



# International Journal of African Studies



Publisher's Home Page: <https://www.svedbergopen.com/>



Research Paper

Open Access

## Cattle Ranching and Farmer-Herder Conflict in Ghana: Views of Nomadic Herders

Bernard Oukoampah Otu<sup>1</sup> , Kwasi Sarfo<sup>2</sup>  and Humphrey Kankam Botchway<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of General Studies, Koforidua Technical University, Koforidua, Ghana. E-mail: [bernard.otuoukoampah@ktu.edu.gh](mailto:bernard.otuoukoampah@ktu.edu.gh)

<sup>2</sup>Department of Languages and General Studies, University of Energy and Natural Resources, Sunyani, Ghana. E-mail: [kwasi.sarfo@uenr.edu.gh](mailto:kwasi.sarfo@uenr.edu.gh)

<sup>3</sup>Department of General Studies, Koforidua Technical University, Koforidua, Ghana. E-mail: [hbotchway.kankam@ktu.edu.gh](mailto:hbotchway.kankam@ktu.edu.gh)

### Article Info

Volume 3, Issue 1, June 2023

Received : 21 February 2023

Accepted : 19 May 2023

Published : 05 June 2023

doi: [10.51483/IJAFRS.3.1.2023.16-23](https://doi.org/10.51483/IJAFRS.3.1.2023.16-23)

### Abstract

The paper examines the implementation of a ranching strategy in addressing farmer-herder conflicts in the Kwahu Afram Plains of Ghana from the perspectives of nomadic herders. Current discussions in Ghana have advocated cattle ranching as a means of confining the movement of cattle to prevent violent confrontations between farmers and herders. This strategy has been hailed by the government, local administration, and farmers. However, nomadic herders hold a contrary view. The study adopted the qualitative approach with the snowball sampling method to select participants for the research. The findings of the study reveal that ranching in its current form of implementation is counterproductive to nomadic herders in resolving farmer-herder conflicts. The paper suggests that the full utilisation of the cattle ranch requires the full participation of nomadic herders in the policy planning and implementation as well as the incorporation of their views on ranch management. This will ensure a peaceful coexistence between farmers and nomadic herders in the Kwahu Afram Plains area.

**Keywords:** *Cattle, Ranching, Farmer, Herder, Conflict, Perspective, Ghana*

© 2023 Bernard Oukoampah Otu et al. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate if changes were made.

### 1. Introduction

The conflict between farmers and herders is common in rural agrarian communities. Such communal conflicts have intensified across sub-Saharan Africa and are now widespread in Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Sudan, Ghana, and Kenya (Hauser et al., 2021). The conflict forms a significant portion of Armed Conflict Location Event Data (ACLED) recorded between 1997 and 2017 in Africa. Krätli and Toulmin (2020) using the ACLED identified the hotspots of incidents involving pastoralists in Ghana to include Ashanti Akim North, Afram Plains, Kwahu East, Pru, West Mamprusi and Jirapa Lambussi. The data show 603 violent incidents in Ghana between 1997 and 2017, with 16 (2.6%) cases involving Fulani pastoralists, with 38 fatalities. Other reports from the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP) also recorded similar incidences and fatalities in many parts of Ghana. The list of farmer-herder fatalities is endless because of the intractable nature of the conflict on the continent, particularly in West, Central and East Africa. The challenge with this conflict is its ripple effect on the community, nation and the continent as a whole. Even though the casualties recorded are comparatively low, it causes grievances, retaliation and a severe threat to the peace and security of vulnerable groups in the areas where these conflicts erupt (Hauser et al., 2021; Otu and Impraim, 2021; Afolabi, 2009).

