relevant stakeholders concerned should be established to supervise activities of

pastoralists. Dialogue and settlement committees as sub-committees are necessary. The existence of a settlement committee would also help identify and verify livelihood assets of both farmers and herders destroyed, and recommend appropriate sanctions and compensations. It must be noted that the existence of inter-ministerial committees such as the one recommended by this study, has helped countries like Togo and the Ivory Coast to curb the Fulani herdsmen crisis in those countries.

- The Fulani herdsmen should be disarmed of machetes and rifles, except sticks. As noted in the literature, crime committed by Fulani herdsmen was minimal in the past when they wielded only sticks and machetes. However, their current practices of possessing AK 47 rifle predisposes them to cause harm to people or commit murder at the least provocation. Fulani herdsmen should rather, be admonished to rely on the police for protection so that rifle and machetes carriage by herdsmen be criminalized. There should be police background checks on individual Fulani youth who are to be hired as herdsmen. Criminal history of these individuals should be traced and only those who have clean records should be employed by herd owners. Those who are found to have clean criminal history should also be licensed to separate them from the bad ones.
- The conflict between herdsmen and sedentary farmers in the Agogo area should be depoliticized and herdsmen be well integrated in the society. Under no circumstance should a politician be allowed to assure any of the feuding factions of his support to obtain votes as currently being reported to be the case. Such a situation could further polarize relations between the two groups and make the conflict difficult to resolve.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Books

- Blench, R. M, 'Natural Resource Conflict in Northern-Central Nigeria: A Handbook and Case Studies' (Mallam Dendo Ltd, 2004)
- Boxill, I. C, 'Introduction to Social Research with Application to the Caribbean' (University of West Indies Press, 1998)
- Bryant, R. L, 'Third World Political Ecology' (London: Routledge press, 1997)
- de Hass, Hein, "Irregular Migration from West Africa to the Maghreb and European: An Overview of Recent Trends" (Genever: International Organization for Migration, 2008)
- Frenz, C. (1990). West African Pastoralists: Transformation and Resilience, in Tonah (2003)
- Hagberg S, (2000) 'Strangers, Citizens, Friends: Fulbe Agro-Pastoralists in Western Burkina Faso' (Uppsala: Acta University, 1990, p. 159-179)
- Hesse-biber, S. N, "The Thing-ness Problem of Mixed Methods Research" (2006)
- Homer-Dixon T, 'Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from cases, Int. Security' (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994)
- Homer-Dixon, T, 'Environment, Scarcity and Violence' (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Kriesberg, Louis and Dayton, B. W, "Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution" (USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012)
- Lomborg, B, 'The skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

b. Journals Articles

- Abbagana, A. L. and Youla, A, 'Gestion des AP et Transhumance: La tetre Aires Protegees en Afrique de l'Quest', (2009) No 17:p6-7
- Abbass, I. M, 'No Retreat, No Surrender Conflict for Survival Between Fulani Pastoralists and Farmers in Northern Nigeria', *European Scientific Journal*, (2000) 8(1):331-346
- Abdulai, A. and Yakubu, F. T. L, 'Pastoralism and Violence in Northern Ghana: Socialization and Professional Requirement', *International Journal of Research in Social Science*, (2004) 4(5): 102- 110
- Adebayor, A. K, 'Contemporary Dimensions of Migration among Historically Migrant Nigerians: Fulbe Pastoralists in Southeastern Nigeria', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, (1997) 22:95-109
- Ahorsu, K. & Ame, R. (2011). *African conflict & peacebuilding review*, volume 1, number 2, pp. 6-33 doi: 10.1353/acp.2011.0023
- Akinyetun, T. S, 'Staff to Gun: Fulani Herdsmen in Nigeria', *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, (2016) vol.4 No.8 pp38-44
- Alao, Abiadum, (2012) 'Natural Resources and the Dynamics of Conflicts in West Africa', *CODESRIA Journal*, (2012) vol. 8 No. 4 pp60-64
- Armah, F. A. , Luginaah, I., Yengoh, G. T., Taabazuing, J. and Yawson, O, 'Management of Natural Resources in a Conflicting Environment in Ghana: Unmasking a Messy Policy Problem', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Development*, (2014) Vol. 57 No. 11, pp 1724-45
- Atta-Asamoah, Andrews and Aning, Emmanuel Kwesi, (2012) 'Environment and Conflict in West Africa', *CODESRIA Journal*, (2012) Vol. 8 No. 4 pp98-119
- Attride-Stirling, Jennifer, 'Thematic Networks: An Analytical Tool for Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Research*, (2001) 1(3):385-405
- Basset J. T, 'The Political Ecology of Peasant-Herder Conflicts on the Northern Cote d' Ivoire', *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, 78(3): 4453-472
- Bernauer T., Bohmelt T. and Koubi V, 'Environmental Changes and Violent Conflict', *Centre for Comparative and International Studies, Zurich* (2012) Vol. 13 No1. Pp.88-107
- Blench, R. M, 'The Expansion and Adoption of Fulbe Pastoralism to Sub-Humid and Humid Conditions in Nigeria', *Cahiers d' Etudes Africains* (1994) 1(3):199-20
- Bryant, R.L, "Power, Knowledge and Political Ecology in the Third World: A Review of Progress", *Physical Geography* (1998) 229(9): 79-94
- El Hadary Y. A. E. and Salmat N, (2011) "Pastotal Land Rights and Protracted Conflict in Eastern Sudan", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* (2011) 2(1): 79-81

El Hadary, Y. A. E. and Salmat N, “Managing Scarcity in the Dryland of the Eastern Sudan: The Role of Pastoralists’ Local Knowledge in Rangeland Management Resources and Environment”, *The Journal of Pan African Studies* (2012) 4(8): 55-66

Ewusi, K. 1976; Levels of regional development in Ghana, *Social indicators research*, vol. 3/1, pp.75-100.

