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NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND FULANI PASTORALISTS IN WEST AFRICA:

THE CASE OF BIAKOYE AND KRACHI EAST DISTRICTS IN GHANA

BY

COMFORT AKUA ATTAH

(10192107)

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

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DECLARATION

I COMFORT AKUA ATTAH, do hereby declare that except for the reference to other publications which have been duly acknowledge herein, this is my original research work conducted under the supervision of Dr. Kennedy Emmanuel Ahorsu and no part has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose.

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COMFORT AKUA ATTAH   DR. KENNEDY EMMANUEL AHORSU

(STUDENT)   (SUPERVISOR)

 DATE …20. 11. 2020……   DATE …20. 11. 2020……

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DECLARATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my entire family, staff and friends who supported me during this research study.

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First, I am grateful to the Almighty God for making this research project a successful one and for his continuous divine providence upon my life.

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ABSTRACT

Despite several occurrence of natural resource conflict between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the West African sub-region, this particularly study was primarily concerned with exploring the nature, dynamics, causal factors, as well as the human and national security implications of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The study employed the exploratory and descriptive qualitative research approaches which relied on primary and secondary data through interviews, literature review from books, journals articles, working papers, and online internet sites for data analyses. Major findings of the study reveal that, the nature of the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana manifest in verbal, psychological and physical conflict situations. It also reveals that, with respect to the dynamics the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana the study revealed that such conflicts have become more pronounced and conspicuous in the Fourth Republic of Ghana that if effective security measures are not taken to curb them, they could plunge the country into anarchy, chaos, and eventually domestic violence soon. The study also reveals that the there are several factors accounting for the prevalence of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, including unfavorable land tenure systems and environmental conditions. It also discloses that, the main human security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include social, political, economic, cultural and security impacts which have direct bearing on citizens or individuals rather the state.

However, with regards to the national security implications the study revealed that the main state security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include small arms proliferation, high tendency for extremism and escalation of violence in the districts, high tendency for terrorism, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the districts and poor global image in dealing with Fulani-farmers crisis in the country. Notwithstanding the efforts by the Government of Ghana to ensure national security towards promoting peace and security in the country, the study reveals that there are some few challenges which militate against the effective resolution of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana, including financial and personnel constraints. Towards this end, the study concludes that the struggle for land and water resources by the Fulani herdsmen for cattle grazing and settlement contributes significantly to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The study finally recommends that more research should also be carried out on the prevailing and emerging national security threats as they relate to Fulani-farmers' conflict situations across the country. This will enable policy makers, security organizations and the government to use the outcomes of such research as planning tools to know the changing trends of the causes, implications, and suitable solutions for addressing such security threats in the country.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Africa is one of the most viable source of natural resources in the world and thus, leading to a renewed scramble for resources among local African citizens and among Africans and foreign nationals (Klare, 2012). However, the negative impact of environmental security threats such as drought, land degradation, global warming, climate change, among others, has led to depletion and scarcity of natural resources which has subsequently led to the struggle of resources between minority groups and majority groups in most parts of Africa (Boano et al, 2012).

The impact of climate change in the Sahel regions with its associated drought, scarcity of pasture, severe water crises, food insecurity, and death of herds has forced Fulani herdsmen to migrate and increasingly settle in the littoral states of West Africa (Scheffran et al., 2019). Consequently, the impact of the increasing phenomena of clashes and conflict between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists are beginning to be felt across the West African sub-region due to struggle for scarce resources such as land and water for grazing and settlement for the latter (Mohammed-Bashar, 2020).

This has generated much concern among states, scholars in the academia, policy makers, security experts, personnel, and individual citizens in the region with regards to how governments can beef up their security apparatuses to help promote and preserve the human and national security of states, towards resolving tensions which ensued between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the region. Ghana has not been spared in the ragging tensions between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the West African sub-region. According to Sylves (2019), internal security is a governmental function and encompasses the responsibility for addressing threats, emergencies, and disasters.

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Therefore, security is very important as it ensures public safety, citizens' freedoms to perform their lawful duties and activities to enhance economic growth and prosperity. It is in this regard that the need for effective security management in a country like Ghana is very important for addressing the conflicts situation between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the country. Ghana has received the accolade of being the most peaceful country in the sub-Saharan Africa, particularly West Africa (Musah, 2019). This is because there has been peaceful transition of governments since 1992 when constitutional democracy was reintroduced (i.e., in the 4th Republic) in Ghana.

After this fact, the country has conducted seven successive elections where power has changed hands between the two dominant political parties, namely the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), (Musah, 2019). Ghana has made significant efforts to sustain and consolidate its constitutional means of changing presidents and parliamentarians through elections, making the country a 'Star Pupil' of good governance and democracy in the West-African sub-region. However, instances of some domestic security threats witnessed especially in the Fourth Republic have posed some challenges to the consolidation of democracy in Ghana.

Consequently, Ghana's government has dedicated to promoting the domestic security of the country to safeguard the national and human security of the country. Internal security is of upmost concern for all countries given recent surge in global insecurity. Security is the condition of safety or feeling safe from danger. It encompasses the defence, protection and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquired values (Diedong, 2020). To further broaden the scope, security includes the defence, policing and intelligence functions of states, and the management of threats to breaches of the peace through multilateral and bilateral processes (Diedong, 2020).

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However, the frequent clashes and conflicts between farmers and Fulani, particularly in Northern Ghana have posed and continue to pose significant domestic security threats to Ghana. The Fulani tribes are perceived to be the largest ethnic group in West Africa and could be found in more than twenty nations in Africa stretching from Senegal in the West to Chad in the East of Africa (Thomson, 2016). Historically, the Fulani tribes are believed to gain access to territories based on founded philosophies of radicalization through religious ideologies to be able to survive as minority groups in the West Africa sub-region (Enchill, 2014).

The Fulani groups have been involved in several Jihadist revolutions, with reference to the Holy War or Revolution under Usman dan Fodio (1804-1815), who conquered some portions of the Middle Belt and unified them into another Muslim state, the Sokoto caliphate, prevailed till 1903 (Lenshie & Ayokhai). In recent times, the Fulani have again become progressively radical because of the flood of fanatic Islamic promulgation particularly, from the Middle East (Lenshie & Ayokhai). Their attacks in West Africa can be viewed as a continuation of Jihad agenda for an Islamic state, particularly, with reference to Ghana.

The Fulani tribes frequently utilize aggression or violence to gain access to new territories, all in the name of the expansionist guideline of Dar al Islam (Place of Islam), which discloses that everything legitimately belongs to Allah and his Followers, including the land where the Fulani need to allow their dairy cattle to munch (Nnorom, 2018). They trust it is directly for them to take those assets forcibly from unbelievers or people who do not subscribe to the tenets of Islam (Nnorom, 2018). The principal occupation of the Fulani tribes is cattle rearing which induced them to travel several distances to enable their herd graze on greener pastures. Known to be migrating from one place to the other, it is extremely difficult to monitor them, and it is hard for states to account for their exact or precise population and activities (Nnorom, 2018).

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Therefore, most of the Fulani tribe resort to radicalism and violence to gain access to territories for grazing, since they feel they are not part of the priority or concerns of state governments, especially in West African states. These developments necessitate a critical examination of security implications of clashes and conflicts between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts in Ghana.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The Fulani-Farmers crisis in West Africa, and for that matter Ghana, is complex climate change, competing resource-use, inter-dependencies, multi-casual, cultural clash, and clash of rights conflicts that is very difficult to delineate (Okoli & Ogayi, 2018). The conflicts usually arise climate change and its ramifications for natural resource depletion and the struggle for existing scare natural resources. The Fulani-Farmers crisis also involves challenges of people of different geographical regions, traditions and cultural practices, languages, worldviews, philosophies on land ownership and land use competing for scarce resource use.

It is a problem of how they reciprocally appreciate climate change and its exigencies, adapt to the resultant ecological and social changes, co-use diminishing natural resources efficiently, and respect and empathize with each other. It is also a conflict of how to reconcile and adapt traditional Ghanaian land tenure system, philosophy of land and its intersubjective meanings to accommodate the age-old Fulani transhumance practice, within the context of dysfunctional manifestations of climate change and population growth, modernity, and social change. The Herdsmen-Farmers' goal incompatibility is compounded by the ECOWAS Protocols on the Free Movement of People and Goods, and Establishment, and Livestock and Transhumance that protects the rights of the Fulani herdsmen persons of Fulanis and their practice of transhumance are protected under international law.

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But do Ghanaian farmers also have rights? While these challenges persist, how is Ghana's national and human security affected because of clashes between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in Ghana. Several studies including, Chukwuemeka et al (2018), Okoli & Ogayi, (2018), Howorth, C. (2019), among others, have been carried out on the causes and impacts of the Fulani-Farmers crisis in West Africa, however, there is a dearth of scholarly exploration on the topic from the Ghanaian perspective.

This study therefore seeks to analyse the Herdsmen-Farmers conflict in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts to help in explaining the crisis to better prepare the various stakeholders appreciate the conflicts and address it amicably.

1.3 Research Questions

What is the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the factors accounting for the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

1.4 Research Objectives

To investigate the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

To explore the factors accounting for the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

To explore the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. To investigate the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

1.5 Scope of the Study

Notwithstanding the increasing phenomena of Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa, this particularly study focuses essentially on analyzing the security implications of clashes and conflicts between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts in Ghana. The study focuses predominantly in exploring the nature and dynamics the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana to help the relevant stakeholders in better understanding and appreciating the conflict towards effectively addressing it. The Biakoye and Krachi East Districts are among the eight districts in the Oti Region and formerly part of the twenty-five districts in the Volta Region of Ghana (Adjerakor, 2015). The capital and administrative centre of the Biakoye District is Nkonya Ahenkro whilst the district capital and administrative centre for the Krachi East District is Dambai (Adjerakor, 2015).

These districts located in the Oti Region of Ghana have in recent times witnessed increasing phenomena of the Fulani-farmers conflicts and clashes, which makes their selection for this study very suitable and timely.

1.6 Rationale of Study

The current challenges of Fulani-farmers' crises are beginning to have rippling effect on the entire West Africa sub-region as it affects security, safety, economic activities and other macro-economic variables, with no exception to Ghana. It is therefore necessary for all stakeholders including the Government of Ghana, security experts and personnel, public and private organizations, NGOs, and other international bodies to pay special attention to policies that regulate and effectively address the security situation in Ghana and the entire West Africa region. These policies can only work effectively when there is adequate information and knowledge to streamline the activities of policy makers especially through formidable research of this nature.

Therefore, conducting studies of this kind therefore helps to inform and draw the attention of policy makers on the need to address all challenges of marginalized groups in Ghana, especially as they pertain to the Fulani tribes, as well as to give recommendations on how such cases could be handled. In addition, the current study will lay a path to other researchers and students who wish to carry further studies on the topic, based on gaps they may identify in this study. It will also serve as a source of knowledge and reference material to students and anyone who wants to know more about addressing Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa from the perspective of Ghana, with specific focus on the human security and national security threats such crisis creates in the sub-region.

This can guide the government or policy makers in future decisions to maintain or amend the implementation strategies of effectively tackling the current Fulani-farmers' crisis in Ghana and the entire West African region. The benefit of this study is also to contribute to knowledge in the field of International Relations by analyzing the security implications of Fulani-farmers' crisis, with specific attention to the nature, dynamic, factors as well as impacts of the conflictual relations between farmers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

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In this vein, it seeks to make recommendations which students, policy makers, integration blocs, international organizations and states could rely on for future research on the topic to make interventions in case of future challenges of addressing Fulani-farmers conflicts or crisis in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa sub-region or the African continent.

1.7 Hypothesis

The struggle for land and water resources by the Fulani herdsmen for cattle grazing and settlement contributes significantly to the conflictual relations between farmers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Several theories and concepts can be used to describe, explain and understand the phenomenon of Fulani-farmers' crisis in West Africa, with specific reference to Ghana. However, this study utilizes the concepts of Adaptation and National Security for its analysis.

1.8.1 The Concept of Adaptation

The study is guided by the concept of 'adaptation. Adaptation is a general concept used by both the natural and the social sciences. The concept of Adaptation was first developed by Charles Darwin (the most famous scientist) from the Natural Science perspective in his evolution studies in the 1830s, in the Galapagos Islands which he established a fixed relationship between organism and its habitat (Peck, 2001).

In his evolutionary theory, Darwin explains adaptation as the biological mechanism by which organisms adjust to new environments or to changes in their current environment (Peck, 2001). The idea of natural selection is that traits that can be passed down allow organisms to adapt to the

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environment better than other organisms of the same species. However, in the 1950s, Parsons adopted and developed the Concept of Adaptation as propounded by Darwin in explaining action system represented by social actors and the interdependence relation in a social system (i.e., biological, social, political, cultural, social/ecological, and economic) from a Sociological perspective (de Almeida, 2016).

Parson's utilization of the Concept of Adaptation has found profound usage in the studies of International Relations, particularly in Conflict Studies. The concept of Adaptation as utilized in International Relations helps in explaining, analysing, or demonstrating processes of how individuals, institutions and social groups adjust to an adverse or positive change in or of an environment to survive or thrive despite change (Davoudi et al., 2012). Changes are naturally, socially, or technologically triggered. Often natural changes or social changes provoke technological adaptations to mitigate the social or natural exigencies of change. In the annals of the social sciences rapid natural and social changes are one of the main triggers of social conflict (Hendrix & Salehyan, 2012).

Ecological Adaption with regards to Climate Change and its unexpected or adverse effects take the form of alteration, regulation, and amendment to adjust to, augment or lessen liabilities induced (Craig, 2010). Adaptation to climate change and its effects such as desertification also entails modifications of livelihood, philosophies, perceptions, culture, practices, traditions, and technologies (Craig, 2010).

Climate change often induces social changes that are marked by chaotic reactions by groups, however defined (Craig, 2010). Adaptations may, therefore, take forms and magnitudes of institutional policies and programmes initiated by sub-national, national, regional, and international levels to alleviate the vulnerabilities.

Africans have age long cultural ecological adaptations that have been used to adapt to and maintain climatic change (Bassett & Fogelman, 2013). The ecological adaptations, though differing significantly from place to place, are often sophisticated, constantly evolving, flexible processes, traditions, and practices that promote regeneration to lessen the degradation of the environment. This adaptive capacity comes in many forms such as myths and taboos, tactical migration, astute resource use, adaptive agrarian and pastoral practices, variegation of livelihoods, and intricate socio-economic links between rural and urban areas (Taylor, 2014).