\* Corresponding author: Bernard Oukoampah Otu, Department of General Studies, Koforidua Technical University, Koforidua, Ghana. E-mail: [bernard.otuoukoampah@ktu.edu.gh](mailto:bernard.otuoukoampah@ktu.edu.gh)

The seeming importance of farming and herding to the national economies of most African states has made it imperative to find a lasting solution for peaceful coexistence among them. Strategies involving the use of traditional or modern approaches, or both have been deployed across the sub-region as a mitigating measure in the conflict. Traditional methods in resolving farmer-herder conflict across Africa over the past years have relied on customs and conventions aimed at reconciling, maintaining, and improving social relations (Glowacki and Gonc, 2013; Bronkhorst, 2012; Cotula *et al.*, 2004). These traditional approaches are based on internal and external social controls (Osei-Hwedie and Rankopo, 2012). In the modern sense, a specialized High Court has been established, for instance in Ghana, to handle the increasing number of land cases and related farmer-herder conflicts (Cotula *et al.*, 2004). The aforementioned approaches have been the pillar around which conflicts between farmers and herders are managed in the country. The failure of these strategies has made stakeholders rethink some of these mitigating measures and propose a lasting solution towards a peaceful coexistence between the two feuding parties. Interestingly, this proposal has often tilted towards ranching, particularly in the West Africa sub-region.

Ranching has been developed in West Africa since World War II (Dunbar, 1970). This is consistent with historically appropriate strategies for resolving land conflicts by establishing grazing reserves (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). The strategy is essential because of the perception of both colonial and post-colonial governments in Africa that nomadic herding is unproductive, unorganized, and environmentally destructive, hence the need to sedentarise. Consequently, this resulted in a number of sedentarisation projects across sub-Saharan Africa in the past, namely, Operation Turin in the Ivory Coast, Gestion de Terroirs Villageois in the Sahel, Villagization Project in Tanzania, the National Livestock Development Project and the discussions on the establishment of Cattle Colonies in Nigeria (Benjaminsen *et al.*, 2009; Bello-Tukur, 2005; Turner, 1999; Bassett, 1988). As rightly argued by Fekeng (2016) several herding communities have settled in response to state-enforced measures. Others have also settled in response to changing environment, while others have responded to economic opportunities. The implementation of these past sedentarisation policies produced mixed results. Today, cattle ranching is advocated as a means of confining the movement of cattle to prevent violent confrontations between farmers and nomadic herders. Some of these ranches include communal ranches, state-led but community-managed ones, and purely state-owned ones (Blench, 2017). Ranching is now viewed as an innovative approach to conflict resolution with farmers, even though it is contrary to traditional nomadism practices. The success of such an innovative approach thus depends on how the users of the ranch see it.

The reinvigoration of ranching policy as a means to solving farmer-herder conflicts has started to garner attention from researchers. Ahmed and Kuusaana (2021) assessed the feasibility of the implementation of ranching in northern Ghana and argued that ranching in itself is not an adequate measure in solving farmer-herder conflicts as these conflicts are socially and culturally embedded. They identified the challenges to the implementation of ranching to include climate change threats, the livelihood of herders, security, “problems of identity, perceptions of land grab, and migratory dynamics of access to animal feed and water sources” (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). Their study made a great contribution to this fledging discussion but they paid little attention to the opinion of the herders, a critical stakeholder of ranching in their analysis. Similarly, the study by Tinsley and Gwiriri (2022) reviewed the representation of pastoralism within climate change mitigation policies in Ghana and Nigeria but their study was silent on ranching. In addition, other studies have not paid much attention to the views and the participation of herders in the ranching policy planning, and implementation (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021; Parlo, 2019, Agyeman, 2017). This study aims to fill this gap by ascertaining the perspectives of nomadic herders on the use of ranching to address the perineal conflicts between crop farmers and nomadic herders in the Kwahu Afram Plains area in Ghana. Addressing this gap will have policy implications to inform Ghanaian policy discourse on the effectiveness of ranching as a mitigation measure from the perspectives of nomadic herders.

The paper is structured into five parts. The second section looks at the background of ranching in Ghana. The third section addresses the theoretical framework of the study. The fourth section describes the study area and the methodology of the paper. The presentation of the results of the study within the larger context of the existing literature by discussing relevant insights on the perspectives of herders on ranching in the Kwahu Afram Plains area of Ghana constitute section five. The final section gives the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

## 2. Ranching in the Ghanaian Context

Over the past two decades, the threat of farmer-herder conflict has persisted in Ghana, resulting in human casualties and property losses totalling millions of cedis (Agyemang, 2019; Bukari, 2017; Kuusaana and Bukari, 2015). The Ghanaian state has adopted several policy interventions and strategies to resolve the perennial farmer-herder conflicts including the use of physical confrontations and conflict resolution strategies such as negotiation and compensation payment to

mitigate the recurring clashes and their negative consequences (Otu and Impraim, 2021; Agyemang, 2019; Tonah, 2005). The physical confrontation is not only peculiar to Ghana but many other West African countries that rely primarily on deploying security personnel to evict nomadic herders from their territories (Kposowa, 2000).