Folami, O. M. and Folami, A. O (2013) “Climate Change and Inter-conflict in Nigeria”, *Peace Review* (2013) 25(1): 104-110

Iheanacho E. N, (2016) ‘The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen in Nigeria: A Threat to National Security’, *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* (2016) Vol. 1 No. 5 pp. 395-405

McGregor, Andrew, ‘The Fulani Crisis: Communal Violence and Radicalism in the Sahel’, *Combating Terrorism Centre, West Point, New York* (2017) vol. 10 No. 2

Nordal, R. and Gleditsch, N. P. ‘Climate Change and Conflict’, *Political Geography* (2007) No 26 pp627-38

Okoli, A.C. and Atelhe. G. A. “Nomads Against Natives: A Political Ecology of Herder/Farmer Conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria” *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* (2014) 4(2): 76-86

Olufemi, M.S. “Mitigating Radicalism in Northern Nigeria”, *Africa Society Brief* (2013) No.26

Releigh, Clionadh and Urdal, Henrik, “Climate Change, Environmental Degradation and Armed Conflict”, *Political Geography* (2007) No. 26 pp674-694

Reuveny, R. “Climate Change induced Migration and Violent Conflicts”, *Political Geography* (2007) No. 26 pp656-673

Shettima A. and Tar U. A. ‘Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in West Africa: Exploring the Causes and Consequences’, *Information Society and Justice* (2008) Vol.1 No.2 pp. 163-184

Songsore, Jacob. 1989; “The spatial impress and dynamics of underdevelopment in Ghana” in *Inequality and development: Case studies from the third world*. (eds.) Swindell, K, Baba, J. M. and M. J. Mortimore. The Commonwealth Foundation. Macmillan Publishers, pp. 23-41.

Tenuche, M. S. and Ifatimehin, O. “Resource Conflict Among Farmers and Fulani Herdsmen: Implication for Resource Sustainability”, *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* (2009) vol. 3(9), pp360-364

Thebaud, B and Batterury, S. “Sahel Pastoralists: Opportunism, Struggle, Conflict and Negotiation, a Case Study from Eastern Niger, *Global Environmental Change* (11):72-77

Tonah, S. “State Politics, Local Prejudices and cattle Rustling along the Ghana-Burkina Faso Border”, *Journal of the International African Institute* (2000) Vol. 70 No.4 pp 551-567

Tonah, S. "Fulani Pastoralists, Indigenous Farmers Conflict for Land in Northern Ghana", *Africa Spectrum* (2002) 37(1): 43-50

Tonah, S. "Integration or Exclusion of Fulbe Pastoralists in West Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Interethnic Relations, State and Local Politics in Ghana and Code d'Ivoire", *Journal of Modern African Studies* (2003) 41(1): 91-114

Tonah, S. "Migration and Farmer-Herder Conflict in Ghana's Volta Basin", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* (2006) V. 40 No.1 pp152-178

Tonah, S. (2007) *Migration, Resource Use and Stakeholders in the Middle Volta Basin*, Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon

Tukur, Bello (2013). *Perspective on the Conflict Between Farmers and Transhumance Pastoralists in Northern Nigeria* (1-5) World Press

Wolf, A. "Conflict and Cooperation Along International Waterways", *Water Policy* (1998) 1(2): 251-265. Trans Boundary Waters Publication/Conflicts

c. Unpublished Works

Ackah, K. A. W. 'A Study of Chinese Infiltration into Small Scale Mining in Ghana and its Implications on National Security', University of Ghana, Thesis (2014)

Agyemang, E. 'Farmer-Herder Conflict in Africa: An Assessment of the Cause and Effects of the Sedentary Farmers-Fulani Herdsmen Conflict. A Case Study of the Agogo Traditional Area, Ashanti Region of Ghana', Master's Thesis, University of Agder (2017)

Boateng, J. O. 'An Analysis of Herder- Farmer Conflict in the Asante-Akim North District of Ghana', Master's Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (2015)

Diallo, Y. 'Pastoralists Expansion, Land Use and Ethnicity in Northern Code d'Ivoire' University of Bielefeld, Sociology of Development Centre Working Paper No. 254 (1996)

Folly, A. 'Land use Planning to Minimize Erosion – A Case Study from the Upper East Region of Ghana', PhD thesis, Institute of Geography, University of Copenhagen (1997)

Madsen, C. and Nielson, F. H. 'Compound Farming in Northern Ghana', Institute of Geography, University of Copenhagen (1997)

d. Other Documents/Reports

Burton, G. 'Background Report: The Fulani Herdsmen', Medium Report (2017)

Commission on Human Security 'Human Security Now' (2003)

ECOWAS Revised Treaty, ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, Nigeria, 1993 (<http://www.ecowas.int>).

ECOWAS Treaty on Transhumance Protocol, Official Journal of ECOWAS (1998)

Food and Agriculture Organization 'The Cross-border Transhumance in West Africa: Proposal for Action Plan' (2012)

Fulton, K. and Nickels, B. P. "Africa's Pastoralists: A New Battleground for Terrorism", Research paper, Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, Washington DC (2017)

Gleick, Peter. "Water Conflict Chronology". Public Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Society 2008, [www. Worldwater.org](http://www.worldwater.org)

IPCC, 'Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report' (November 2007). www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr.pdf.

Ki-Moon, Ban. 'A Climate Culprit in Durrfur', Column, Washington Post (2007)

Messer, Ellen, "Climate Change and Violent Conflict: A critical Literature Review" Oxfam America Research Background Series (2010).

Olusola, I. "Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria: A Threat to Peacebuilding and Human Security in West Africa", Research paper, Africa Up Close at the Wilson Centre, Washington DC (2018)

Songsore, Jacob. 1983; Intraregional and interregional labour migrations in historical perspective: the case of North-Western Ghana. University of Port Harcourt, Faculty of Social Sciences. Occasional papers, Series, No. 1

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE**

The purpose of this Questionnaire is to collect data for a study titled “**THE FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF AGOGO AREA IN THE ASANTE-AKIM NORTH DISTRICT, ASHANTI REGION OF GHANA**”. The data being collected for this study would be used solely for academic purposes. All respondents are assured that strict confidentiality would be observed in handling data provided.

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name of organisation respondent is affiliated with.....
.....

2. Position occupied by the respondent
.....
.....

SECTION TWO

3. Do you think there is an increase in migration of late? What factors in your view, account for it?
4. What do you know about Fulani herdsmen's migration in West Africa?
5. In your opinion, why are Fulani herdsmen migrating away from the Sahel Region?
6. Do you think there has been a surge in the migration of Fulani herdsmen into Ghana? Please explain your view what reasons account for that.
7. In your view, what conditions in Asante-Akim North District attract the Fulani herdsmen?
8. Could you please share your opinion about the factors that explain why Fulani herdsmen move to Ghana in an increasing rate from their home countries
9. What is your view about the relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers? Is it cordial or hostile?
10. What are the reasons why there is conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers?
11. Do you think the Fulani herdsmen-farmer conflict is a West African problem?
12. Should there be an ECOWAS intervention, what do you suggest should be the agenda to respond to the growing Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Ghana?
13. What is your observation of the level of crime in Ghana in recent years?
14. What is your observation about the crime level in the Agogo area in recent times? What may account for it?
15. How much of the crimes committed in the Asante-Akim North District do you think could be attributable to the Fulani herdsmen on a scale of 1 to 10? And what is the modus operandi of herdsmen involved in crime?