The range of adaptive strategies currently being employed by African populations can be broadly categorized as adjustment in norms, rules and institutions governing agricultural practices; development of new opportunities for eking out living; and migration (Taylor, 2014). The Concept of Adaptation like any other theory or concept in International Relations is not without criticisms. Adger (2010), bemoans that the major criticism against the Concept of Adaptation is that it ignores other factors which pose great challenges to individuals to adapt to certain given social settings.

Factors such as governmental policies, population growth, scarce resources, changes in the global political economic systems, ecological changes (such as climate change), among others, which makes adaptation of social actors very difficult or sometimes impossible are being ignored during analysis with the utilization of the Concept of Adaptation and focus is only placed on how social actors should or could adjust to their behaviours to suit their immediate environment during any social change.

Also, Hartmann (2010), points out that Concept of Adaptation is mostly utilized to analyze scarcity of states and individuals on the international scale with little application to regional or local levels applications. Notwithstanding the above criticisms against the Concept of Adaptation, it is still relevant and suitable for analysis in this study. This is because given the scale and speed of

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contemporary climate change compounded by the exigency of social change, norms, values, indicators of development and expectations of Africa and its people, it helps in analyzing differing conflicts being triggered by climate change which induce scarcity and struggle for resources as evident between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. In other words, the concept is very expedient in exploring the nature, dynamic, factors as well as impacts of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana due to how both actors adjust to their immediate environment based on scarcity of natural resources.

1.8.2 The Concept of National Security

The analysis of this study is further grounded on the foundation of the concept of National Security. Security is portrayed as the condition of being from danger, danger, peril, or mischief. Nonetheless, Amoore (2013), explains security as the freedom from threats and risks capable of eroding unique identities and values of a society.

The academic cause for the idea of National Security could be followed to the United States of America following the Second World War. Nevertheless, the earliest mention of the term 'national security' could be traced to Yale University during the 1970s when the term was utilized in analyzing industrial relations and state security (Jackson, 2013). This regardless, there has been different developments for the idea or concept of national security, that there is no generally accepted standard definition for the concept.

Be that as it may, in the field of International Relations, National security is conceptualized to have two fundamental dimensions: State Security and Human Security. The conventional conceptualization of National security, which is equivalent to state security, centers transcendently around on the protection of the physical or territorial boundaries of states forestalling outer

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hostility of opposing forces, as well as preserving the national or public interests, as a way of guaranteeing harmony and security (Runyan, 2018).). In other words, the Traditional conceptualization of security focused predominantly on state security, with the realist notion. The state is considered the dominant actor in the international system which has the sole prerogative of protecting its territorial boundaries to ensure the safety of its citizens.

This means that, conventional conceptualization of security sought to perceive that, the individuals or citizens of a state are safe if the territorial boundaries are protected from external attacks of other states. Some of the major proponents of the National Security include Harold Brown, Alexander George Walter Lippmann, Harold Laswell, and Thomas Schelling. According to Walter Lippman, national security is the condition under which a state does not need to forfeit its real to avoid war, and is capable, if challenged, to maintain them by war (Lippmann, 1943). Harold Brown on his part considered national security as the ability of the states to preserve its physical integrity and to maintain its international economic relations on reasonable terms (Brown, 1983).

To Brown, national security also means preservation of a nation's institutions and governance from disruption from external forces, and to control its frontiers (Brown, 1983). Nixon (1974) asserts that national security transcends beyond physical protection from harm to also ensuring economic and politic protection which has the risk potential to jeopardize the values and vitality of a state if tempered with. Nnoli (2006, p.16), conceptualizes national security "as cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-states, together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. It denotes freedom from threats, anxiety, and danger. This concept of State security has been criticized on some few grounds just like other theories and concepts.

Buzan & Hansen (2009) establishes the concept of state security is a narrowed conceptualization of the notion of security as it does not take into consideration other concept of security such as human security, collective security, regional security complex and international security. To support Buzan & Hansen, Owen (2004), established that state security ignores the protection and welfare of citizens in a states to only focusing on the territorial safety of the physical boundaries as a mean of promoting security.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms leveled against the state security dimension of National security, it is still extremely essential for the analysis of the topic of this study. This is because it helps in understanding how the state security of Ghana could be jeopardized with the growing threat of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The Human Security dimension of National Security is a paradigm shift which focuses essentially on individuals within a state and not protection of state boundaries or territories only.

The historical idea of broadening the concept of security from the state to individuals was first enunciated by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (ICDSI) in 1982, however it completely entered scholastic and policy making discussions in the mid-1990s (Ul Haq, 1995). Owen Taylor defines Human security as the "protection of individual from pervasive and critical threats, as well as circumstances which pose threats to their fundamental human rights and freedoms (Taylor, 2004). Nevertheless, Mahbub Ul Haq is often considered the major proponent of the concept of human security. It was the Human Development Report which was created in 1994 by Mahbub Ul Haq which focused basically on the systematic and detailed approach to deal with human security, by delineating the components of the new security conceptualization (Ul Haq, 1994).

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The concept of Human Security was embodied and articulated under the Human Development Report of 1994, where two primary issues were considered, i.e., freedom of fear which focuses on protection from hurtful and sudden distortions and interruptions in the patterns of daily life whether at jobs, homes, or in communities, and freedom from wants which addresses safety with regards drastic threats as pandemics, hunger, and repression (Ul Haq, 1994). These concerns aimed at tackling human risks, pain, and torture.

The 1994 Human Development Report therefore conceptualizes Human Security as safety from chronic dangers and protection from sudden frightful interruptions in the pattern of daily life (Ul Haq, 1994). Advocates of human security espouse that it is not generally the situation that people in a particular state are shielded from external assaults if their territorial boundaries are protected. Human Security Theorists suggests that there are other security issues and risks which may confront and perplex people in a state, even when the physical boundaries are well secured and protected.

Examples of such security risks include chronic pandemic/epidemics (such as Corona virus and Ebola), hunger, poverty, torture, and restrictions of basic rights from undemocratic leaderships, among others. As indicated by the Human Security Report 2005, human security is a new security concept which now widely accepted and used to describe the people-centered threats such as poverty, genocides, refugee crisis, civil wars, hunger and refugee crisis and civil wars (Human Security Centre, 2005).

Human security deals with the security, rights, and development of humans. As such, it is an inter-disciplinary concept which is context-specific and prevention-oriented. As a people-centered concept, human security puts the individual at the 'focal point of analysis. Consequently, it considers an expansive scope of security issues which undermine and threaten human existence,

livelihood survival and dignity. The 1994 Human Development Report highlights seven (7) main human security components which includes the following: (Human Security Centre, 2005).

- Political security – emphasizes the degree to which people inside a state are permitted to practice their political freedoms, for example, the opportunity to vote in favor of any political group of one's decision without compulsion or limitations.

- Economic security – accentuates a considerable basic income which could be derived from public financial systems or productive work for people to have option in meeting or providing their basic needs.

- Personal security – centers around the degree to which people in a state could be shielded from harm or physical violence.

- Food security – implied the economic and physical abilities to gain access to foods in their appreciable quantities and qualities.

- Community security – elucidates the endeavours taken by government in ensuring and improving the customary relations and values which unites and foster harmony among people in a state.

- Health security – stresses on safety from diseases, lifestyles and other environmental health crises which are inimical to the health conditions of individuals.

- Environmental security – stipulates shunning practices which lead to the degradation of the natural environment.

On the grounds of scientific utility and significance to security policy and implementation, some scholars such Owen Taylor contends that the constitution of human security should be grounded on violent threats which confronts people (Owen, 2004). Consequently, the idea of human security

is required to address security risks such as health pandemics, violence and civil wars, poverty, economic recessions, hunger, among others.

The central contention of human security is that the conceptualization of security issues ought to broaden to cover guaranteeing the welfare and wellbeing of people within a state, instead of concentrating just on the protection of territorial or physical boundaries, which has been conceived as state security or traditional notion of security. Consequently, scholars of human security perceive that the traditional notion of security has excessively focused on state security or protection of territorial or physical boundaries of states instead of the individuals within the state. It was about time that a more extensive thought to security issues and matters to security issues also concentrated on people within a state, rather than concentrating only on the safety of territorial or physical boundaries. The concept of Human Security has been criticized or challenged on several grounds. Most Pundits of human security attest that the concept is vague and therefore should not be acknowledge as an effective analysis in security matters in the International Relations. For example, Chandler in his study, *Human Security: The Dog that Didn't Bark,* asserts that human security has been promoted in the academia but has had little policy formation impact (Chandler, 2008).

Chandler (2008) also contends that human security is normative instead of being descriptive, i.e., human security recommends 'what should be' as opposed to 'what is actual happening.' In addition, Chandler (2008) stipulates that the concept of human security has been over exaggerated, and the central application of the concept has been focused in analyzing security issues and developmental challenges in developing countries, particularly, Africa. Chandler, (2008), also points that Advocates of the concept of Human Security focused on identifying short-term solutions, instead of long-term strategic solutions to perceived human security threats.

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Owen's study on the topic, *Human Security: Conflict, Critique and Consensus* also condemns the concept of human security on some grounds. He identifies that, there is no definite definition or meaning of the concept, and uncovers that, concentrating essentially on people as people-centered security only proliferates the concept without adding any analytic value (Owen, 2004). In reaction to the above criticisms levelled against the concept of human security by some scholars, Salomon et al., (2017), explain that the concept of Human Security is not completely useless, however has rather actuated some huge turns of events and ways to deal with challenges which confront human survival and existence.

These incorporate changing the status quo of war-fares where civilians are expected to be protected during wars and combatants who are also captured by victor states are not expected to be treated inhumanely or killed instantly as observed in the past (Salomon et al., 2017). Price (2018) also reveals that the exposure on human security has led to the establishment of ICC to ensure that governments do not subject their own citizens to severe torture, hunger, torment, and pain. In addition, Reynolds (2015), perceives that the advocacy for human security issues has resulted in the development of Land mines treaties which prohibits the use, production, stockpiling and transfer of antipersonnel mines and places.

Despite the criticisms leveled against the concept of Human Security, it is still considered a relevant and suitable concept for analysis in this study. This is because, it fits impeccably into the analysis of this study by assisting to better understand and appreciate the nature, dynamic, factors as well as impacts of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. This will help focus the analysis not only on state-centered security but also on the people-centered security. Ultimately, it will likely promote and garner policy responses that are more people-centered in addressing the conflictual relations

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between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

1.9 Literature Review

This section comprises the review of related literature on the topic under study. Some scholarly works have been done on Fulani-Farmers conflicts in West Africa such as (Chukwuemeka et al, 2018, Okoli & Ogayi, 2018, Howorth, 2019), among others. Limited review on literature however exists in exploring the nature, dynamic, factors as well as impacts of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists from Ghana's perspective.

It is in this vein that prior research albeit limited, will be reviewed using Content Analysis techniques to indicate how they contributed to understanding the topic under study. Gaps in the literature, if any, shall be highlighted relative to any links to how this study attempts to fill same. The literature review section has been categorized into three (3) main sub-sections. These include struggle over natural resource as a source of conflict, the phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers conflicts in West Africa and finally, the phenomenon of Fulani-farmers conflict in Ghana.

1.9.1 Struggle over Natural Resources as a source of conflict

The occurrence or presence of goals incompatibility could be conceptualized or described in several ways including misunderstanding, violence, chaos, anarchy, tension, war, among others. However, Böhm et al (2018), describe the phenomenon of incompatible goals between or among groups leading to protests and contestations as Conflict. Therefore, Conflict Studies can be said to be the study of incompatible goals between and among groups leading to protests and contestations which sometimes aggravate into wars and conflicts.

In contemporary international system, it is often perceived that the invention of weapons of mass destructions due to science and electronics or technological is the major factor for the exacerbation or aggravation of goals incompatibility or conflicts (Smooha, 2019).). However, resources abundance and scarcity also result in some goal incompatibility in today's international system. These are usually referred to as resource conflicts. Wegenast & Basedau (2014), explain resource conflicts as tensions that arise within a specific geographical area due to diversities and the polarization of groups over abundance or scarcity of resources. Roux et (2015), explains that scarcity of resources leading to competition or struggle to gain access to limited resources usually result in communal conflicts.

This conflicts causes situations were indigenes of resources communities' rebel against concession holders, (mostly, the government, politicians, chiefs, or opinion leaders), (Ratner, et al, 2013). This because such concession holders give away resources such as land and other minerals away without proper consultation with the local people of resource communities. Most at times, aggrieved local indigenes of resource communities become frustrated and resort to violent against buyers of natural resources concessions or holders of the resource concessions. Typical example of this situation is witnessed in the Fulani-farmer conflicts situations in most parts of West Africa. Mamdani (2014), provided a model for comprehending the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda using the Economic Theory of Conflicts to explore how scarcity of resources and the struggle for the scarce resource between the Tutsis and the Hutus significantly contributed to the conflict. Mamdani (2014), established that no ethnic group is intrinsically predisposed to violence unless such ethnic group is bedeviled by serious economic challenges which cannot be met by their existing resources or conditions of services. He points out that the majority group who were the Hutus were deprived

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or denied access to lands for agricultural and other economic activities since they were comparatively poor as compared to the Tutsis.

Consequent to the above, the Tutsis gained greater access to the arable and grazing lands for agricultural and other economic activities which engendered frustrations and aggression from the Hutus to attack the Tutsis, by accusing them of being responsible for their woes (Mamdani, 2014). Drawing from the Rwanda situation, Mamdani, (2014), pointed the policies adopted to address their socio-economic needs or demands, of various social groups over resource struggle could either prevent or instigate frustrations and aggression which could result in conflicts or violence. Towards this end, he recommends that it is also important to note sensitivity of groups when responding to violence of economic change. This is because it provides the baseline for preventing violence perpetuated by groups or rebels. Klosek (2018), in his study explored the causal relationship between natural resources and conflicts in the sub-Saharan Africa. He revealed that oil and diamond have become the two main resources which have contributed greatly the protracted resources-conflicts and civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa, with specific reference to the Great Lake regions. He also points that such conflicts lead to proliferation small arms and light weapons in the region which makes ending such conflicts extremely difficult or almost impossible. Klosek (2018), uncovered three main factors which instigate resources in sub-Saharan Africa, and these include resource wealth, looting mechanism, and grievance mechanism. He explains the resource wealth as the perceived or real economic benefits people anticipate for having possession to certain resource concessions (Klosek, 2018). The looting mechanism to him connotes the increasing tendency for rebel or insurgent groups to raise funds and acquire small arms and other weaponry to extract mineral commodities themselves and sell directly to those interested without any regard to government laws (Klosek, 2018).