One of the earliest and far-reaching interventions of the state in tackling the farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana came in the form of the Alien Compliance Order issued on November 18, 1969 during Busia's regime (Adjepong, 2009). This eviction exercise targeted generally all illegal migrants categorized into two: those who do not possess the requisite permit and those engaged in businesses that are not in conformity with their permit (Adjepong, 2009; Aremu and Ajayi, 2014). The order required all illegal immigrants to legalise their status in the country or face deportation within fourteen days (Adjepong, 2009; Tonah, 2005; Aremu and Ajayi, 2014). This was not explicitly targeted at nomadic herders however, their precarious status and the nature of their entry into the country mostly through unapproved routes made them victims of the order as most of them did not possess the requisite permit. They, therefore, felt targeted by the order and resisted it leading to several violent clashes.

In 1988 a more specific policy aimed at nomadic herders was implemented. Following repeated clashes with local farming communities, the government of Ghana expelled nomadic Fulani herders to their respective countries. These evictions, code-named, "Operation Cowleg", and "Operation Livestock Solidarity" were intended to drive away nomadic herders who were illegally occupying lands belonging to local farmers and to control the spread of livestock diseases (Tonah, 2005). By this Order, the migrant herders and their herds were to leave Ghana within two weeks of the issuance of the order and any herd of foreign nomads found in the country will be shot in the leg hence the code-named "Operation Cowleg" (Agyeman, 2019). This operation was carried out by a special joint military and police task force (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). "Operation Cowleg" was also repeated in 1999 but this time with a decentralized approach of expulsion carried out at various local authorities contrary to the first one that was implemented by the central government (Agyeman, 2019; Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). Unfortunately, these eviction exercises have become an annual ritual where local authorities seek the assistance of the security forces in evicting the nomadic herders. This is because the hard-line approach has had mixed results, as the herders have always returned a few months after being expelled, resulting in escalating tensions and repeated clashes.

As a result, a new strategy to foster peaceful coexistence was developed in the form of a national cattle ranching project in 2007 (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). It suffices to say that ranching is not an entirely new approach to dealing with the farmer-herder conflict in Ghana but has recently gained traction in policy circles. As observed by Yaro (2013), as early as the 1930s, the British colonial administration had started the practices of ranching in the Northern Protectorate which is now made up of the five regions of northern Ghana with limited success. However, the recent quest for ranching emerged as a solution to the farmer-herder conflict that has escalated in the past two decades. Following the ranching project, the Ghana Cattle Ranching Project Committee was formed to find a long-term solution to the perennial problem of farmer-herder conflicts and develop a well-tested strategy to improve domestic ranching in Ghana. One area where such ranches have been developed in Ghana is the Kwahu Afram Plains North and South Districts. These ranches are located at Wawase, Forifori, Amankwaakrom and Chemfeh. Apart from the Wawase ranch, which is fully operational, the others are at various stages of completion. Despite the effort of the state to establish cattle ranches as a way of mitigating the recurring farmer-herder conflicts, the menace is on the ascendancy as farmers and herders clash as a survival mechanism. The failure of the ranching project in resolving farmer-herder conflicts serves as the basis for which the study examines herders' perspectives on ranching in the study area and ways to improve the ranches to make them more acceptable to the herders to reduce the recurring farmer-herder clashes in the Kwahu Afram Plains area.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

The eco-survivalism theory serves as the analytical framework for this paper. The relationship between resource scarcity and survival is central to eco-survivalism. The crux of the research's theory is that the desperate search for groups to protect and advance their livelihood in a competitive and scarce ecological space is likely to lead to conflict (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014; Homer Dixon and Blith, 1998). The struggle for survival brought by environmental pressure from a depleted resource base has been described by Soysa (2002) as a "shrinking resource pie" that invariably engenders conflict by escalating tense social relations.