16. In your view, is the crime accusation levelled against Fulani herdsmen a stereotype or reality?
17. What is the assessment of government’s intervention (operation cow leg) in containing the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers?
18. How can the measures be improved?
19. What can be done to improve on the relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers at the community level?

APPENDIX 2

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (FOR MISSIONS ONLY)**

The purpose of this Questionnaire is to collect data for a study titled “**THE FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF AGOGO AREA IN THE ASANTE-AKIM NORTH DISTRICT, ASHANTI REGION OF GHANA**”. The data being collected for this study would be used solely for academic purposes. All respondents are assured that strict confidentiality would be observed in handling data provided.

SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name of organisation respondent is affiliated with.....
.....
2. Position occupied by the respondent
.....
.....

SECTION TWO

3. Do you think there is an increase in migration of late? What factors in your view, account for it?
4. What do you know about Fulani herdsmen's migration in West Africa?
5. In your opinion, why are Fulani herdsmen migrating away from the Sahel Region?
6. Do you think there has been a surge in the migration of Fulani herdsmen into your country? Please explain in your view what reasons account for that.
7. In your view, what conditions attract the Fulani herdsmen to your country?
8. Could you please share your opinion about the factors that explain why Fulani herdsmen move to your country in an increasing rate from their home countries
9. What is your view about the relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in your country? Is it cordial or hostile?
10. What are the reasons why there is conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers?
11. Do you think the Fulani herdsmen-famer conflict is a West African problem?
12. Should there be an ECOWAS intervention, what do you suggest should be the agenda to respond to the growing Fulani herdsmen and farmers in in Ghana?
13. What is your observation of the level of crime in your country in recent years?
14. How much of the crimes committed in your country do you think could be attributable to Fulani herdsmen on a scale of 1 to 10?
15. In your view, is the crime accusation levelled against Fulani herdsmen a stereotype or reality?
16. Is there a government's intervention in containing the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers? And what is your assessment of such a measure?
17. How can the measures be improved?

18. What can be done to improve on the relationship between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in your country?

APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (LECIAD)

RESESRCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INDEGENES

The purpose of this Questionnaire is to collect data for a study titled “**THE THE FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF AGOGO AREA IN THE ASANTE-AKIM NORTH DISTRICT, ASHANTI REGION OF GHANA**”. The data being collected for this study would be used solely for academic purposes. All respondents are assured that strict confidentiality would be observed in handling data provided.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

1. Age _____
2. Hometown _____
3. Gender: Male Female
4. Ethnicity: Akan Ewe Northern tribe Fulani Others (specify)
5. Marital status: Married Not Married Divorced Widow

6. Nationality: Ghanaian Non-Ghanaian
7. If you are non-Ghanaian, please state your country of nationality _____
8. Occupation: Cattle owner Businessman Public servant Others
(specify)_____
9. How long have you being engaged in farming in the Asante-Akim North District?

10. Level of Education: No education Basic Secondary Diploma Degree
11. How long have you lived here? Less than 1yr 1-2yrs 2-5yrs Other (specify)

B. NATURE OF CATTLE REARING

- 15 Are the indigenes also engaged to the cattle rearing business in Agogo? Yes No
- 16 What method is predominantly used t rearing cattle here? _____

- 15 Do the chiefs, farmers, and other opinions leaders support the method of cattle rearing by
Agogo residents?
Yes No
- 16 In your opinion, are Fulani herdsmen indigenous?
Yes No
- 17 Do the chiefs and opinion leaders approve the settlement of Fulani herdsmen in the
community?
Yes No
- 18 Do you own cattle yourself?

Yes No

19 If yes to question 18 what method do you use? _____

20 If yes to question 18, do you take care of them yourself?

Yes No

21 If no to question 18, do you intend to venture into the cattle rearing profession?

Yes No

22 In your opinion, how do you see the prospects of the cattle rearing business? ____

C. PULL FACTORS OF FULANI HERDSMEN TO GHANA

23 Do you think more Fulani herdsmen have been migrating to Ghana in recent years?

Yes No

24 Are the Fulani herdsmen welcomed into the Asante-Akim North District?

Yes No

25 In your opinion, what motivates Fulani herdsmen to migrate to Ghana?

Economic reasons Environmental reasons Security reasons Others reasons

26 Is the migration Pattern you observed permanent? Yes, permanent No, Seasonal

I think it is both permanent and seasonal

27 If seasonal, what time of the year do they arrive? Dry Season Rainy Season

They arrive both in the dry and rainy seasons

28 In your opinion what major factors attracts the Fulani herdsment to the Agogo area?

[Tick all option that apply]

- Availability of pasture and water Favourable weather Availability of market
 security reasons Other (specify)

D. CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND FULANI HERDSMEN IN AGOGO AREA

29 In your opinion, is there a cordial relationship between migrant herdsmen and the indigenous of this area?

- Yes, always No Yes, sometimes

30 What do you think are the reasons for the conflict between the Fulani and the indigenous farmers? competition over land use Crop destruction Harming of cattle Accusation of crime All the above None of the above

31 Does competition over land and water use play a part in the conflict? Yes No

32 If yes to question 31, the competition is between which groups? Indigenous farmers and Fulani herdsmen Indigenous farmers and indigenous cattle owners Local citizen and Fulani herdsmen Others (specify) _____

33 Who is to blame for this competition and conflict? _____

34 Have you ever had your farm destroyed by cattle before?

- Yes No

35 Have you ever had any misunderstanding with Fulani herdsmen?

Yes No

36 If yes to question 35 did the misunderstanding lead to conflict between you and the Fulani herdsmen?

Yes No

37 What do you think are the reasons for the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the indigenous farmers? [Tick all option that apply]

Ethnic differences Competition for natural resources Ownership of cattle (whether indigenous Fulani or hired herdsmen) Politics Chieftaincy Religious differences Other (specify) _____

38 Have you ever had your crops destroyed by cattle?

Yes No

39 If yes to question 38, what was your reaction? _____

E. ACCUSATION OF COMMON CRIME AGAIST FULANI HERDSMEN

40 What is the level of crime in this area? Very high High Normal Low

41 Who are the perpetrators of most crimes in your area?

Indigenous farmers Other Ghanaian tribes Fulani herdsmen All tribes

Others

42 Who are the victims of most crimes in your area?

Indigenous Other Ghanaian tribes Fulani herdsmen All tribes Others

43 In your opinion, does the presence of the Fulani herdsmen have impact on crime in the area?

Yes No

44 What kinds of crimes are Fulani herdsmen often accused of? _____

45 Have you heard or witnessed any of the following crimes (murder, rape and robbery) being perpetuated in this area?

Yes No

46 If yes to question 45, what ethnic origin was the perpetrator? Akan Ewe

Northern tribe Fulani Others

47 Have you ever heard or witnessed farm crops destroyed by a Fulani herdsman`s cattle?

Yes No

48 If yes to question 47, where and how often does this occur?

F. IMPACT OF THE FARMER-HERDER CRISIS

49 Have you or any of your household members suffered a loss of live or property due to the Fulani conflicts in your area?