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The Grievance mechanism implies the situation where resource extraction leads to minimal employment opportunities, forced migration, disruption in social order and environmental hazards, but indigenes of resource zone receive no or little share of benefits with regards to the possession or extraction of the resources by other stakeholders who are not indigenes (Klosek, 2018). The above situation invariably instigates frustration and aggression from indigenes to resort to violence as a way of reversing the status quo.

Klosek (2018), identified that the inability of politicians including the Government actors, opinion leaders including traditional rulers to come up with pragmatic measures where acquisition or extraction of natural resources could also benefit local indigenes always result in conflictual relations between indigenes and external actors who possess or acquires natural resources in resource zones. Therefore, Klosek (2018), recommends that broader consultation should be done in most resource zones in sub-Saharan African where the sensibility of the indigenes will be taken into consideration in the selling or offering of resource concessions to external stakeholders.

Contrary to the popular narrative that resource scarcity and struggle for scarce resource led to conflict situations as espoused by Mamdani (2014) and Klosek (2018), Okoli & Ngwu (2019), nonetheless identified that the preponderance of natural resources in the Great Lake region has rather contributed significantly to the proliferation of conflicts and civil wars in the region. They identified that states caught up in such conflict situations include Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. They pointed out that the nuances and complexities which surround such resource conflicts with regards to causes, actors and weaponry involved has made resolution of such conflicts almost impossible, making the region one of the most fragile regions on the African continent (Okoli & Ngwu, 2019).

They therefore revealed that some of the states in the Great Lake Region are on the brink of failing or collapsing due to the abundance of natural resources, which has fueled several civil wars and conflicts in the region. Towards this end, Okoli & Ngwu (2019), recommended that to restore peace in resource-conflict zones, there is a need for multifaceted response mechanism including peace negotiations and reforms, demilitarization, ceasefire agreement and promotion of good governance and democracy.

The above scholarly works contributes essentially to the understanding of this topic by throwing insights into how resources could foment violence or conflicts from an Economic Theory of Conflicts perspective. However, they did not cover how resource scarcity and struggle for scarce resources, particularly, land and water contribute to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. This gap is what this study seeks to fill.

1.9.2 The Phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers Conflicts in West Africa

Maiga et al. (2014), established that the Fulani Pastoralists are viewed with some degree of suspicion and contempt especially in places not considered their home country. Even though they may reside in host communities and engage in some form of socio-economic activity, the erection of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion limits the extent to which they might be integrated within those societies (Maiga et al, 2014).

Amanor (2011), contends that West African countries have created societies based on notions of "first comers and late comers" and have integrated migrants like Fulani herdsmen into their societies through long distance trade, conquest, and slavery. This, he explains, is made evident in the emergence of migrant quarters with their respective herdsmen in cosmopolitan cities who have established links based on religious and ethnic affiliations (Amanor, 2011). However, Amanor

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(2011) asserted that the modes of integration of Fulani Pastoralists in most African states have undergone considerable transformations aided by systems of government and political leader in power at a particular point in time. He argues that colonialism altered the initial processes of integration by creating a new category known as the economic migrants.

This development according to Amanor (2011), has created boundaries of exclusion in which the status of the economic migrants (such as the Fulani Pastoralists) is passed on to their descendants who even though may be integrated in the communities in which they find themselves, can never claim to have originated from those communities and may still maintain a distant identity using language and custom. As economic migrants, Amanor (2011) argues that the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in most African states on the rural moral economy as migrants emerge both as investors with capital for accumulation and as labourers who facilitate the investments of others by selling their power.

He contended that the presence of migrants opens new opportunities, the introduction of a variety of commodities, commercial food production, production of export crops and the accumulation of capital. Thus, the economic migrant becomes a source of consternation and moral dilemma, which results in attempts to incorporate them into precepts of a moral economy rooted in good citizenship, or to expel them in times of political and economic crisis (Amanor, 2011). Additionally, Amanor (2011), explains that conditions for exclusion becomes more intense when migrants through the accumulation of wealth can secure natural resources such as land or compete with local population over access to natural resources.

Exclusionary tendencies economic migrants such as the Fulani herdsmen even become more heightened when local populations perceive chiefs to be in close association by allocating natural resources (such as concession of lands and water resources) to them at their expense (Amanor,

2011). Similarly, the designation economic migrants including the Fulani Pastoralist in most African states confer inferior status on people whose labour is exacted, further aggravating stereotypical tendencies (Amanor, 2011).

The activities of Fulani Pastoralists in most West Africa states on the other hand have been perceived to have instigated conflictual relations with local indigenes or citizens since they occasionally use forceful means or violence for the acquisition of land and water resources for livestock activities. Towards this end, Amanor, (2011), recommends effective broad stakeholder consultations and negotiations in addressing and averting most Fulani-farmer conflicts in most African states. Rhodes et al. (2104), contend that most farmers in most West African states perceive some Fulani Pastoralists as destructive and unproductive.

Therefore, policies geared towards rangeland management in most West African states discards Fulani herding practices which involves indiscriminate movement of herd, especially during droughts which sometimes poses challenges to farmers, (Rhodes et al., 2104). They contended that the policy of trying to modernise indigenous pastoral practices in most West African states are economically and politically motivated. They explain that due to Fulani-farmers conflicts in most West African states, some governments in the region have rather resorted to the importation of Argentinian beef supply to supplement beef requirements and discouraged the activities of Fulani herdsmen.

Contrary to the above, other governments in the region have made efforts towards improving pasture through fertilization of natural pastures, veld management and rotational grazing to encourage Pastoralism including the activities of the Fulani herdsmen to contribute to beef export and supplement domestic requirement (Rhodes et al., 2104). They conclude that to effectively address Fulani-farmer conflicts in most West African states, they explain that most governments

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have adopted the policy of rotational grazing, and the creation of planned agricultural areas with respect to the activities of Fulani herdsmen.

However, most Fulani Pastoralists go beyond their boundaries to encroach the lands of farmers especially during drought seasons which contribute significantly to most Fulani-farmers conflicts in region (Rhodes et al., 2104). Therefore, they propose that governments in West Africa should monitor carrying capacity with regards to herds per land of Fulani Pastoralists and ensure destocking where necessary and promote rotational grazing as alternative measures that would ensure healthy transhumant practices.

Folami & Folami, (2013), elaborated that the activities of Fulani herdsmen in most West African states is backed by powerful factors including government policies, environmental security, and changes in seasons. Consequently, most states in the region, are very strict in monitoring and regulating the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, popularized by the media. Folami and Folami (2013), affirm that with the increase in environmental change, more climate related catastrophes (including desertification, dry seasons, dust storms and unpredictable climate risks such as heat waves) may result in deficiency of food and water especially, for people depend on environmental conditions for their subsistence and livelihood such as the Fulani herdsmen in West Africa.

This may lead to the relocation of these herdsmen in search of environmental conducive areas for their grazing activities (Folami and Folami, 2013). Such relocation or migration by the Fulani herdsmen usually result in situations where they go and forcefully or illegally compete with farmers over arable lands for grazing. This has usually increased Fulani-Farmers conflictual relations in most parts of West Africa leading to dire human security consequences such as deaths, destruction of properties and insecurity to easily move around for other essential economic activities.

Towards this end, Folami & Folami, (2013), recommends that portraying the Fulani herders as agents and victims of environmental change, the narratives create the conducive environment for Africa's land-use practices to be changed to make the environment less destructive to minimize the indiscriminate migration of the Fulani herdsmen which largely contributes to the Fulani-farmers conflicts in most West African states. The scholarly literature in this section also contributes to the better understanding on the topic under study by throwing insights into the phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers conflicts in West Africa. However, they did not cover the phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers conflicts from the Ghanaian perspective, with specific reference to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. This gap is what this study seeks to fill.

1.9.3 The Phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers Conflicts in Ghana

Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012), tried to explore the array of factors which have contributed significantly to the increasing phenomenon of conflicts in West Africa, with reference to Ghana. They identified ecological changes with drivers and dynamics as a dominant factor which contribute to conflict situation in Ghana, with reference to the expansion effects of desertification. They identified that about 1.3 million hectares of woods have been lost in Ghana due to desertification (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2012), This was the consequence of over reliance and over abuse of natural resources to the degree that their exhaustion goes to be quicker than recovery. For this situation, they contend that migration in Ghana for Fulani herdsmen in particular, is environmentally induced. This is an attempt to adopt and cope with mechanisms when environmental factors become drastic. In relation to the above, Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012), reveals that while Fulani herdsmen are present in Ghana seeking greener pasture, some of them are responsible for the destruction of lives and properties at the community levels.

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This is because some Fulani herdsmen attack people in struggle over land and water resource, whilst their herds are also responsible for the destruction of crops on other people's farms (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2012). In addition, some Fulani herdsmen in Ghana engage in robbery activities with highly sophisticated small arms and other weapons to cope with the harsh economic conditions, especially during drought when their activities are affected by ecological factors (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2012).

Also, they cause bushfires to clear lands which sometimes destroy farms lands to make room for grazing fields for their herds attack people, cause bushfires and conduct highway robbery with sophisticated weapons (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2012). Consequently, the scholars observed that the activities of the Fulani herdsmen in some communities in the Upper East and Upper West regions have led to dire insecurities as people abandon their economic activities as traders for the fear of becoming preys or victims of Fulani herdsmen attacks.

Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012), reveal that in 2006, Fulani herdsmen alone constituted about 80% inmates of the Tamale prison who were convicted over various crimes including highway robbery, murder, rape motorbike theft, and cattle rustling. They therefore concluded that environmental change has become a great source of violent conflicts and violent crimes from the perspective of the Fulani herdsmen in Ghana and most part of West Africa. Therefore, like the views by Folami & Folami, (2013), Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012), the Government of Ghana including other relevant stakeholders should take proactive steps towards addressing the threats to environmental security which affect the subsistence and livelihood of the Fulani herdsmen, therefore contributing to them engaging in violence and other criminal activities. Agyemang (2017), explored the circumstances which instigate the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations in the Agogo Traditional area.

He uncovered that the accessibility to grazing fields, land for renting, water availability and the absence of tsetse fly are favorable factors which induces the migration of the Fulani herders to the Agogo Traditional area (Agyemang, 2017). He further finds that Fulani presence in the Agogo Traditional area has largely contributed to the insecurity due to regular clashes between crop farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the area. This has led to dire human security consequences including destruction of farms land and disruptions in economic activities, killings of innocent citizens, rape, robbery, and fraudulent activities to cope with the harsh economic activities, among others (Agyemang, 2017).

Towards this end, Agyemang (2017), concluded that the increasing phenomena of Fulani-farmers conflicts across various areas in Ghana including the Agogo Traditional area, poses great human security and national security risks to the country. He therefore recommended that, a comprehensive network of economic, security, cultural and political mechanism through effective negotiations and stakeholder consultations could help resolve the increasing security threats posed by Fulani-famers conflicts at various parts of the country.

Boateng (2015), explored the conflictual relations between the Fulani Pastoralists and farmers in the Asante-Akim North District and identified that the reasons for strife among ranchers and herders is ascribed to rivalry over land and water use. Boateng (2015), revealed that the conducive climate conditions coupled with the fertile nature soil in the area makes it possible for crop production throughout the year (Boateng, 2015). The conditions are favourable to produce crops including watermelon, plantain, maize (Boateng, 2015). Simultaneously, these crops contain high value and benefit for cattle feed on them, particularly during the dry season. This has prompted the destruction of crop farms and contamination of drinking water because of the activities of the Fulani herdsmen in the area (Boateng, 2015).

However, the author revealed that there has been increasing rape cases, theft, and murder of locals, as well as disruption in economic and other social gatherings due to the presence and aggressive activities of the Fulani herdsmen in the area. Consequently, such attacks have resulted in the increasing destruction of lives and properties in the area in recent times (Boateng, 2015).

The author therefore concludes that the conflictual relations between the two gatherings has prompted between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the Asante-Akim North District has led to loss of lives, injuries, and loss of livelihood. Towards this end, he recommends effective cooperation between and among all stakeholders towards effective adapting to environmental changes especially during droughts to minimize the increasing phenomenon of tensions between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the district and parts of the country.

The scholarly works in this section also corroborates to the better understanding on the topic under study by throwing insights into the phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers conflicts in Ghana. However, However, they did not cover the phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers conflicts from the study area, with specific reference to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. This gap is what this study seeks to fill.

1.10 Sources of Data and Methodology

This section outlines the main sources of data and methodology employed for the conduct of this study.

1.10.1 Sources of Data

This study relied on data from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources included data from books and published journal articles as well as some internet sources from the

ECOWAS, Government of Ghana, the Ghana Police Service, Ghana's National Security Department and ECOWAS Early Warning Network (ECOWARN) websites, where I obtained relevant data pertinent to the topic, to explore the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations in West Africa and particularly, Ghana and how to tackle the menace.

Also, primary data was also obtained through unstructured interviews from ten key informants, including one (1) official of the Oti Regional Coordinating Council, one (1) official of the Ghana Police Service, one (1) traditional ruler (chief), from the Biakoye District, one (1) traditional ruler (chief), from the Krachi East District, one (1) official of the National Security, the head of the Crop Framers Association from the Krachi East District, head of the Crop Framers Association from the Biakoye District, the Head of the Fulani in Ghana (who lives in Nima), the head of the Fulani Cattle Owners from the Krachi East District and the head of Fulani Cattle Owners from the Biakoye District.

These experts were selected for interviews because they have in-depth knowledge on the topic above. They will therefore be interviewed to provide more detailed analyses to complement and supplement data that would be obtained from literature on with specific reference to Fulani-farmers crisis and the roles and security implications of the Fulani tribes in the contribution of the menace. Information which will be obtained from the interviews were used to synchronize and complement data obtained from literature review to provide a more holistic and in-depth analysis of the Fulani-farmers crisis in West Africa, particularly, Ghana.