Yes No

50 Does the conflict affect your occupation in any way?

51 If yes to question 50, please explain _____

52 Does the conflict affect food security in the area anyway?

53 If yes to question 52, please explain _____

APPENDIX 4

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (LECIAD)

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FULANI HERDSMEN

The purpose of this Questionnaire is to collect data for a study titled “**THE FULANI HERDSMEN CRISIS IN WEST AFRICA: THE CASE OF AGOGO AREA IN THE ASANTE-AKIM NORTH DISTRICT, ASHANTI REGION OF GHANA**”. The data being collected for this study would be used solely for academic purposes. All respondents are assured that strict confidentiality would be observed in handling data provided

A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

12. Age _____

13. Gender: Male Female

14. Nationality: Ghanaian Non-Ghanaian

15. If you are non-Ghanaian, please state your country of nationality _____

16. Ethnicity: Akan Fulani Eve Northern tribe Others (specify)

17. Marital status: Married Not Married Divorced Widow

18. Level of Education: No education Basic Secondary Diploma Degree
19. Occupation: _____
20. Do you own or related to cattle owner? Yes No
21. Type of Herdsman: Own Herdsman Hired Herdsman
22. How long have you lived in Ghana? Less than 1yr 1-2yrs 2-5yrs Other
(specify) _____

B. NATURE OF CATTLE REARING

23. How long have you been engaged in cattle herding
 Less than one year more than one year
24. Have you settled elsewhere before the Agogo area? Yes No
25. Comparing Ghana and other countries, which provides better pasture for livestock?
Ghana Other countries
26. Are you a resident of Agogo? Yes No
27. How did you first hear of Agogo? _____
28. How often do you migrate to Ghana/Agogo? _____
29. How many of your colleagues here do you know? _____
30. Are the indigenes in the Agogo area also into cattle rearing?
 Yes No
31. If yes to question 19, what is the most commonly method used by the indigenes? _____

C. PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

32. What are the reasons you left your home country?

Environmental reasons Population reasons security reasons Other (specify)

33. What are the factors that influenced your relocation to Ghana?

Availability of pasture and water Favourable weather Availability of market
 security reasons Other (specify)

34. What motivated you to move to the Agogo area?

35. Availability of pasture and water Favourable weather security reasons

Other

(specify)_____

36. Would you ever consider abandoning the cattle business for crop farming?

Yes No

D. CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND FULANI HERDSMEN IN THE AGOGO

AREA

37. Do you feel welcomed by the indigenes of the area?

Yes No

38. Do you feel discriminated against? Yes No

28. Have you had any misunderstanding with the indigenes?

Yes No

29. If yes to question 28, has the misunderstanding lead to conflict between you and the indigenous?

Yes No

30. What do you think are the reasons for the conflict between the Fulani and the indigenous farmers? competition over land use Crop destruction Harming of cattle Accusation of crime All the above None of the above

31. Do you have good relationship with the chiefs of the area? Yes No

32. Have you ever had your cattle attacked?

Yes No

33. If yes to question 32, please give your reason(s)_____

34. Have you ever had any confrontation with a farmer before?

Yes No

35. If yes to question 34, what was the cause and your reaction?_____

36. Have you ever attacked an indigenous farmer?

Yes No

37. If yes to question 36, what was your reason? _____

38. Have you ever had your cattle destroyed a farm before?

Yes No

39. If yes to question 38, what was the outcome? There was conflict There was compensation There was no reaction Others (specify)

40. Between food crops and cattle, which one is the most valuable to you? Food crops Cattle

41. Are you often armed when in the field or at home? Yes No

42. If yes to question 41, please give reasons(s)? _____

43. How do you perceived the police and military? Discriminate against us

Discriminate in our favour Neutral Others

E. ACCUSATION OF COMMON CRIME AGAINST FULANI HERDSMEN

44. Have you ever been accused of any crimes in the area?

Yes No

45. If yes to question 44 what kind of crime(s)? _____

46. Have you ever heard/witnessed any of your colleagues been accused of any crime?

Yes No

47. If yes to question 46, what type of crime? _____

48. In your opinion why is common crimes like rape, murder and robbery attributed to Fulani herdsmen? _____

49. Do you think those accusations are justified?

Yes No

50. Are similar crimes committed by the indigenous?

Yes No

51. In your view, does ethnicity and nationality play a role in the attribution of crime to Fulani herdsmen?

Yes No

51 Please explain your answer in question 51 above

F. IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT

52. Do you think the conflict has impact on cattle rearing in the area?

Yes No

53. Do you think it has impact on food security in Ghana?

Yes No

54. Do you think the conflict has effects on human lives in the area?

Yes No

55. If yes to question 54, in what ways? _____

56. Have you or your household suffered due to conflict?

Yes No

57. If yes to question 56, what was the impact of this on your livelihood? _____

58. What implication do you think the conflict has on security?

APPENDIX 5

Respondent I.D	Nationality	Organization	Portfolio	Setting
R.1	Ivorian	Embassy of the republic of Ivory Coast in Ghana	Head of cultural and scientific office	Ghana
R.2	Ghanaian	Ghana Police Service	District Police Commander, Agogo, Asante-Akim District	Ghana
R.3	Togolese	Embassy Of The Republic Of Togo in Ghana	Deputy Head Of Mission	Ghana
R.4	Ghanaian	Attorney General's and Ministry of Justice	Chief Director	Ghana
R.5	Ghanaian	Fulani Herdsmen Association in Agogo Area	Vice Chaiman	Ghana
R.6	Ghanaian	Fourth Infantry Battalion, Ghana Army	Commander	Ghana
R.7	Ghanaian	Ministry of Interior	AG. Chief Director	Ghana
R.8	Ghanaian	Chief of Fulani in Ashanti Region	Paramount Chief	Ghana
R.9	Ghanaian	Ashanti Regional Coordination Council	Chief Director	Ghana
R.10	Ghanaian	Ashanti Regional Traditional Council	Odikro	Ghana
R.11	Ghanaian	National Security Ministry	Chief Director	Ghana
R.12	Nigerian	Nigerian High Commission in Ghana	Head of Research	Ghana

R.13	Ghanaian	Alhaji Abdul-Karim Guruzah	Cattle Owner	Ghana
R.14	Ghanaian	Asante-Akim North District Assembly	District Coordinating Director	Ghana

Source: The Fulani Herdsmen Crisis In West Africa, 2018

APPENDIX 6

Table 2. Coding frequency table

Themes	R1	R.2	R.3	R.4	R.5	R.6	R.7	R.8	R.9	R.10	R.11	R12	R13	R14	Total
Determinant of Fulani Migration															
Policies															
<i>ECOWAS Free Movement Policy</i>	*	*	*	*							*				5
Pull Factor															
<i>Climate Factors</i>			*			*									2
<i>Economic Factors</i>	*		*		*			*			*		*		6
<i>Greener Pastures</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	12
<i>Security</i>		*				*		*	*	*			*		6
<i>Settlement</i>	*		*												2
<i>Tourism</i>						*		*							2
Push Factor															
<i>Climate Factors</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	14
<i>Economic Factors</i>							*			*	*				3
<i>Greener Pastures</i>			*		*	*		*		*					5
<i>Security</i>	*			*	*	*	*		*			*		*	8
Factors for the attraction of Fulani Herdsmen to Ashanti-Akim Agogo District															
Agricultural Reasons															
<i>Annual grass growth</i>		*				*		*		*					4
<i>Availability of water</i>				*	*	*	*	*	*	*					7
<i>Cattle growth</i>								*		*					2
<i>Tsetsefly Free Zone</i>													*	*	2
<i>Vast field of rich pasture lands</i>		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	11
Hospitality															
<i>Social and safety reasons</i>							*	*		*			*		4

Determinant of Conflict															
Communication problem															
<i>Lack of trust</i>						*									1
<i>Land litigation</i>				*			*			*					3
<i>Legal lapses</i>				*		*									2
<i>Media hype of slightest situation</i>				*			*					*			3
Destruction of property															
Both parties				*											1
<i>Farm and water destruction</i>		*		*	*	*		*	*	*	*			*	9
<i>Killing of cattle</i>				*				*		*				*	4
Exploitation															
<i>Extortion of Fulani Herdsmen</i>								*							1
<i>Unscrupulous chiefs</i>							*								1
Political Influence															
<i>Abuse of power</i>		*						*					*		3
Crimes traced to Fulani herdsmen															
Crime Collaboration															
<i>Collaboration</i>				*				*							2
Crime Rate															
<i>Crime Ratings</i>		*		*				*		*	*			*	6
<i>Increase in crime rate</i>				*		*				*	*				4
Fulani Associated crimes															
<i>Crop destruction</i>				*		*								*	3
<i>Murder</i>		*		*	*	*				*				*	6
<i>Other crimes</i>				*											
<i>Rape</i>		*		*	*	*	*	*		*				*	8
<i>Robbery</i>		*		*	*	*	*	*							6

APPENDIX 7

Table 3. Thematic framework for The Fulani Herdsmen Crisis In West Africa

Global theme	Organizing theme	Basic theme	Definition	Frequency	Quotes
Determinants of Fulani Migration	Policies	ECOWAS Policy	ECOWAS policies governing movement within its Region	5	<p><i>“... but Ivory Coast does not have a policy covering herdsmen’s migration. However, the first president policy of “LA TERRE APPARTEN A CELUS LA MET EN VALEUR” (the land belongs to the one using it for value addition) continues to play role the country’s immigration policy...” R.1</i></p> <p><i>“...ECOWAS has a protocol on free movement of people and property...” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...Their arrival to Togo is not restricted; therefore, there is an increase in their number to Togo...” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...Besides, since ECOWAS has a protocol on free movement of people...” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...There is already an ECOWAS Protocol on Transhumance that was initiated to streamline the activities of pastoralists. However, the current crisis is an indication that the protocol may be ineffective and requires some</i></p>

					<i>restructuring or replacement... ” R.11</i>
	Pull Factors	Climate Factors	The increase in desertification and climate changes	2	<p><i>“...Togo’s good climate and few mountains serve as source of attraction to the Fulani herdsmen to the country. The country has two seasons; the long rainy season and the short dry season making it possible for grass to be available at most times of the year, which itself serves as pull factor to the herdsmen... ” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...Since the herdsmen are seeking survival, decreasing pasture and water up in the Sahel and the availability in Ghana explain why they migrate in their increasing numbers to be able to save their livestock... ” R.6</i></p>
		Economic Factors	Some come to work and also trade their cattle	6	<p><i>“...Burkinabe’s coming to work on cocoa farms in Ivory Coast... ” R.1</i></p> <p><i>“...trade and business activities... ” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...The major reasons include seeking better economic opportunities... ” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...Yes, there is an increase in migration and some of the factors are economic... ” R.8</i></p>

					<p><i>"...The major factor responsible for the current pattern of migration is economic..." R.11</i></p> <p><i>"...Yes, there is an increase in migration in recent years and the factors include people seeking better economic opportunities and better security..." R.13</i></p>
		Greener Pastures	Fulani Herdsmen settling for comfortable places to herd their cattle	12	<p><i>"...Fulani herdsmen are into cattle rearing who are not stationed in one country, but keep moving from country to another in for greener pasture and water..." ---</i></p> <p><i>"...Initially, Fulani herdsmen's migration was seasonal and restricted to Northern Ivory Coast, but it appears that the early migrants who moved to the country might have informed will-be migrants herdsmen back in their country about the availability of pasture and water opportunities in the Ivory Coast. And because Ivory Coast is a green country, the Fulani herdsmen are assured of greener pasture to feed their cattle..." R.1</i></p> <p><i>"...seeking greener pastures as well as adventurism..." R.2</i></p> <p><i>"...There is an increase in migration in</i></p>