This is because the topic under study is a recent and on-going phenomenon and will require most recent data for better analysis and recommendations. Data from the sources indicated were analyzed with the aid of the Concepts of Adaptation and National Security to provide a better

insight into the topic to come out with unique findings which informed the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

1.10.2 Research Methodology

Methodology practically refers to how a researcher goes about finding solutions to a scientific or social problem (Majchrzak & Markus, 2013). There are three main types of research methods which include qualitative, quantitative and the mixed method/triangulation (i.e., combined qualitative and quantitative method), (Östlund, et al., 2011). Nevertheless, this study will rely on the qualitative exploratory case study for analysis. Qualitative research provides overall insight of situational analysis of non-numeric data about a given topic or phenomenon within a defined research area or scope (Tolley et al, 2016). Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2010), explains that qualitative research method provides esteem outcomes for understanding and interpreting a contextual case study research and this helps to strengthen the world view of a researcher in interpreting a social reality.

 A qualitative exploratory case study design will be employed for this study. This design considers acquiring information from different sources without any limitation or restriction to specific numerical proofs (Laverne, et al, 2015). Qualitative research makes us of secondary or already exiting research such as review of secondary data in addition to interviews, case studies and field tests (Tracy, 2019). Qualitative exploratory case study design helps in developing a hypothesis with exactitude and specificity (Tracy, 2019).

Exploratory design will be employed due to the flexibility or non-rigid nature of qualitative research method. The Qualitative exploratory case study approach also aids researchers to closely analyze data within a specific context (Robinson, 2014). The qualitative exploratory case study design will therefore be employed to explore the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani

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Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The study thus explores using inductive approach to understand the nature, dynamics and impacts of the Fulani tribes in the contribution of Fulani-farmer conflicts, with specific reference to the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana from the subjective interpretations or revelations form resourced personnel being interviewed, who were sampled purposively and conveniently for the study.

Sekaran & Bougie (2010) defined sampling is the selection of part of a whole targeted population for the purpose of a particular research selected by the researcher for the purpose of the study. The target population will have the specific and key characteristics that are required for the study. There are two main types of sampling techniques for determining the sample size for a research work which include Probability and Non-probability sampling techniques (Taherdoost, 2016). Probability sampling is where elements of the population are known, which means that a researcher has a list of a designated population, and all sampling elements have a chance to be selected.

With non-probability sampling, the elements in a population are unknown. Thus, the probability of selection for each element is unknown. This adopts the purposive sampling method for collecting primary data. The choice of the purposive sampling technique is because, it is not possible, to collect the full list of elements from the target population. According to Sekaran & Bougie (2010), there are four types of non-probability sampling technique which are convenience sampling, judgment sampling, quota sampling, and purposive sampling.

Convenience sampling is the sampling technique where elements are selected because of convenience for researchers (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). Judgment sampling is the sampling method in which researchers select the elements based on their own judgment due to some specific characteristics (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). Quota sampling is where researchers divide the target

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population into subgroups and select the elements in proportion to the population size (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010).

Snowball sampling is where the researchers choose to select the sampling elements through recommendations from initial respondents and the initial respondents are selected by using the probability method (Sekaran & Bougie, 2010). This qualitative exploratory case study shall make use of the purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling involves intentionally selecting units of the sample population selected for the study (Etikan et al., 2016). This is because the Respondents share the same characteristics to provide relevant data for analysis based on the purpose of the study.

The research design comprised interviewing personnel and experts including security experts, government officials, opinion leaders and traditional rulers who have the requisite expertise in sharing their knowledge and experience with regards to the Fulani-farmer conflict situations in Ghana and in the study area. The purpose of this qualitative exploratory case study research is to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

Thus, the purposive sampling technique was employed because selection of proposed research participants is based on their expertise on the topic. This allowed them to share their views to fulfill the purpose of the study on analyzing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

1.11 Arrangement of Chapters

The study would be organized into four chapters. Chapter One contains the introduction to the study, the background, the problem statement, the objectives, rationale, theoretical framework, literature review and arrangement of chapters. Chapter Two consists of the overview of national

security and the Fulani-farmer's conflict situations in West Africa, with focus on Ghana. Chapter Three contains the analysis of the national security and human security implications, the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and East Krachi districts of Ghana, as well as challenges in addressing Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa, with Ghana in particular. Chapter Four contains the Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations of the Study.

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CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE FULANI-FARMER'S CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN WEST AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of Fulani-farmers' crisis, replete with many complexities and dynamics is gradually having its toll on the West African sub-region, and particularly Ghana. It is in this vein that this chapter is devoted to making an overview of National Security as well Fulani-farmers conflicts in the West African sub-region and Ghana. Specifically, the Chapter makes an overview of the of the national security, pastoralism and conflict situations in Africa, pastoralism, and Fulani-farmers conflict situations in West Africa and finally an overview of pastoralism and Fulani-farmers conflict situations in Ghana.

2.2 Overview of National Security

National security is of upmost concern for all countries given recent surge in global insecurity. Security is the condition of safety, or feeling safe from danger (Bauman, 2013). However, National security involves the protection of the territorial boundaries of state as well as protecting the welfare of citizens in a state (Obama, 2010). It encompasses the defence, protection and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquired values (Obama, 2010). To further broaden the scope, National security includes the defence, policing and intelligence functions of states, and the management of threats to breaches of the peace through multilateral and bilateral processes (Obama, 2010). According to Trump (2017), National security is a governmental function and encompasses the responsibility for addressing threats, emergencies, and disasters (Trump, 2017).

National security is very important as it ensures public safety, citizens' freedoms to perform their lawful duties and activities to enhance economic growth and prosperity. It is in this regard that

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the need for effective national security management is very crucial for every state. However, the impact of globalization which has led to the proliferation of transnational threats such as terrorism and cyber terrorism, the spread of pandemics and epidemics, global economic recession, among others have pose some challenges to the national security of states in contemporary international system (Akinyemi, 2013).

However, there are also internal security threats which pose threats to the human security dimensions of national. Example is this is the ragging impact of Fulani-farmers' conflictual situations in most West African states, including Ghana. Towards this end the directive principles of state national security policies have become sine qua non for addressing national security challenges (Crowley, 2015). Bowling & Westenra (2020), assert that crime controls and effective immigration policies particularly, through checks and evacuation of non-citizens have become critical issues of focus to preserving the National Security of states in the current international system.

They reveal that, most governments, especially in developed countries such as the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK) and China use National Security as an excuse or justifiable reason for the expulsion of non-residents who may really represent no dangers to a state or people inside the state. This practice to him creates a clear view in the practical enhancement of the concept of National Security and promotes the important objectives of National Security which includes security state boundaries and personal liberties of people within a country (Bowling & Westenra, 2020).

They however suggest that that the formulation of immigration policies while looking through a misshaped focal point of National Security can result in ill-suited laws which distort the objective

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of national security in effectively monitoring, preventing, and controlling transnational threats such as terrorism, pandemic, and external attacks of other states. Ronis (2012), explains that the classical notion of national security concentrated on state security geared towards securing and protecting the physical or territorial boundaries of states, the people within states, values as well as institutions of the state, which form the ultimate responsibility and duties of a state (Ronis, 2012). They therefore argue that the classical conceptualization of the notion of national security focused predominantly on protection from ideological subversions and external physical attacks.

He uncovers other dimensions of national security which are of great essence to ensuring state security. These include survival and self-preservation of a state as a whole; protection and securing the physical boundaries or territories, as well as natural resources found within the borders of the state, protection of individuals within a states; safeguarding the core interests of the nation, including the economic well-being and prosperity of the people, protecting the institutions of the states including the systems and actors of government, protection of investments both abroad and home, protecting and promoting the external image and prestige of the state (Ronis, 2012).

Ronis (2012), also posits that, states may deliberately utilize foreign policy mechanisms, efforts, and strategies to stabilize their national security militarily, economically, culturally, and politically. Towards this end, he concluded that, the core mandates of national security transcend beyond the protection of the physical or territorial boundaries of a state to also ensuring the safety and security of neighbouring states or states within a sub-region or continent.

Gil-Garcia, (2012), explains that interagency collaboration among the various state security agencies and stakeholders has become very significant and vital to the management of National security of states in contemporary international system. Collaboration is a process whereby

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individuals with a common goal work together and share information, resources, and power, to identify a solution which is beyond their own individual capabilities (Gil-Garcia, (2012). Therefore, interagency collaboration with regards to National security management, refers to the art and act of promoting active working relationship among multiple security agencies with a view to improving process outcomes at a reduced cost towards ensuring the protection of territorial boundaries and individual's welfare in a state (Gil-Garcia, (2012).

Improved collaboration between internal security agencies is critical for producing effective threat assessments that provide utility in assessing and managing national security risks. Greater collaboration between security agencies is a recipe for the advancement of quality security threat assessments and thus improved national security management (Baker et al., 2009). Furthermore, Kapucu et al (2010), establishes that effective interagency collaboration is a key source of improved performance particularly for public agencies that are responsible for ensuring and promoting the national security of a state.

This is because complete collaboration and information sharing is vital ingredients for effective and efficient incident command and control towards addressing national security threats (Kapucu et al, 2010). Interagency collaboration thus helps to reconcile differences in political, institutional, and professional objectives and approaches for achieving national security goals and objectives among various security agents. The realization of National security goals is appreciated from both military and non-military dimensions.

For instance, in the context of Ghana, coercive instruments include elements of the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF- the Army, Navy and Air Force, Military Intelligence), the Ghana Police Service (GPS), the National Security Department, the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), and other

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State Security Services towards achieving the goals of National security in the country (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). Non-coercive agencies include the Custom Services, Immigration, Port Authority Officers, Peace Council, among others (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014).

The agencies in charge of National security are diverse both in structure and function and given the current threat levels of global insecurity accentuated by terrorism, inter-agency collaboration is at the forefront of overall national security. In Ghana, the military is responsible for protecting the country from external aggression while the Police has the mandate of preserving law and order and internal security towards preserving the National Security of the state (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). The key functions of the GPS are prevention and detection of crime, apprehension and prosecution of offenders, maintenance of law and order, and protection of life and property. Towards this end, the mandate of the GPS is to protect and preserve internal security of the country through law enforcement (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011).

The Ghana Police Service ensures enforcement of domestic laws and sanctions any individual who tries to violate the national laws. The Ghana Police Service also makes efforts and mechanisms to stabilize harmonious relations between citizens and foreigners politically, culturally, militarily, and economically (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011). This to them is done to mitigate or avert any threats to the national security of the state due to stall relations between Ghanaian nationals and foreigners. Therefore, the duties of the Ghana Police Service are to protect the core interests of the national security including protection of state institutions and laws as well as ensuring the safety of all citizens in the country.

However, due to the limited number of personnel of the Ghana Police Service, the GAF and GPS, in recent years, have engaged in interagency collaboration through the formation of joint patrol

team to ensure public safety and security (Ahorsu, 2015). This interagency collaboration is deepened during election years, in times of upsurge of armed robbery, and illegal mining in Ghana (Ahorsu, 2015). It is envisioned that such collaborative activities between the two agencies, if deepened could enhance the effectiveness of National security management in the country.

To ensure effective interagency collaboration for national security, Ahorsu (2015) suggests that there should be the development and implementation of overarching, integrated strategies; the creation of collaborative organizations; the development of a well-trained workforce and the sharing and integration of national security information across agencies. These efforts a long way of eliminating most threats which bedevil the national security of states including Ghana.

2.3 Pastoralism and Conflict Situations in Africa

Lovejoy (2016) established that conflict situations and strife in the Sahel and Sahara regions in Africa have attained a new scope and dimensions of taking advantage of the grievances of pastoralists, many of whom are Muslim, to rally supports for their clandestine terrorist agenda. However, tensions and conflict clashes between Pastoralist and farmers in Africa is not a new phenomenon. Lovejoy (2016) estimates that about 70,000 people have died in Africa due to conflict clashes between Pastoralist and farmers in Africa. Such deaths arise due to competition or struggle for scarce resources particularly land, social and economic inequality between the Pastoralists and other members of society, discrimination, and marginalization (Bonambela, 2019). In most parts of Africa, Governments usually ignore the plights of Pastoralists or Herdsmen and give preferential treatment only to crop farmers, who are usually considered as natives, whilst herdsmen are being marginalized and discriminated against (Bonambela, 2019).

In other words, most African Government favour farmers compared to Fulani herdsmen considered as strangers. This usually incites frustration and aggression form the Pastoralist who feel they are

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being marginalized and therefore use force to gain access to grazing fields for their herds. Lovejoy (2016) identifies that nexus between terrorism and Pastoralism lie in the structural marginalization which begets grievances and frustration among herdsmen. He noted that the difference in the modus operandi between the Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and other terrorist organizations in Africa is the way they can easily cajole and recruit Fulani herdsmen into their camps, most of whom are already Muslims.

Climate change poses dire challenges to environmental security in some parts of Africa which do not favour greener pastures for grazing (Floyd & Matthew, 2013). In addition, desertification also poses a major environmental insecurity to Pastoralists to be able to successfully graze their herds (Floyd & Matthew, 2013). These situations worsen the plights of Pastoralists particularly the Fulani's who must sometimes embark on forced migration in search of greener pastures. Unfortunately, most new lands discovered by Pastoralists for grazing are also arable lands which have also been used by farmers for crop production. This causes Pastoralists to resort to hostilities and violence as way of competing for the scarce arable land and water for their herds.

Therefore, aside Islamic Radicalism which is gradually encroaching most parts of Africa, clashes between farmers and Pastoralist, usually, Fulani herdsmen are emerging as dire security threat and issue to most states in particularly, West Africa, including Ghana (Imoro, 2018). With scarce water and land in most Sahel regions in Africa, terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda are now taking advantage of the situation to induce false Islamization and genocide as the only hope for which Pastoralist (especially, the Fulani tribes) could survive in most African stats, since their plights are neglected by Governments (Solomon, 2015).

Therefore, the social orientation of the Fulani Pastoralism in particularly, Africa has economic and religious ramifications which could stir up ethnic and religious situations as witnessed in Mali and Nigeria today (Solomon, 2015). This is because majority of the Fulani population in Africa are Muslims and about a third of the ethnic Fulani population practices the traditional nomadic or semi-nomadic style of cattle rearing as a way of life or culture. Therefore, any indictment to one's culture which gives the Pastoralists their identity attracts negative reactions in the form of violent and other aggressive acts. Consequently, terrorism or radicalism due to Pastoralism has led to the proliferation of small arms and light weaponry by especially the Fulani herdsmen across most parts of Africa (Osaghae, 2017).

Long sharpened sticks, machetes and AK47 rifles have become the commonest weapons used by Fulani Pastoralists in their violent activities across particularly, (Osaghae, 2017). When herdsmen migrate from one place to another, they usually destroy crops by farmers in the process. This induces anger farmers to retaliate which some sometimes end up in fatal clashes. The situation sometimes leads to refugee crises as people flee their homes and dire human security consequences (Osaghae, 2017). Unfortunately, most traditional methods of conflict resolution such as military intervention and diplomacy are not adequate in fully in addressing such crises due to the complexities and dynamics associated with such conflict situations or clashes.

2.4 Pastoralism and Fulani-farmers Conflict Situations in West Africa

Idehen and Ikuru (2019), reveal that the Fulani, Fula, or Fulɓe people tribes in West Africa can be found eastward in the savannah zone of the region between the Sahara and the forest belt of West Africa. Being one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa, the Fulani tribes are widely distributed between the Sahel and West Africa (Idehen & Ikuru, 2019).

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Some also found in northern parts of Central Africa but also in South Sudan, Sudan, and regions near the Red Sea coast (Idehen & Ikuru, 2019). The approximate population of the Fulani tribes is estimated to be about 40 million (Idehen & Ikuru, 2019). In West Africa, the Fulani Pastoralists could be found in countries including Ghana, Mauritania, Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast Benin, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Niger, Chad, the Gambia, and Nigeria (Abbass, 2012). They are the largest ethnic group particularly, in Guinea, but represent either a minority or majority in other states in the West African sub-region (Abbass, 2012).

Two-thirds of the Fulani tribes in West Africa are predominantly Pastoralists and hence they represent the largest Nomadic Pastoral community in the World (Okoli, et al, 2012). The Fulani tribes are either bilingual or trilingual and speak languages including include Hausa, French, Hausa, Arabic, Bambara, and Wolof (Okoli, et al, 2012). Many West African leaders are of the Fulani descent including the President of Senegal, Macky Sall; the President of Gambia, Adama Barrow; the Prime Minister of Mali, Boubou Cisse. the Vice President of Sierra Leone, Mohamed Juldeh Jalloh and the President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari (Wiafe-Amoako, 2019).

Some Fulani's also occupy high positions in notable international organizations, such as the President-Elect of the United Nations General Assembly, Tijjani Muhammad-Band, the Secretary-General of OPEC, Mohammed Sanusi Barkindo and the Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, Amina J. Mohammed (Wiafe-Amoako, 2019). Unfortunately, the geometric increase in population size of the Fulani tribes does not match with the scarce land and water resources to support their Pastoral activities in the region. Consequently, the Fulani tribes usually migrate from one region till they get to a vast grazing land which can support their pastoral activities or way of life (Okoli, et al, 2012).

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However, there are instances, where they do not find suitable vegetation and water resources to accommodate them, and therefore resort to violence or forceful attacks to take control of such resources which already belong to other farmers or group of people (Okoli, et al, 2012). This has resulted in occasional clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers of states in West Africa, leading to dire security consequences.

Cordial relations between the Fulani tribes and farmers in West Africa could be improved and sustained if measures are put in place by states for mutual terms to be agreed to mitigate or minimize the pressure exerted on land resources by both farmers and the Fulani herdsmen (Olomojobi, 2017). This means the higher the degree of pressure on vital land resources, the high the enormity of conflict situations to be expected (Olomojobi, 2017). Pastoralists and Farmers have lived harmoniously in West Africa since time immemorial. However, the extent to which the Fulani tribes can harmoniously accommodate farmers in the West African sub-region is largely based on the perception that they feel secured and not deprived with respect to land and water resources in the region (Olomojobi, 2017).

Since insecurity gives ways to conspiracy, conflicts become inevitable when the Fulani's feel their security and survival are threatened by their deprivation to land and water resources. Unfortunately, most governments in West Africa consider the Fulani Pastoralists as invaders who need no special attention and therefore never take any conscious effort to address their social and economic plights (Olomojobi, 2017). They also in turn resort to terrorism, violent and extremism as possible measure of addressing their needs or fulfilling their wants. In Nigeria, the Fulani tribes are basically located in the northern part of the country. However, they have established a town in the region known as the Garoua (Fulani town in Nigeria), (Osaghae, 2017). The Fulani undoubtedly represent a significant component of the Nigerian economy.

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They constitute the main source of meat, the most available and cheap source of animal proteins and the major breeders of cattle consumed by Nigerians (Iloanya & Ananti, 2018). The Fulani own over 90% of the nation's livestock population which accounts for one-third of agricultural GDP and 3.2% of the Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), (Iloanya & Ananti, 2018). This means that the Fulani are vital in contributing to economic and national development of Nigeria.

However, climate change which sometimes results in prolonged droughts coupled insufficient land and water resources in Nigeria for grazing, forces most Fulani to migrate further downwards to the central part of the country and other parts of Northern Nigeria in search of green pastures (Iloanya & Ananti, 2018). In the process, most of the herds crops by farmers which infuriate the farmers to react in violent manners. Also, the Fulani herds upon reaching or discovering arable lands during their migration sometimes use violence means to possess those lands by force. Taking advantage of the Boko Haram terrorism in northern Nigeria, most Fulani's join the group to press home their needs through violence tendencies and strategies (Bolajoko, et al, 2020).

This has resulted in several perpetual clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in areas such Yobe State in Northern Nigeria (Bolajoko, et al, 2020). However, the government mechanisms and state security apparatuses have done little in effectively addressing the menace caused by the Fulani tribes in the country.

2.5 Pastoralism and Fulani-farmers Conflict Situations in Ghana

In Ghana, the interest placed on land and water bodies as a natural resources created a complex situation which has been one of the main sources of Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations over the years (Oppong, 2017). For traditional authorities, allocating land to migrant populations such as the Fulani Pastoralists in Ghana gives them an opportunity to accumulate wealth, an incentive that would have denied them if the transaction is conducted with indigenes (Bukari & Schareika, 2015).

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This is because indigenes sometimes obtain a degree of entitlement to lands in Ghana through customary procedures rather than legal constitutional means. The emergence of Fulani ethnic groups in Ghana introduces indigenous farmers to the world economy through the cultivation of commercial cash crops and food crops (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015). This leads to the opening of new frontiers to the capitalist economy and the introduction of new commodities. Fulani Herdsmen also introduce indigenous populations including farmers to new occupations which are alien to them and would never have been willing to render themselves for such services had it not been for intense competition with indigenes for scarce resource for subsistence and survival.

However, intense competition between the two groups (indigene farmers and the Fulani herdsmen) creates the condition for resentment and ethnic stereotyping of the Fulani herdsmen, groups leaving them at the mercy of the state or local authorities to be expelled in times of economic downturn (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). This sometimes led to resentment by the Fulani herdsmen who protest through violent rather than peaceful mean (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). Occasionally, several clashes occur between Fulani and local farmers in Ghana for land and water resource to be able to ensure the transhumance activities of the former with changes to environmental conditions such as drought, tsetse fly infestation, rainfall patterns, among others.

This conditions have significantly fueled the proliferation of Fulani-local farmers' conflicts in most parts of Ghana. However, some of these conflicts have both economic and political interest backed by strong agencies and governments (Kuusaana & Bukari, 2015). This makes resolution to such conflicts very complex and almost impossible since the major stakeholders and institutions which are supposed to resolve the conflicts are the very source fueling the conflicts situations between the Fulani herdsmen and indigenous farmers in Ghana.

2.6 Conclusion

In summary, the Chapter makes an overview of National Security and Pastoralism conflict situations in Africa, Pastoralism and Fulani-farmers conflict situations in West Africa and finally an overview of Pastoralism and Fulani-farmers conflict situations in Ghana. The next chapter deals with the analysis of the national security and human security implications, the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana, as well as challenges in addressing Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa, with Ghana in pespective.

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CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the national security, human security implications and conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana. It also highlights the challenges in addressing Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa, with Ghana in particular. The chapter specifically consists of the general status-quo of security in Ghana, the factors favouring the Fulani Herdsmen migration to the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana, and the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between the famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist. It also emphasises the factors accounting for the prevalence of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist, the national security and human security consequences of the conflictual relations between the farmers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists. Finally, the challenges hampering the effective resolution of the conflictual relations between farmers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. Before discussing these issues, the general security situation in Ghana is discussed to put the study in proper context.

3.2 General Status-quo of Security in Ghana

Ghana in West Africa is noted to be a peaceful country which has conducted herself relatively well in the sub-region with regards to electioneering processes and democratization (Idowu & Oluwafemi, 2020). Hence Ghana is noted to enjoy relatively satisfactory level of security with respect to the law-and-order prevailing in the country.

However, research on National security management in Ghana is very scanty. There is no country in the world today which enjoys hundred percent (100%) security atmosphere (Idehen & Ikuru, 2019). Hence the security level in Ghana is relatively satisfactory since the country has relatively enjoyed some peace and stability since independence without any civil war. In an interview with an official of Ghana's National Security, he identified that "*there are structures, systems and mechanisms to maintain the relative peaceful security level enjoyed in the country. The general populace knows and respect the mechanism of security management in the country, hence limiting the risk of intra -state violent situation in the country,* Interview, 2020)"

The above assertion is reiterated by an official at the Ghana Police Service who through an interview asserted that: *The mechanism that ensure effective security management in Ghana include the Constitutional order, Institutional order and National Psyche. The constitutional order connotes the existence of the highest national law which governs all the conducts of individuals and institutions in accordance to the Rule of law. The institutional order implies the existence state institutions and personnel responsible for the maintenance of peace and security in the country. Paramount among such institutions include the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), the Ghana Police Service (GPS), the National Security, the Courts, the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), the Research Department of Foreign Ministry, among others. The National Psyche suggest that the citizenry adhere and respect both the Constitutional and Institutional Orders responsible to ensure security management, as well as law and order in the country (Interview, 2020).* Ghana's the security level could be said to be positive or favourable because the needed structures exist to ensure law and order. However, the snag to contemporary Ghana's national security management in the country is partly due to Fulani-farmers conflict situations across most parts of the country, most of which are politically influenced or manoeuvred.

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In view of the above, though Ghana is considered the most peaceful country in the West Africa sub-region, pockets of Fulani-farmers conflict situations have characterized some portions which are much evident especially during electioneering periods in the country (Attuquayefio, 2016). However, such security threats or risk though have the potential, have been effectively managed from escalating into a civil war. In terms of National security provision and management in Ghana, an official at the of the Oti Regional Coordinating Council revealed through an interview that: *The Presidents, Vice President, members of the Regional Coordinating Council, the Peace Council and other officials of government institutions, politicians, some members of the clergy, traditional leaders and some affluent or famous people such as celebrities in the country are provided maximum security and safety by the state security agencies and officials. On the contrary, trickling down to the ordinary Ghanaian citizen, the security provision and management is very vulnerable and minimal (Interview, 2020).*

The above remarks induce some citizens to adapt alternatives ways both legal and illegal to provide for their own security, including the security of family and community. Such alternatives include the use of dogs or joining hard-core groups such as vigilante groups or armed robbery gangs, which sometimes rather worsen the security of an area or region in Ghana. Typical reference could be made to the security management by Fulani herdsmen as it pertains to the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

3.3 Factor favouring the Fulani Pastoralists Migration to the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

There are several factors which could have induced the Fulani herdsmen to migrate to the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Regions in Ghana. The factors could be political, economic, and environmentally motivated.

Politically, as already indicated by Idowu & Oluwafemi (2020), the whole Ghana state (the including the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Regions), enjoys relatively peaceful political environment and stability. This makes the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Regions very favourable and conducive for settlement and business activities, hence a motivation for Fulani herdsmen to have migrated to come and settle in the region.

Economically, the head of the Fulani Cattle Owners from the East Krachi District revealed through an interview that, *Dambai which is the administrative capital of the Oti Region has a vibrant market that falls on Monday and Tuesday to which market people across the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts and Togo come to trade and buy (Interview, 2020).* This therefore provides readily available market for cattle products produced by the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, hence a motivation for the herdsmen to migrate and come and settle in the region.

Environmentally, the head of the Fulani Cattle Owners from the Krachi East District indicated through an interview that: *The Biakoye and Krachi East Districts enjoyed relatively conducive climatic conditions and ample rainfall throughout the year which favours the growth of vast grass vegetation in the districts. Also, the Districts are free from tsetse fly infestation which makes them very favourable for transhumance activities. In addition, there are vast vegetation lands and water bodies such as streams and rivers which serve as avenues for herdsmen to come to the Districts and engage in cattle rearing activities (Interview, 2020).*

The above assertion aligns with the views of Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012), who revealed that while Fulani herdsmen are present in Ghana seeking greener pasture. Therefore, the favourable environmental conditions as they pertain in the Biakoye, and Krachi East Districts serve as incentives which could have attracted or drawn the Fulani herdsmen to the region.

3.4 The Nature and Dynamics of the Conflictual Relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana

The nature of conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana manifest in verbal, psychological and physical conflict situations. According to a chief from the Biakoye District through an interview, he revealed that, "*verbal conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts involve the use of sometimes derogatory, intemperate or foul words and indecent words to attack the personalities of each other. Through the use of intemperate or foul words,* (Interview, 2020)." This usually leads to provocations and hot tempers and subsequently induces or instigates physical security threats.

Similarly, a chief from the Krachi East District revealed in an interview that, "*psychological conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *Districts though a form of verbal violence, involves the machination of propaganda, unfounded allegations and lies against each other (Interview, 2020).*" This is usually perpetuated just to receive public empathy or sympathy from society or just to score cheap political points or defame each other.

Also, an official of the Oti Regional Coordinating Council indicated through an interview that, "*the physical conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the*

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Biakoye and Krachi East *Districts usually involve the use of weapons or blows to inflict pain and torture on others, which sometimes result in deaths* (Interview, 2020)." This supports the assertion by Agyemang, (2017) and Boateng (2015), who explain that such attacks include armed robbery, rape, violent demonstrations, and vandalism, among others.

Notwithstanding the above, prevalence of Fulani-farmers conflict situations as witnessed in the Fourth Republic of Ghana's political dispensation in the Biakoye, and Krachi East Districts could be inimical to the national security of the country. This is because these conflicts have become more pronounced and conspicuous in the Fourth Republic of Ghana such that if effective security measures are not taken to curb them, they could plunge the country into anarchy, chaos, and eventually domestic violence in the near future. There have been some pattern and changing trends of the conflictual relations between the famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts in recent times. These conflicts as manifested in Districts are now assuming complex dynamics with varying degree of actors.