				<p><i>general and the reasons that account for it include greener pastures to better lives...” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...Economically, people migrate from one place to another in search of greener pastures...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...However, those from the Sahara keep moving without returning, so long as they find greener pastures ahead. And as they arrive, they inform others back home of the availability of pasture here leading to surge in their numbers...” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...However, of late some of the herds-owners after experiencing green grass in Ghana all year round now ask for parcels of land to be leased to them to settle down even though some still return to their places of origin...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...Factors responsible for the increase include search for greener pastures...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...West Africa mainly due to weather and search for pasture...” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...However when they come and find that Ghana has enough pasture and water for the cattle, they tend to settle</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--

					<p><i>down... ” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...Yes, there is an increase in migration in recent time and factors that account for the surge include search for greener pastures...” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...We do not also forget that search for better economic conditions (greener pastures) is main motivation to migration...” R.12</i></p> <p><i>“...There is a surge in Fulani herdsmen migration to Ghana and it is mainly because of availability of green grass in Ghana...” R.13</i></p> <p><i>“...People migrate to seek greener pastures...” R.14</i></p>
		Security	Includes conflicts, political instability, terrorism among others that occurs at their origins	6	<p><i>“...the presence of green vegetation and relative peace in Ghana...” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...Factors responsible for the increase include search for greener pastures, security...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...some of the factors are economic, others are security...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...It may also be as a result of the relative peace Ghana enjoys as compare to terror activities in other</i></p>

					<p><i>countries like Mali and Burkina Faso... ” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...Also Ghana offers them enough security as compared to where they are coming from which is bedeviled with conflicts and terrorism...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...Yes, there is an increase in migration in recent years and the factors include people seeking better economic opportunities and better security...” R.13</i></p>
		Settlement	Some Fulani herdsmen are settling down	2	<p><i>“...but now some of them are settling down...” R.1</i></p> <p><i>“...People also visit their relations in other countries or cities and end up settling down...” R.3</i></p>
		Tourism	To view different landscape and environment	2	<p><i>“...search for greener pastures, security and tourism...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...some are tourism as well as social...” R.8</i></p>
	Push Factors	Climate Factors	The increase in desertification and climate changes	14	<p><i>“...The herdsmen migrate away from the Sahel region due to increasing desertification...” R.1</i></p> <p><i>“...The Fulani herdsmen are migrating away from the Sahel regions because it</i></p>

				<p><i>is a desert region which could not produce green pasture and enough water for their cattle to feed on, a situation that threatens their livelihood and compels them to relocate...” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...The Sahel region is getting dry by the day and the Fulani herdsmen are left without green grass to feed their cattle...” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...and the crippling desertification southwards of the Sahara, especially at the time of climate change...” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...Whenever the dry season sets in, bush fires consume the dry grass in a matter of days in the Sahel countries and cattle are left with no pasture until the rains set in. But due to the impact of climate change, the rains even start late these days...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...They also migrate away because of lack of pasture and water during the dry season, a situation in the Sahel region which is exacerbated by desertification and climate change...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...He is aware that Fulani herdsmen migration is a perennial phenomenon within West Africa mainly due to</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--

					<p><i>weather... ” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...They migrate away from the Sahel region due to hard climatic conditions...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...The Fulani herdsmen are looking for fodder to feed and sustain their cattle and at this time that the impact of climate change is becoming increasingly severe in the Sahel region, they stand the chance to lose their livestock due to insufficient food and water up the Sahel...” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...They are migrating away from the Sahel region because the desert in the Sahel is expanding every year which is increasingly making it difficult for them to get fodder for their cattle...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...Their movement within West Africa used to be seasonal in nature but has become a wide-spread issue now due to environmental reasons that has compelled them to move to countries south of the Sahel...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...The Fulani herdsmen are migrating away from the Sahel region because the harsh environmental conditions such as desertification and drought has made cattle rearing difficult in the region</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--	---

				<p><i>since it makes pasture and water scarce...” R.11</i></p> <p><i>“...Climate Change and desertification is exacerbating the situation. We are aware the desert has been expanding gradually and places that hitherto had green grass and water are now desert...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...The absence of sufficient pasture and water in the Sahel region and the availability of same in Nigeria explains their relocation to Nigeria...” R.12</i></p> <p><i>“...The ethnic Fulani herdsmen are migrating away from the Sahel region because of the increasing desertification, poor rainfall that leaves them without green grass in most times of the year...” R.13</i></p> <p><i>“...The herdsmen are migrating away from the Sahel because the region is getting drier by the day in terms of grass, due to the impact of climate change. That condition is not good enough for cattle rearing and so the Fulani herdsmen relocate to save their cattle...” R.14</i></p>
--	--	--	--	---

		Economic Factors	Some come to work and also trade their cattle	3	<p><i>“...The herdsmen see cattle as the backbone of their economy and cattle destruction as a result of lack of feed or whatever reason will affect herdsmen well-being. Therefore they are prepared to move them to safety places where pasture and water is available...” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...It may also be attributed to the fact that there is poor market for cattle products in the region...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...This is mainly because Ghana unlike Togo, Benin and some other countries have regulations regarding their movement which comes with cost burden in the form of tax to herdsmen, a push factor from those countries...” R.11</i></p>
		Greener Pastures	Fulani Herdsmen settling for comfortable places to herd their cattle	6	<p><i>“...Therefore, shortage of green grass in the region is the major reason that forces them to relocate...” R.3</i></p> <p><i>“...But for Fulani herdsmen, their migration away from the Sahel region is mainly due to lack of sufficient pasture and water to feed the cattle...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...Fulani herdsmen are nomads who move the cattle from one place to</i></p>

					<p><i>another or one country to the other in search of pasture and water...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...There is increasingly no grass and water especially during the dry season and they are compelled to move down south to find pasture to feed their cattle...” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...They are moving to this country because while pastures are becoming rare in their place of origin (the Sahel region), some are still here in Ghana...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...Fulani herdsmen migration away from the Sahel is largely because of diminishing pasture and water...” R.12</i></p>
		Security	Includes conflicts, political instability, terrorism among others that occurs at their origins	8	<p><i>“...political crisis in the Sahel region, terrorism...” R.1</i></p> <p><i>“...Socially, people migrate as a result of the social climate at their place of origin which could be due to religious conflicts, terrorist attacks etc. Political instability and bad governance could also expel people from their home soil to other places perceived to be relatively stable...” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...and better security, especially those who originate from places where the</i></p>