The head of the Crop Framers Association from the Biakoye District indicated in an interview that: *The conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts are becoming more daring as armed robbery and crimes usually carried out by Fulani herdsmen in the area are becoming more pronounced with sophisticated weapons including the use of guns and acid. Also, the Fulani herdsmen are changing their modus operandi in their attacks and now even attack farmers and other indigenes during broad daylight rather than to attack them during the nights when their activities could not be noticed or witnessed by anyone as initially prevailed in the Districts at the beginning of the Millennium (Interview, 2020).* To support the above assertion, the head of the Crop Framers Association from the Biakoye District in an interview explained that "*Fulani Herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *Districts now*

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commit crimes and brutalities with impunity because there are higher powers shielding them to continue their atrocious acts. Most of the Fulani herdsmen feel disappointed due to false promises made to them by politicians and chiefs.

Some of these Fulani herdsmen even collaborate with state security apparatuses that, it sometimes becomes very difficult to differentiate such groups from state security personnel (Interview, 2020)." This can cause them to perpetuate ills or evils all in the name of working together with state security agencies.

An official of the Oti Regional Coordinating Council also revealed in an interview that: *The Fulani attacks on farmers witnessed in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *Districts at the beginning of the Millennium, were usually perpetuated by Fulani male adults. However, contemporary trends in conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *Districts reveal crimes being perpetuated by both gender (i.e., both Fulani males and females), in the area (Interview, 2020)."*

This means crimes committed by the people of the Fulani tribe on farmers in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts are now committed by various actors including Fulani children, youths, and adults.

3.5 The Factors Accounting for the Prevalence of the Conflictual Relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana.

There are several factors accounting for the prevalence of the Conflictual Relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts. Paramount among them include the nature of politics and politicking in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, unfavourable land tenure systems, unfavourable environmental conditions, the ECOWAS Protocol

of the Free Movement of People coupled with the Pervasiveness of Transnational Organized Crime and poverty coupled with extreme economic hardships.

3.5.1 The Nature of Politics and Politicking in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana

The nature of politicking as witnessed in Ghana in the Fourth Republic has led to the monetization of politics and indiscipline (Attuquayefio, 2016). This among other things has given much impunity to some section of the population to disregard the Rule of law and perpetuate criminal activities with such great impunity. In an interview with a chief from the Biakoye District, he revealed that: "*some politicians, as well as opinion leaders (including chiefs and religious leaders) empower certain section of the people or some specialized groups in the region (such as the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts) to promulgate and safeguard the political interests of a specific political party* (Interview, 2020)."

Also, the Head of the Fulani in Ghana revealed through an interview that:

The public speech and deliberation by some politicians and opinion leaders in the districts tends to represent a particular political party or ethnic group's interest and not the nation. Thus, some utterances made by some politicians and opinion leaders tend to be more ethnic in character than nationalistic. These utterances most often go against Fulani herdsmen as illegal migrants and criminals residing in the country and therefore every means should be employed to eliminate or deny them certain advantages in society (Interview, 2020).

The above remark by the chief supports the assertion by Bukari & Schareika (2015), who explain that the presence of the Fulani herdsmen in Ghana creates the condition for resentment and ethnic stereotyping against them, leaving them at the mercy of the state or local authorities to be expelled

in times of economic downturn. Consequently, rather for the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts to adapt to their new socio-political environment to ensure effective cooperation and co-habitation with the indigenes, some of them as identified by Agyemang (2017), usually employ all means possible including the use of force, violence, and aggression to sometimes intimidate or oppress other citizens or indigenes who oppose or stand against their interests. This has given rise to the prevalence of Fulani-farmers conflictual relations in recent times in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, hence creating fertile grounds as well other security threats in the districts.

3.5.2 Unfavorable Land Tenure Systems

In Ghana, most land is held under customary tenure and is vested in chiefs, earth priests (who hold spiritual authority over land matters because of their role as the descendants of the first village settlers) or other customary authorities (Akaateba, 2018). The Constitution prohibits foreigners from owning land in Ghana and limits them to leaseholds of no more than fifty years, and thus, privately held land is acquired through purchase from the owners of land or other customary authorities (Akaateba, 2018).

Unfortunately, a chief from the Biakoye District revealed in an interview that: *There are times some chiefs and clan/family heads who happen to be custodians of certain lands in the Biakoye, and Krachi* East *Districts sell lands to some Fulani herdsmen in the districts without the knowledge of the community, clan, or family. This gives them an opportunity to accumulate wealth, an incentive that would have denied them if the transaction is conducted with indigenes. Consequently, this situation often generates tensions between Fulani herdsmen and indigenes of the area, particularly farmers, upon realizing their lands assets have been illegally sold out to*

Fulani herdsmen for transhumance activities (Interview, 2020). The above situation has been the main sources of Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations over the years in most parts of Ghana as explained by Oppong (2017). Therefore, absence of adaptation between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers with regards to access to land assets and water resources have not spared the districts the conflictual relations which ensue between Fulani herdsmen and farmers due to unfavorable land tenure system.

3.5.3 Unfavorable Environmental Conditions

The activities and lifestyle of Fulani herdsmen in most parts of West Africa, including Ghana is largely contingent on the environmental conditions as prevailing in a particular region. The Head of the Fulani in Ghana revealed in an interview that, "*occasionally, clashes ensue between Fulani and local farmers in Ghana for land and water resource to be able to ensure the transhumance activities with changes to environmental conditions such as drought, heat waves and tsetse fly infestations, Interview, 2020).*" Consequent to the above, instead of the Fulani herdsmen to adapt to changing trends with environmental conditions, they mostly migrate further to conducive environments with their herds where they try to forcefully compete with indigenes, usually farmers, for land and water resources. This has subsequently resulted in destruction of farmlands, pollution of water bodies and several violent situations as explained by Atta-Asamoah & Aning (2012). This factor has also significantly fueled the proliferation and prevalence of Fulani-local farmers conflicts in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts.

3.5.4 The ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement of People coupled with the Pervasiveness of Transnational Organized Crimes

The globalized nature of the current International system has made it imperative for the movement of people from one geographical region to another or one country to another. It is in this vein that the ECOWAS adopted the Protocol on the Free Movement of People and Goods, ensures free mobility of the community citizens i.e., citizens of member states (Opanike et al, 2016). However, it also allowed member states the right to refuse admission to any Community citizens who were inadmissible under the member state's own domestic law (Opanike et al, 2016).

The ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement of People has led to the increasing influx of Fulani herdsmen to most parts of West Africa, including Ghana (Okunade & Ogunnubi, 2018). In an interview with an official from the National Security of Ghana, he pointed out that, *The ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement of People can expose some citizens or Ghanaian nationals to some transnational organized crimes including terrorism, money laundering, human and drug trafficking, among others, if proper measures are not taken to monitor those moving in and out of the country* (Interview, 2020)."

Dealing or addressing such transnational organized crimes requires much revenue to acquire sophisticated surveillance machines and security personnel or intelligence at the ports and harbours, airports, and borders to ensure that Ghana is not taken by surprise by the magnitude of damages such crimes can cause if carried in the country (Ahorsu, 2015). Unfortunately, the porous nature of our borders coupled with insufficient governments' revenue towards the course of fighting such crimes, as well as the pervasive culture of corruption among personnel of our state security agencies have paved way for the prevalence of some of such crimes usually perpetuated by some Fulani herdsmen as witnessed in the country today (Agyemang, 2017).

The above situation has also contributed to the extent of prevalence and proliferation of the Fulani-farmers' conflicts across many parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Region without early pre-emption or intervention. This is because instead of the Fulani herdsmen to try adapting to the socio-political environment in Ghana and live peacefully with indigenes including farmers, they rather resort to violence and sometimes criminal activities as a way of ensuring their subsistence in the country.

3.5.5 Poverty coupled with extreme economic hardships

Poverty is one of the major causes of the prevalence of the Fulani-farmers' conflicts across many parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Region. Often, background information of Fulani herdsmen who have been arrested by the Police are people from poor backgrounds who are desperate to do anything possible, including engaging in crimes as a means of coping with harsh economic conditions they experience as pointed out by (Atta-Asamoah & Aning, 2012).

According to the World Bank, 48% of youth living in Ghana are unemployed (Dadzie et al, 2020). Those youths including tertiary graduates who cannot cope with such situation have resort to crimes which sometimes pose great national security to the country, as well as human security threats to the citizens. The current economic hardship in some parts of the country, coupled with mass unemployment among youths, has forced most youths including the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and East Krachi Districts of the Oti Region to venture into some crimes as a lucrative avenue or livelihood strategy to make ends meet.

Therefore, instead of the Fulani herdsmen to try adapting to the socio-economic environment in Ghana and live peacefully with indigenes including farmers, most of them rather resort to crimes

such as armed robbery, drug trafficking, human trafficking, and illegal mining. This situation has contributed significantly to the increasing phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers' conflicts across many parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts.

3.6 The National Security (State Security) Implications of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and East Krachi districts of Ghana

This section focuses essentially on how the prevalence of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana has become an emerging threat to the state security (National security) of the country. The main state security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include small arms proliferation, high tendency for extremism and escalation of violence in the districts, high tendency for terrorism, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the districts and poor global image in dealing with Fulani-farmers crisis in the country.

3.6.1 Small Arms Proliferation

The Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts require adequate protection in terms of defence to be able to press home their demands including forcefully competing with indigene farmers for land and water resources. In interview with an official of the Ghana Police Service, he that: *Some of the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts have the backings of politicians and foreigners who ship into Ghana small-arms and weaponry which are used as means to provide security for the running of their operations.*

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This is because, there are instances where state security personnel would not cooperate and tolerate Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East *districts and would like to cause their arrest when they commit criminal activities. However, to resist arrest, some of these Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts rely on small-arms and other weaponry to escape from any danger of arrest (Interview, 2020).*

Though, the country has put in place measures to enhance security in the future, the incidence of conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts is likely to be serious snag to Ghana's national security. With this arms proliferation, innocent citizens including farmers as well as security personnel and institutions for maintaining law and order in the country become the enemies of these Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists (Agyemang, 2017). This also affects the human security of the citizenry since they are not assured of their safety any longer or live-in perpetual fear in the districts. What is disturbing is the fact that the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts sometimes possess very sophisticated and much powerful weaponry and small arms as compared to the weapons used by the state security personnel. This most at times incapacitate state' security agencies in their efforts to clump down the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts.

3.6.2 High Tendency for Extremism and Escalation of Violence in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts.

In connection to the abovementioned, the proliferation of arms and other weaponry are in some cases used by the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts to actuate and sustain brutalities on innocent lives and properties which may suffer the most from such atrocities. In an interview with an official at National Security, he pointed out that: *The real risk of the proliferation*

of small arms is that there is high tendency for the rekindling or refueling of religious and ethnic tensions by criminals, which to bigger degree debilitate the peace and security in the districts. This is on the grounds that Fulani herdsmen who commit criminal activities including attacks on farmers also create security threats for everybody including their very own blood relations. Everybody is in danger if small arms proliferation is not checked and contained and fall in the wrong hands such as the Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East *districts (Interview, 2020).*

Most Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts who usually commit crimes and other atrocious attacks especially on farmers are usually uneducated or have low training capabilities to be employable, and therefore become susceptible to be recruited as criminals at the least conviction. Thus, such Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts are therefore used as agents or actors to deepen already existing ethnic, religious, or political clashes or tensions in the districts.

3.6.3 High tendency for terrorism

Most international terrorist groups perceive security threats in a country as a fertile ground to establish themselves and carry out their operations, as a way of gaining much influence and recognition in the international system (Attuquayefio, 2016). As a result, some larger international terrorist organizations may establish links with smaller criminal groups in an attempt to provide them with security and make them much powerful. In an interview with an official of National Security, he explained that: *The Boko Haram, which was initially a small political vigilante group in Nigeria has now grown in numbers and influence and has also pledged an allegiance to the Islamic State of the Maghreb (ISIS); which is considered the most powerful terrorist group in*

contemporary international system. This is to make it very difficult for the Nigerian government and the international community at large, to be able to easily clamp down their operations and agenda. Similarly, insecurity in Kenya served as the breeding grounds for Al-Shabab to carry out more grave atrocities on innocent citizens and gained much recognition and influence in the country and the East African region. In recent times some Fulani herdsmen have been directly or indirectly involved in political vigilantism and electoral violence in some parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East *districts (Interview, 2020).* In relation to the above, Fulani herdsmen who engage in the violent activities the Biakoye and Krachi East districts could gradually increase in scope and becoming powerful with the support of international terrorist organization, simply because they have not been sanctioned and clamped early enough and this is a worrisome situation to the peace and stability of the country.

3.6.4 Increase in Crime rates and other social vices in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts

The proliferation of small arms and other weaponry has resulted in the increase in crime rates in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts. As indicated in an interview by the Crop Framers Association from the Biakoye District, "*the Fulani attacks on indigenes, including farmers in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts had led to the prevalence of atrocious acts such as extortions, abductions, rape, stealing, armed-robbery, shootings, lootings usually on innocent citizens in the districts* (Interview, 2020)." The above situation prevails because most Fulani herdsmen who engage in criminal activities in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts fail to adapt to their new conditions and environment to be able to live peacefully in harmony with all and sundry including farmers in the districts. Consequently, Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts who become dissatisfied or frustrated due to changes in environmental or economic situations,

rather resort to hard drug abuse which gives them impaired judgements and that increases the proclivity to commit crimes without mercy or conscience. This poses great threats to the National Security of Ghana.

3.6.5 Poor Global Image in dealing with Fulani-farmers crisis in the country

Though Ghana has gained the global accolade for being the most peaceful country in West Africa, the prevalence of the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in most parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts taints her image as a country whose security is in shambles.

In an interview with an official of the Ghana Police Service, he indicated that: *It is overrating to consider Ghana as the most peaceful country in the West African sub-region when she is unable to address the emerging and prevailing security threats such as the prevalence of Fulani-farmers' crisis in the country. This is because the current atmosphere of security in the country creates more tensions and instability, especially with the impending Presidential and Parliamentary elections ahead. Therefore, Ghana loses her international credibility and global image in terms of upholding good governance and democracy with regards to the inability to effectively tackle the Fulani-farmers conflict situations in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts which could fester to become a national crisis not limited to only the study area (Interview, 2020).*

When the above situation prevails, the economic growth of the country will be in crisis since it could stifle direct investment. Direct investment can stimulate the target country's economic development, creating a more conducive environment for the investor and benefits for the local industry. Consequently, there will be severe economic hardship in the country which could make citizens lose trust in their government. This is what is currently evident in Nigeria. Similar

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reference is usually made to Somalia which most scholars consider as a failed state (Menkhaus, 2014).

3.6.6 Extra Burden on Government expenditure and security personnel to curb the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the country

With the growing incidence of the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in most parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts, the onus lies on the government to take pragmatic steps towards addressing the menace. In an interview with an official of the National Security, he revealed that:

To effectively address the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts, it is imperative on the government to increase its security budget in terms of acquisition of new and advanced weapons, employing the services of international and local security expertise and intelligence, as well as training more security personnel to help fight the menace. If this is not done, the available security personnel and resources will be over-stretched in terms of having to tackling the problems created by especially Fulani herdsmen in their clash with local farmers, aside other official duties (Interview, 2020).''

In relation to the above, there will be a much greater drain on government' expenditure to tackle future conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country which could have been effectively tackled now. For instance, the security budget of Nigeria as of 2008, stood at N444.6 billion (Duke, 2019), before Boko Haram started its intensive devastations in the country from 2009. However, the proposed Nigeria's security budget in 2015 was N964.7 (Duke, 2019), which is more than double the budget in 2008. Duke (2019) posit that, the rise of the Boko Haram

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insurgent group since 2009 has been a major drain on national budget and has also stretched the security personnel in the country. Such a situation could be witnessed in Ghana if pragmatic measures are not taken to effectively clump the increasing phenomena of conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country now.

3.7 The Human Security Implications of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

This section discusses how the prevalence of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana has become an emerging threat to human security of individuals in the districts and country at large.

The main human security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include social, political, economic, cultural and security impacts which have direct bearing on citizens or individuals rather the state as discussed in the previous section.

3.7.1 Social Impacts

The impact of the Fulani-farmer conflicts in various parts of the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts has further exacerbated the social crises already exiting in the districts. In an interview with a chief from the Biakoye District he revealed that: *The Fulani-farmer conflicts in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts due to unpredictable and intermittent attacks has restricted movements, hence access to food and enhanced health services. Also, the attacks by Fulani herdsmen on farmers and other innocent indigenes have led to the vast destruction of properties including farmlands, schools, churches, hospitals and health centers and some recreational centers in both districts. Consequently, there has been an increase in poverty levels,*

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unemployment and illiteracy or poor education among the youth in the area. This situation has

resulted in increased malnutrition and spread of some communicable diseases in the districts.

The destruction of the schools has also resulted increased school dropouts (*Interview, 2020).*

The destruction of the schools with its attendants increases in school dropouts, could lead to high

illiteracy among the youth, who could become vulnerable to be recruited by the vigilante groups

or bad gangs. Also, the infrastructure development in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts could

be in shambles due to the increasing phenomena of the Fulani-farmer conflicts to be able to

support improved standard of living in the region.

3.7.2 Political Impacts

The increasing phenomena of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani

herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts due to the inability of the

government to clamp down the menace now could make most of the youth found hope in radical

groups such as some violent Fulani herdsmen in the area to press home their demands. In an

interview with an official at the Oti Regional Coordinating Council, he explained that: *The*

increasing prevalence of Fulani attacks on farmers across the country including the Biakoye and

Krachi East *districts could make some Fulani herdsmen recruit more youths including indigenes*

to become much stronger than seen today. This can cause them to create severe political tensions

especially during electioneering periods when they feel a prospective political candidate to contest

for an election will not favor their interests or dreams.

Also, most security personnel in the region who could have helped stabilize and restored peace in

the districts through resolving the Fulani-farmers' crisis in the districts have resigned and even

migrated out of the districts and for some, outside the Oti region or country because some of these

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security personnel either their lives, colleagues or relatives by intervening in the crisis. Consequent to the above, many security personnel were losing their lives whilst the few existing personnel who could intervene in the crisis received insufficient remuneration from the government to motivate them fight to intervene in the prevalence Fulani-farmer conflict situations in the districts. (Interview, 2020). The above situation has empowered some violent Fulani herdsmen across the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts against the intervention strategy that the Government hoped to have relied on as an efficient way of dealing with Fulani-farmer crisis in the country.

This situation has jeopardized the political landscape or terrain in some parts of the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts due to the increasing prevalence of Fulani-farmer conflictual situations.

3.7.3 Economic Impacts

The prevalence of Fulani-farmer conflict situations in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts also have economic ramifications or implications. In an interview with a chief from the Krachi East district, he indicated that: *The conflictual relations between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts sometimes result in stagnation in agricultural and other economic or business activities due to insecurity created in the areas by such conflicts. This has forced most people to abandon their farmlands and business all in the name of running into 'safe heavens. Also, the prevalence of Fulani-farmer conflict situations in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts sometimes displaces and forced indigenes to flee to neighboring districts or regions for the fear of losing their lives (Interview, 2020).*

Consequent to the above, all agricultural and economic activities in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts could be curtailed because of fear for losing one's life due to the prevalence of Fulani-

farmers conflictual relations in the area. In addition, the stagnation in agricultural activities poses threat to the general food security in the districts and to a larger extent the Oti Region and the nation at large. The abrupt interruptions in agricultural and business activities will also exacerbate the already existing unemployment crisis in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts could, with its attendant consequences such as increase in crimes, low standard of living, poor nutrition, among others.

3.7.4 Cultural and Religious Impacts

The rich culture heritage of Ghana is one of the unique characteristics which sets the country apart on the international level. Religion is one of the major component of culture anywhere across the world. In an interview with the Head of Fulani in Ghana, he explained that *"the prevalence of Fulani-farmer conflict situations in the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts could lead to the culture of religious intolerance among most Christians and Muslims, particularly in areas where Fulani tribes dominate (Interview, 2020)."* This could lead to the infringement on the freedom of association and fear in most parts of the country (including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts) due to the fear of unexpected attacks by Fulani herdsmen on local people or indigenes, including farmers.

3.7.5 Security Impacts

Generally, there intense fear and tension in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts due to the prevalence of Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations are the magnitude of spread of attacks across the country aside the Biakoye and Krachi East districts. In an interview with an official at the National Security, he explained that: *People are terrified to go public places or engage in even normal daily routines for the fear of surprise attacks by some violent Fulani herdsmen. What has*

worsened the case in especially in the Biakoye and Krachi East *districts is the deployment of troops by the Ghanaian Government as a counter strategy to the conflict situations between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the districts. This occasionally result in frequent clashes and exchanges of gun shoots between the government troops and some violent Fulani herdsmen, sometimes on daily basis (Interview, 2020).*

Consequently, there is therefore absence of peace of mind for inhabitants in the districts and the Oti region at large. What is complex about the whole situation is that some Fulani herdsmen sometimes disguise themselves as national security personnel or the Ghana Armed Forced personnel and later commit atrocious attacks rather on indigenes in the area.

In addition to the above, there has been proliferation of small arms and weaponry in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts which most at times fall in the wrong hands including some violent Fulani herdsmen. This they use to attack innocent citizens and use to protect themselves against any security attacks by the government's security forces. Therefore, the uncertainty about who is supplying these weapons to the Fulani herdsmen in the districts and how to retrieve or prevent them from getting into their hands has created an environment of panic, terror and tension in the districts and region at large.

Consequently, there could be no or little freedom of movement and association in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts due to intermittent curfew impositions on civilians as mechanism by government to reduce the more drastic attacks by Fulani herdsmen on indigenes including farmers as done in other parts of the country.

3.8 Challenges Hampering the Effective Resolution of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

Notwithstanding the efforts by the Government of Ghana to ensure national security towards promoting peace and security in the country at all times, there are some few challenges which militate against the effective resolution of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. Paramount among them include the following financial constraints, personnel constraints, ineffective/poor collaboration adaptive cooperation between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, corruption, difficulty in obtaining reliable information, economic hardship and insufficient job opportunities in the country and institutional deficiencies and inefficiencies.

3.8.1 Financial Constraints

The cost of tackling the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts, which pose dire national security threats to the country is very expensive. As indicated by an official of National Security in an interview, "*more equipment and personnel are required to clamp the prevailing or emerging security threats of conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi* East *districts of Ghana. Therefore, the security budget of the government must increase to provide extra security personnel and resources towards addressing the menace across the country (Interview, 2020)."*

This is because tackling security threats such as the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts requires much revenue to acquire sophisticated surveillance machine and security personnel or intelligence to preempt, prevent and curb the menace. Though, the state security apparatuses including the

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National Security, Police Service, Ghana Armed Forces, Regional Coordinating Council, among others collaborate to ensure effective national security management in the country, insufficient financial rewards and benefits for officials of these agencies makes most of them susceptible to bribery and corruption, hence militating against the collaborative efforts to ensure effective security management such as the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts.

In addition to the above, governments' revenue and resource challenges towards the course of fighting or addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts is insufficient to meet the changing patterns and trend of such threats in the country.

3.8.2 Personnel Constraints

In relation to the above, national security management with regards to tackling the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts requires a large number of trained or expertise security personnel due to the changing pattern or dynamics of some of these security threats and the modus operandi adopted by actors (with reference to Fulani herdsmen and farmers) who perpetuate them in contemporary times (Ahorsu 2015).

However, in an interview with an official of the Ghana Police Service, he indicated that "*the Capacity of the Ghana Police Service is a little above 30,000 personnel, whereas that of the GAF is a little 20, 000 personnel. This is not good considering our population of about 30 million people. This is because per average the ratio of police personnel to citizens at the worst should be 1:3 citizens (Interview, 2020).*"

However, considering the personnel capacity of both the GAF and the GPS, even with the best of collaboration that could exist between them to ensure effective national security management, personnel constraint will always be a snag to their efforts towards effectively the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts.

3.8.3 Ineffective/Poor Collaboration Adaptive Cooperation between Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers

The essence of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People requires effective coordination and cooperation among states and citizens of member states to promote economic integration and development in the West African sub-region. Some leaders and citizens in some West Africa states may show little willingness to subordinate domestic political and economic interests to the collective interests of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People with long-term regional goals (Darkwah, 2019).

In interview with the head of Fulani in Ghana, he indicated that: *Although all West African leaders and states are supposed to have the same objectives and ideas in achieving the sub-regional economic integration through the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People, some West African leaders and citizens have their own ideology on how things should be run. Consequently, there have been extreme difficulty in peaceful integration of the Fulani into most West African societies including Ghana. Some states even consider them as illegal migrants or criminals. However, there are some Presidents or former Presidents in the West African sub-region including the President of Gambia, Adama Barrow; the President of Senegal, Macky Sall; the President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari; the Vice President of Sierra Leone, Mohamed*

Juldeh Jalloh; and the Prime Minister of Mali, Boubou Cisse. who were all Fulani (Interview, official at 2020).

Similarly, some Ghanaians farmers have also taken the same posture against Fulani herdsmen in Ghana including the Biakoye and East Krachi districts which had led several clashes and conflicts between them. This has made it very difficult for farmers and Fulani herdsmen to effectively cooperate and adapt to changing conditions in the country with regards to environmental, political, ethnical, and economic factors.

3.8.4 Corruption

Most Fulani herdsmen who commit criminal acts have their agents and accomplices among a wide spectrum of Ghanaian officials, including top diplomats, government officials, politicians, high ranking church officials, Customs Officers, Military personnel, Airport Security officials, ordinary Ghanaian citizens, the police, among others. The palms of such of people are usually 'greased' to help facilitate and sustain the activities of such criminals.

In an interview with the head of the Fulani Cattle Owners from the Krachi East District, asserted that: *The very moral fibre of the Ghanaian society especially, among the government institutions is gradually collapsing. This is so because, most Fulani herdsmen who commit criminal activities and other vices in the country undermines state security institutions and personnel and make most become corrupt. Some government institutions and personnel, as well as ordinary Ghana citizens allowed themselves to be maneuvered by the dictates of such criminals include drug traffickers (usually 'Drug Lords') and human traffickers due to harsh economic conditions of the country to bend the law in their favour (Interview, 2020).*

In relation to the above, the culture of corruption is gradually becoming a way of life for survival in contemporary Ghanaian society for most people. Consequently, the prevalence of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye

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and East Krachi districts in the Fourth Republic of Ghana continue to prevail and pose great threat to the National Security of the country.

3.8.5 Difficulty in obtaining reliable information

Closely related to the above, the success of state security apparatuses towards addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts thrive on informants.

However, there is difficulty in obtaining reliable information on the clandestine moves and tactics of most Fulani herdsmen who engage in criminal activities in Ghana (Quartey, E. (2019). In an interview with an official at the Ghana Police Service, he indicated that, "*Out of about 100 informants that could be received in a year, concerning Fulani herdsmen attacks on farmers, only 5 out them will be reliable or genuine. Also, there is limited in-flow of information. In addition, The Ghana Police Service sometimes rely on tip-offs from other security agencies before they act, instead of ability to access first-hand information for their security management processes* (Interview, 2020). This makes it difficult for effectively addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts, with no, little or unreliable information.

3.8.6 Economic Hardship and Insufficient Job Opportunities in the Country

As already identified in the study, the World Bank asserts that, the current unemployment rate among the youth in Ghana is 48 per cent (Dadzie et al, 2020). In an interview an official at the Oti Regional Coordinating Council, he explained that "If the increasing unemployment situation in the country is not tackled by the government now and becomes worse, most of youth who find themselves in the unemployed category would resort to all manner of activities (mostly usually

crimes) for survival just as perpetuated by some Fulani herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts. This has largely contributed to increase in the prevalent rate and menace of criminal activities or internal security threats as experienced in the country currently. Therefore, notwithstanding the collaboration that exist between the state security apparatuses, crimes associated with Fulani-farmers' crisis will continue to be prevalent in the country if the government does not take austerity measures to address the challenge of harsh economic conditions, extreme poverty and jobless lessens which most youths found themselves.

3.8.7 Institutional Deficiencies and Inefficiencies

Where there are deficiencies in state's institutions to maintain law and order, it is more likely for some section of the population (such as the Fulani herdsmen) to sprout and cause mayhem and threats to the peaceful nature of security enjoyed in the country as compared to situations where state's institutions are functioning effectively to ensure law and order at all times.

In an interview with an official at the National Security, he pointed out that, *"where the human security of the citizenry is being threatened in the form of extreme poverty, unemployment, poor health and education systems, section of the population such as violent Fulani Herdsmen could mobilize to demonstrate against the status-quo, which sometimes result in violent situations and attacks on innocent citizens including crop farmers (Interview, 2020)."*

Consequently, where the national security forces or apparatus of the state fails to provide equal and adequate security for all individuals in the country, it could give rise to the recruitment of thugs or extremists such as some violent Fulani who are usually the youth to act as political vigilantes for security purposes. In addition, where the court or justice system is incapacitated to sanction such youths who mobilize to commit crimes, it gives impunity for more criminals to spring up.