					<p><i>security situation is volatile... ” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...The Fulani herdsmen migrate away from the Sahel region due to poor security (both traditional and human security) in the area; which has deteriorated as a result of political crisis and terror insurgence... ” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...Yes, there has been a surge of Fulani migration to Ghana recently. The reason is mainly due to the worsening conditions at the Sahel region both in terms of climate and security... ” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...factors that account for the surge include search for greener pastures, political conflicts and bad governance... ” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...However, these days’ people also migrate due to deteriorating security conditions of the original locations... ”</i> <i>---</i></p> <p><i>“...The poor security in the region too contributes to their migration. Political crisis in and terrorism all account for herdsmen’s decision to relocate... ” R.12</i></p> <p><i>“...Poor governance and poor security in some places has also compelled</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--	--

					<i>people to relocate... ” R.14</i>
Factors for the attraction of Fulani Herdsmen to Ashanti-Akim Agogo District	Agricultural reasons	Annual Grass Growth	Grass grows all year round	4	<p><i>“...The nature of the soil is such that it produces green grass all year round which attracts the herdsmen. That is the major reason why the Fulani herdsmen will always return to this community anytime they are driven away. For example, about 100 acres of land have been offered to the herdsmen at Drobonsu area, but they are not interested since the land does not offer them the same opportunities as Agogo...” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...It is also as result of the fact that the area is endowed with green grass all year round (both rainy and dry season) which provides enough feed for the cattle which ultimately improve their weight...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...The grass of this area is green all year round...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...The land here is blessed with fertility and the grass remains green all year around...” R.10</i></p>

		Availability of water	The Herdsmen finds it easier to graze and also find water (Volta Lake) for their cattle	7	<p><i>“...The cattle may be moving to the Volta Lake area to graze and water and return on daily basis...” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...The place is also close to water bodies for cattle to drink...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...Finally the closeness of the area to the Volta Lake which serves as source of drinking water to the cattle while the banks of the lake also contain grass to feed the cattle I a pull factor...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...and availability of pasture and water...” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...and it is also close to the Volta Lake that serves as source of water for cattle serving as pull factor...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...There is also available water in the area which I think they need badly to water their cattle...” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...closeness to the Volta Lake which could also serve as source of watering cattle...” R.10</i></p>
		Cattle Growth	Herdsmen attribute the quick growth of cattle to the fertile nature of the grass in Agogo	2	<p><i>“...There is a certain category of grass that looks like sugarcane which is very nutritious and helps cattle to gain weight quickly and which is abundant in Ghana. As soon as the cattle graze</i></p>

					<p><i>little of this category of grass, they get satisfied...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...Fulani herdsmen themselves have confessed that the nature of the grass here makes their cattle increase in weight quickly...” R.10</i></p>
		Tsetsefly Free Zone	The area is free from Tsetsefly	2	<p><i>“...It is also a place without tsetseflies, something that disturbs cattle in most places...” R.13</i></p> <p><i>“...Every cattle herdsman believes that the biggest enemy to cattle is tsetsefly. And while this insect is found in most part of Ghana, study shows it is not found in the Agogo area and Afram Plains which serves as a pull factor for the cattle herds to settle in Agogo...” R.14</i></p>
		Vast field of pasture land	Vast area of rich grassland in the Agogo area	11	<p><i>“...From police research, the soil in the Asante-Akim North district is the best in the whole of West Africa suitable for pasturing and cattle rearing...” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...The availability of pasture and water in the Asante-Akim North District might have triggered the influx of herdsmen into that area. Because the area is close to the Volta Lake and the</i></p>

				<p><i>river banks may have pasture all year round for cattle consumption aside the availability of water... ” R.4</i></p> <p><i>“...The Agogo area has vast stretches of land which is also very fertile and endowed with green grass at all times... ” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...In my opinion, the factors that attract the herdsmen to the Agogo area include the availability of vast land which is termed as ungoverned land that is not occupied by human settlement and for that matter good for cattle rearing... ” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...The herdsmen are attracted to the Agogo area largely because the vast land and availability of pasture... ” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...In the Agogo area, there is a place called Mantuka which has vast and fertile land without human settlement... ” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...The Fulani herdsmen are probably attracted by the vast stretches of land in the Agogo area. There is vast land that stretches from Agogo to Kumawu and to Drobonso which have no human settlement but contain green grass that may be attractive to the herdsmen... ”</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--

					<p>R.9</p> <p><i>“...The Asante-Akim North District has vast lands with little or no human settlement in such vast lands...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...The Agogo area is endowed with vast arable land and fodder. This has attracted both herdsmen and farmers to the area who have come closer to each other...” R.11</i></p> <p><i>“...This is because; the Agogo area is endowed with vast stretch of land, with green grass all year round which is good for cattle rearing...” R.13</i></p> <p><i>“...Another reason why Agogo is attractive to the herdsmen is the availability of vast land with low population density that is endowed with sufficient green grass all year round and which is suitable for cattle sustenance...” R.14</i></p>
	Hospitality	Social and safety reasons	The welcoming nature of the indigenous people	3	<i>“...Some of the herdsmen have settled down in these areas over the year. And the difficult times where pasture is shrinking by the day especially the Sahel region, the already settled Fulani herdsmen here receive them to the communities where they are based, such as the Agogo area. While they</i>

					<p><i>migrate southwards, the cattle graze. Because Fulani enjoy communal living they move to people they know to guarantee their security... ” R.7</i></p> <p><i>“...The availability of water and the hospitality of the Ghanaian people are other crucial factors. For example the Ashanti tribe are very accommodative and easily lured. They also yield to money and are willing to rent land for money...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...In addition, the people of Asante-Akim are very hospitable and welcome everyone who wishes to settle there...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...The peaceful nature of the Agogo area also a contributory factor that attract herdsmen to the area. The people are hospitable and welcome everyone to the community which makes it a safe haven for herdsmen to settle down there with their cattle...” R.13</i></p>
Determinant of conflict	Communication problem	Lack of trust	Both parties see each other as threat	1	<p><i>“...Each of the two (2) parties sees the others’ activities as impeding the survival of the another while the indigenous farmers see the Fulani herdsmen as threat to their farms and for that matter livelihood. The same</i></p>

				<i>way the herdsmen see the farmers...” R.7</i>
		Land Litigation	Both parties fighting over land along river banks during the dry season	3 <i>“...farmers are also to blame for farming on cattle routes, denying herdsmen access to pasture...” R.5</i> <i>“...In addition some of the farmers also chase lands that has been occupied by cattle or that are on cattle route due to their fertile nature as a result of cattle droppings...” R.8</i> <i>“...The conflict between farmers and herdsmen is as a result of competition over water and land use...” R.11</i>
		Lack Lapses	Law breakers go unpunished and also there is lack of legal mechanism binding both parties	2 <i>“...In the same vein, the system is to blame in the sense that, in Ghana people break the law or take it into their own hands when they have enough resources, because they are able to pay for their freedom. Therefore, when one is aggrieved, your chances of obtaining justice depends on whether the perpetrator has resources or not and whether he is well connected or not. As a result, Fulani herdsmen are not even bothered to report their grievances and end up taking the law to their own hands...” R.5</i> <i>“...However the Fulani herdsmen do</i>

					<p><i>not have much legal support because they are moving and not sedentary enough to be incorporated into the community legal framework. But since the sedentary farmers own the land, they turn to receive more legal support. Because there are no mechanisms in place, the conflict is rather exacerbated than contained. While one group think they are the bona fide owners of the land, the other group feel discriminated against in the use of common natural resource...” R.7</i></p>
		Media hype of slightest	Indigenous farmers often hype little misunderstanding, thereby creating conflict	3	<p><i>“...hyping little misunderstandings that could be solved amicably to create tension...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...On the part of the Agogo people, they hype little misunderstandings and end up inciting bad press on the herdsmen to make them appear as criminals walking on the street. In such a situation, any Fulani herdsman accused of any crime will be a forgone conclusion even by the police. This is one of the discouraging factors that even do not let the herdsmen air their grievances or report any attack on them and end up taking the law into their own hands...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...The Agogo people also use the</i></p>

					<p><i>media to hype any little misunderstanding that could be resolved amicably and end up escalating the situation... ” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...The reasons there appear to be conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Agogo is due to media hype... ” R.13</i></p>
	Destruction of property	Both parties	Cattle destroy farms and pollutes water	1	<p><i>“...Both herdsmen and farmers are into agriculture, it will not be a rational idea to kill one farmer’s cattle to protect another farmer’s crops. Therefore, herdsmen and farmers and the system is to blame for the unending conflict... ” R.5</i></p>
		Farm and water destruction	This happens when cattle destroy the farms of indigenous farmers and also pollutes the water bodies	9	<p><i>“...However, the new arrivals usually cause destruction to crops leading to conflict between herdsmen and indigenous farmers... ” R.2</i></p> <p><i>“...Also as mentioned earlier, in the Agogo area where the cattle are escorted on daily basis to the Volta lake area may result in cattle feeding on farmer’s maize, water melon and other crops that normally brings stand off and sometimes armed conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers largely due to the absence of cattle routes... ” R.4</i></p>

				<p><i>“...In most cases, herdsmen allowing their cattle to feed on crops or destroy same that serves as livelihood of the Agogo farmers is often cited as the reason...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...Even though the land belongs to them, whenever there is an incident of crop destruction, they are not willing to come to dialogue to find a solution, but feel their views must prevail and sometimes use vulgar language against the herdsmen leading to conflict...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...The major reason why there is conflict between the two groups is that, the herdsmen allow their cattle to graze on farm crops deliberately leading to confrontation, attacks on farmers and reprisal attacks from groups...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...It is also because, Fulani herdsmen carry arms and the least confrontation over destruction of farm crops, they usually attack the farmers with the weapons either causing injury or deaths, that may also call for reprisal attacks...” R.6</i></p> <p><i>“...On their way there however, they usually unintentionally graze their cattle on farm crops...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...Therefore when these strange</i></p>
--	--	--	--	--

				<p><i>herdsmen destroy the crops, the farmers may not call for dialogue and impose fines, but resort to confrontations with herdsmen who are usually armed...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...And since the herdsmen move in large herds of cattle; they sometimes pass through these farms, crush water melon or feed on it, destroy maize farms or feed on them...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...Therefore herdsmen attempt to destroy their farms is often met with retaliation and conflict erupts...” R.9</i></p> <p><i>“...The major source of the conflict between farmers here and the Fulani herdsmen is destruction of farm crops. The Fulani herdsmen have no respect for crop farms and usually allow their cattle to destroy crops that people have gone for loans to invest in...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...Whenever crops are destroyed or fed on by cattle conflict erupts...” R.11</i></p> <p><i>“...Cattle come into contact with crop farms and destroy crops in the process, leading to stand-off between farmers who might have taken loans to grow the crops and the herdsmen...” ---</i></p>
--	--	--	--	---

					<p><i>“...The contamination of river bodies by cattle was another source of conflicts between farmers and Fulani herdsmen...” R.14</i></p>
		Killing of cattle	Cattle are been killed by farmers and the security forces	4	<p><i>“...Another source of the conflict is the indiscriminate killing of cattle by both the indigenous farmers and the security forces through poisoning and shooting with riffles. This is carried out in most cases to cause pain and loss to the cattle owners, and since herdsmen are also armed, they are likely to retaliate which might lead to reprisal attacks...” R.5</i></p> <p><i>“...Another source of the conflict is the killing of cattle belonging to herdsmen. These cattle are either poisoned or shot dead triggering reprisal attacks by herdsmen...” ---</i></p> <p><i>“...Pollution of cattle sources of drinking water which is also a major source of the conflict usually occur in the night...” R.8</i></p> <p><i>“...On the part of the farmers, they usually kill the cattle either for destroying crop farms or the herdsmen causing harm to them...” R.10</i></p> <p><i>“...Another contributory factor to the</i></p>

					<i>conflict is the indiscriminate killing of cattle belong to herdsmen by indigenous farmers...” R.14</i>
	Exploitation	Extortion of Fulani herdsmen	Includes the cheating herdsmen to the benefits of the indigenous people	1	<i>“...Another concern is that the citizens of Agogo are indulged in cheating and extortion of Fulani herdsmen. They intentionally grow crops on cattle routes or pasture lands which hitherto were not used for crop farming with the intention of getting the crops destroyed by cattle so that they could surcharge cattle owners for the damage. A water melon farm which could not fetch GH500 will end up attracting surcharge of GH5,000 for its owner creating frustration...” R.8</i>

APPENDIX 8

Picture 1: Okonfuo Kwesi Badu murdered by Fulani herdsmen



Source: District Assembly, Asante-Akim North, 2018.

APPENDIX 9

Picture 2: Ali Bawa, a Fulani herdsman arrested by police after the murder of Kwesi Badu



Source: District Assembly, Asanti-Akim North, 2018.

APPENDIX 10

Picture 3: Scanfarms maize crops destroyed by cattle



Source: District Assembly, Asanti-Akim North, 2018

APPENDIX 11

Picture 4. Cattle poisoned by indigenous farmers



Source: District Assembly Asante-Akim North, 2018.