3.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter reveals that the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and East Krachi districts have social, economic, political, cultural, and religious and security underpinnings which pose threats to both National Security and Human Security of Ghana as elaborated.

The Chapter also shows that there are some political, economic, and environmentally factors which have induced the Fulani herdsmen to migrate to the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of the Oti Regions in Ghana. However, the study unearths that lack of proper adaptation and cooperation has led to several conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts. The nature of the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana manifest in verbal, psychological and physical conflict situations. With respect to the dynamics the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana the study revealed that such conflicts have become more pronounced and conspicuous in the Fourth Republic of Ghana that if effective security measures are not taken to curb them, they could plunge the country into anarchy, chaos, and eventually domestic violence in the near future.

Also, some actors in the conflict situation, predominantly, the Fulani Herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts now commit crimes and brutalities with impunity because there are higher powers shielding to continue their atrocious acts and sometimes even collaborate with state security apparatuses that it is sometimes becomes very difficult to differentiate such groups from state security personnel. In addition, the Fulani attacks on farmers witnessed in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts at the beginning of the Millennium, were usually perpetuated by Fulani male adults. However, contemporary trends and dynamic in the conflictual relations between famers

and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts reveal crimes being perpetuated by both gender (i.e., both Fulani males and females). This means crimes committed by the people of the Fulani tribe on farmers in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts are now committed by various actors including Fulani children, youths, and adults.

There are several factors accounting for the prevalence of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts. Paramount among them include the nature of politics and politicking in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, unfavourable land tenure systems, unfavourable environmental conditions, the ECOWAS Protocol of the Free Movement of People coupled with the Pervasiveness of Transnational Organized Crime and poverty coupled with extreme economic hardships.

From the study, the main state security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include small arms proliferation, high tendency for extremism and escalation of violence in the districts, high tendency for terrorism, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the districts and poor global image in dealing with Fulani-farmers crisis in the country. On the other hand, the main human security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include social, political, economic, cultural and security impacts which have direct bearing on citizens or individuals rather the state.

Notwithstanding the efforts by the Government of Ghana to ensure national security towards promoting peace and security in the country at all times, there are some few challenges which militate against the effective resolution of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. Paramount among them include the following financial constraints, personnel constraints,

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ineffective/poor collaboration adaptive cooperation between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, corruption, difficulty in obtaining reliable information, economic hardship and insufficient job opportunities in the country and institutional deficiencies and inefficiencies.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Introduction

The study was carried out under the Conceptual frameworks of Adaptation and National Security with the major argument that struggle for land and water resources by the Fulani herdsmen for cattle grazing and settlement contributes significantly to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The concept of Adaptation was chosen because given the scale and speed of contemporary climate change compounded by the exigency of social change, norms, values, indicators of development and expectations of Africa and its people, it helps in analyzing differing conflicts being triggered by climate change which induce scarcity and struggle for resources as evident between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

Also, the Concept of National Security was chosen because it particularly helps in understanding how the state and human security (National security) of Ghana could be jeopardized with the growing threat of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

Regardless of the prevalence of Fulani-farmer's crisis across most states in the West African sub-region, this study was primarily concerned with exploring the nature, dynamics, causal factors, as well as the human and national security implications of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana. The main objectives of the study were to explore the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana, the

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factors accounting for the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

And the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana and the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

4.2 Summary of Major Research Findings

In sum, the major findings, there is the need to again look at the main questions that guided the study:

What is the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the factors accounting for the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

The following are summaries of the major findings based on the research questions asked.

4.2.1 Findings on the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

In relation to the above, the study uncovered that the nature of the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana manifest in verbal, psychological and physical conflict situations.

With respect to the dynamics the conflictual relations between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts of Ghana the study revealed that such conflicts have become more pronounced and conspicuous in the Fourth Republic of Ghana that if effective security measures are not taken to curb them, they could plunge the country into anarchy, chaos, and eventually domestic violence soon. Also, some actors in the conflict situation, predominantly, the Fulani Herdsmen in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts now commit crimes and brutalities with impunity because there are higher powers shielding to continue their atrocious acts and sometimes even collaborate with state security apparatuses that it is sometimes becomes very difficult to differentiate such groups from state security personnel.

In addition, the Fulani attacks on farmers witnessed in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts at the beginning of the Millennium, were usually perpetuated by Fulani male adults. However, contemporary trends and dynamic in the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts reveal crimes being perpetuated by both gender (i.e., both Fulani males and females). This means crimes committed by the people of the Fulani tribe on farmers in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts are now committed by various actors including Fulani children, youths, and adults.

4.2.1 Findings on the factors accounting for the conflictual relations between farmers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

The study also revealed that the there are several factors accounting for the prevalence of the Conflictual Relations Between Famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts.

Paramount among them include the nature of politics and politicking in the Biakoye and Krachi East Districts, unfavorable land tenure systems, unfavourable environmental conditions, the ECOWAS Protocol of the Free Movement of People coupled with the Pervasiveness of Transnational Organized Crime and poverty coupled with extreme economic hardships.

Findings on the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

The study showed that the main human security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include social, political, economic, cultural and security impacts which have direct bearing on citizens or individuals rather the state.

However, with regards to the national security implications the study revealed that the main state security threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts include small arms proliferation, high tendency for extremism and escalation of violence in the districts, high tendency for terrorism, increase in crime rates and other social vices in the districts and poor global image in dealing with Fulani-farmers crisis in the country

Findings on the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana

Notwithstanding the efforts by the Government of Ghana to ensure national security towards promoting peace and security in the country at all times, the study revealed that there are some few challenges which militate against the effective resolution of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani herdsmen/pastoralists in the country including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

Paramount among them include the following financial constraints, personnel constraints, ineffective/poor collaboration adaptive cooperation between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, corruption, difficulty in obtaining reliable information, economic hardship and insufficient job opportunities in the country and institutional deficiencies and inefficiencies.

4.3 Contribution of the Study to Theory/Academia, Policy Making and Practice
Contribution to Theory/Academia
This study contributes to theory by revealing how the concepts of Adaptation and National Security could be utilized in explaining the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists from a state's (i.e., Ghana) perspective or approach. Similar studies have been conducted by scholars such as (Klosek, 2018 and Okoli & Ngwu, 2019), on the Fulani-Framers' crisis in West Africa, but this particular study brings a new dimension to complement already existing studies with regards to the roles by states (particularly, Ghana), within a regional integration bloc (i.e. ECOWAS) in addressing the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in West Africa from the perspective of Ghana's National Security Policies and Measures.

This is because the study is one of the numerous research on the topic to have utilize the two concepts (i.e., the Concepts of Adaptation and National Security) to show the relational order that could be maintained by state (specifically Ghana) to ensure effective synergy between national

security policies and measures in addressing the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the West African sub-region.

The theoretical application to this study is very essential because it helped in understanding the efforts, prospects and challenges by Ghana in addressing the security threats of Fulani-farmers' conflict situations in Ghana and West Africa.

It also helps in explaining how the socio-political environment in a developing country such as Ghana could shape the extent of tackling or addressing the security challenges of Fulani-Farmers conflictual relations by creating a synergy between the National Security Policies of Ghana and Adaptation policies.

4.3.1 Implications for Research, Practice and Policy

Most studies on the response to the challenges of Fulani-farmers' crisis in West Africa and to a larger extent developing countries, have focused predominantly on the factors which instigate such conflicts and their consequences for peace and security in the sub-region. Little exist in relation to the topic from the perspective of nature and dynamics of such conflicts, as well as the human and natural security implications of such conflicts from the perspective of a state. By dealing extensively with the topic from a state' perspective, this study calls for several scholarships to broaden the scope of study on the topic to look into the partnerships, negotiations, awareness and campaigns as well as budgetary allocations for implementation and evaluation of national security policies and mechanism in addressing the challenges of addressing the conflictual relations between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in West Africa, by relying on the Ghanaian experience from this study.

This study also offers several practical solutions for relevant institutions and stakeholders in charge of addressing the challenges of addressing Fulani-farmer crisis in West Africa. Countries which

wish to implement national security policies and measures toward addressing the security challenges of Fulani-farmers' crisis could rely on strategies employed by Ghana as identified in this study.

In terms of policy implications, the study calls for the need for governments in developing countries, particularly states in West Africa to promote clearly defined national security regulatory frameworks and policies which aligns with the vision and objectives of the human security goals conducive for addressing the increasing phenomenon of the increasing phenomenon of Fulani-farmer conflicts in West Africa.

4.4 Conclusions

Following the findings obtained from the study, the researcher reached the following conclusions.

The study concluded that the struggle for land and water resources by the Fulani herdsmen for cattle grazing and settlement contributes significantly to the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana.

Based on the above findings of the study, it is concluded that the increasing phenomenon of the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region of Ghana, has significant implications and ramifications for the national security of Ghana. This is because there is evidence shown in this study to prove that there are some state and human security risks for Ghana because of the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts

It is concluded from the study that addressing Fulani-farmers' crisis in West Africa, requires harmonization of national security policies with that of Adaptation Policies which has potentials for promoting effective cooperation and understanding between farmers and Fulani Herdsmen in West Africa.

Based on the analysis of the study, it is also concluded that the efforts of states in ECOWAS including, Ghana, may be jeopardized towards the promotion of national security through the effective tackling of conflictual relations between farmers and Fulani herdsmen, if conscious efforts are not taken by the governments and all stakeholders to address or tackle the challenges identified in this study.

The study also concluded that the challenges, which confronts Ghana's efforts towards addressing the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region of Ghana, could undermine her efforts in the promotion of peace and security in the West African sub-region. This is because Ghana is a big player in ECOWAS. Therefore, inability by Ghana to effectively address the Fulani-farmers in her state could also equally affect her efforts towards the promotion of peace and security in the sub-region. A typical situation is what is witnessed in Nigeria as it battles with addressing the Boko Haram terrorist groups which largely affected Nigeria's efforts in contributing to regional peace and security in West Africa.

The study again concluded that the Ghana's response to the Fulani-farmers' conflictual relations across the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region of Ghana has been inadequate and tardy. However, though tardy and inadequate, the situation would have been worse off but for the interventions of national security interventions and measures. This proves the point that, though Ghana is confronted with some challenge, it has also made some strides such as collaboration among the various state security apparatuses towards curbing the increasing phenomenon of the conflictual relations of Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region.

It is also deduced from the findings of the study that, there is still hope for Ghana towards effectively addressing national security and human security challenges of the conflictual relations

of Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region, if proactive measures such as capacity building of state security personnel, promoting effective and adaptive cooperation between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, among others would be taken by the GoG and all stakeholders to resolve or address the challenges identified in this study. In this regard, collective stakeholder efforts including the Government of Ghana, civil society organizations, NGOs, think tanks, educational institutions, among others can help to effectively national security strategies or frameworks in Ghana towards addressing the conflictual relations of Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Ghana and West Africa.

4.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study and suggestions made by respondents during interviews, the following recommendations are made:

There should be recruitment of competent staff and management in terms of skills and qualifications in government security institutions charged with the responsibility of national security management in the country. This will ensure effective, efficient, and viable policies are formulated and implemented and defaulters' sanction accordingly when they violate such security policies and policies including actors in Fulani-farmers conflicts across the country.

Also, the government should ensure that its state security institutions for ensuring national security management including addressing the conflictual relations between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country should be adequately financed, well-resourced and equipped since it a major challenge faced by the institutions in providing quality service delivery.

To achieve effective national security management including addressing the conflictual relations between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country, citizens should also become security conscious to know the human security and national security implications of involving, supporting

or not reporting certain crimes acts perpetuated by close friends, relatives and other members of society involved in such conflicts. Such attitudes by citizens will provide readily available information to know to mitigate, clump or eliminated security threats as they relate to Fulani-farmers' conflict situations completely, for perpetual peace and stability in the country.

Of much relevance, more researches should also be carried out on the prevailing and emerging national security threats as they relate to Fulani-farmers' conflict situations across the country in particular. This will enable policy makers, security organizations and the government to use the outcomes of such research as planning tools to know the changing trends of the causes, implications, and suitable solutions for addressing such security threats in the country.

The government should take a bold step in the fight against corruption and should not interfere with the work of the Judicial systems so that culprits of corruption, especially those found within top management of state security apparatuses are sanctioned according to serve as a deterrent to others.

National security management with regards to tackling the Fulani-farmers conflict situations in the country should not be mesh with partisan politics. In this regard, people with little or no security management skills and knowledge should not be recruited or promoted to occupy management positions of state security apparatuses just as political favors. This hampers the objective to achieve effective national security management in the country even if there exist effective collaboration among all the state security agencies in the country.

The last but not the least, there should be a clearly defined National Security Strategy framework, which should be reviewed every two years as seen in the United States (US). This will serve as a guide to all national security management action plans or measures adopted in addressing

prevailing or emerging security threats such as the conflictual relations of Fulani herdsmen and farmers across the country, including the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of the Oti Region.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND FULANI PASTORALISTS IN WEST AFRICA:

THE CASE OF BIAKOYE AND KRACHI EAST DISTRICTS IN GHANA.

The objective of these questions is to obtain your opinion and views about the evaluation of the natural resource conflict between farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in Biakoye and Krachi East Districts in Ghana. This is solely for an academic research as a further requirement for a post-graduate MA degree certification. Responses to the following questions will be treated with high confidentiality and solely for the purpose of the research.

NB: THE PURPOSE OF THIS INTERVIEW IS SOLEY FOR AN ACADEMIC PURPOSE AND NOTHING ELSE.

What is the historic background of the Fulani tribes in West Africa?

What is social orientation of the Fulani tribes in West Africa?

What conditions favor the migration of the Fulani herdsmen to the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

How will you describe the current status quo of security in Ghana?

How will you rate Ghana's effort in her national security management in recent times?

What are the factors accounting for the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What is the nature and dynamics of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralist in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the human security and national security consequences of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What are the challenges in addressing the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists in the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

What do you recommend as the way forward for tackling the growing threats of the conflictual relations between famers and Fulani Herdsmen/ Pastoralists across the country including, the Biakoye and Krachi East districts of Ghana?

Thank you so much for your time and co-operation. I hope this information will provide a useful and reliable source of data to help me carry out my research successfully.