When applied to the study, the theory provides insights into why the ranch in the research study area is underutilized, which is motivated by nomadic herders' desperation to advance their livelihood interest in diminishing ecological space. The herders' perception of the ranch as a threat to their livelihood has strengthened their resolve not to use it, resulting in open grazing and, eventually, contact and the destruction of crop fields. The resultant effect is the ongoing hostilities between farmers and herders in the case study area.

#### 4. Materials and Methods

The study was conducted in the Kwahu Afram Plains area which covers the Kwahu Afram Plains North and South administrative districts. The Afram Plains as part of the northern transitional zone of Ghana is relatively less densely populated but has favourable climatic and vegetative conditions conducive to crop production, herding and fishing (Amanor and Pabi, 2007; Sarfo and Robert, 2021). As a result of these favourable conditions, the area was even targeted in the Ghana Medium Term Agriculture Sector Investment Plan (METASIP) 2011 – 2015 to develop large-scale irrigation systems in large irrigable areas (MOFA, 2010). The Afram Plains over the years has become major cattle migrating corridor in Ghana and serves as the final destination of most migrating herders making a hotspot for farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana (Tonah, 2005). In the study area, there are two groups of Fulani herders who are either permanently settled or seasonal nomadic herders. The settled Fulani herders work in available economic activities such as farming and as hired herders, whereas the nomadic herders are seasonal migrants who come to the country to graze their herds during the dry season and return to their home region at the onset of the rains. The difficulty with the underutilization of the ranch has to do with the nomads who are always on the move.

Even though some ranches have existed in Ghana for a long time ago like Aveyime Cattle Ranch and Keseve Cattle Ranch established in 1973 and 2001 respectively, these ranches operate on the concept of open grazing unlike those established more recently in the Afram Plains area that operates on zero open grazing practices (Ahmed and Kuusaana, 2021). The development of the ranching facility has evolved in the Afram Plains over the years. The facility started initially as a fodder bank and was transformed into cattle ranch to control the movement and contact with crop fields of farmers (KAPSD, 2014). The Afram Plains, therefore, offers an ideal place to interrogate the perspectives of herders on ranching as a new approach to solving the recurring farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana.

The study adopted the qualitative approach to research in collecting, analyzing and presenting the results. A semi-structured interview guide was used mainly to obtain opinions from nomadic herders on why they do not patronize the cattle ranch built by the state in the research study area. The study involved ten nomadic herders located on the outskirts of Ekye Amanfrom, Forifori, Amankwakrom, Chemfe and Tease. Access to these nomadic herders was through the snowball sampling method because these nomadic pastoralists are not easy to be located since they stay far away from the main towns and villages and in the most case set up their camps deep in the hinterlands. The data for the study was collected in 2019 and a followed-up field visit was carried out in July 2022 to confirm the findings or otherwise. The study's data was analysed using content analysis. The descriptive information and direct quotes used in the research were derived from the transcript analysis.

#### 5. Results and Discussion

The results and discussion of the paper are analyzed around the narrative of the herders' perspectives on ranching, leading to its underutilization and the recurring conflicts between crop farmers and nomadic cattle herders.

##### *5.1 Involvement of Herders in Ranching Policy Formulation and Implementation*

The Kwahu Afram Plains area is described as one of the major food baskets in the southern part of Ghana (MoFA, 2010). As a result, the state has had to implement measures to ensure continued food and animal production in the area. The establishment of cattle ranches is one such intervention expected to reduce recurring conflicts between farmers and herders in the area. When all the ranches in the area are completed, a total of 2,269 acres of land will be available for herders to move their cattle there. Now, only the ranch at Wawase is fully operational. This ranch is situated on 680 acres of land and can accommodate 6000 cattle. The completion of the ranch was initiated by the Ghanaian government with the support of the African Development Bank.

One critical issue reiterated by the nomadic herders is their non-involvement in the formulation and implementation of ranching in the research study area. When people are involved in a policy decision, they turn to own and patronize it towards a successful outcome. The weak engagement of nomadic herders by local authorities in the formulation and implementation of ranching has led to low patronage. A herder was livid when claiming that "cattle herders know the needs of their cattle better than those in charge of the management of the ranch, yet we are not consulted in any way on the effectiveness of the management of the ranch" (Field Interview, 2019). Most often, the activities of nomads are seen as a nuisance to the environment and as such they are ignored in any decision and implementation policies. As a result, the expertise of these nomadic herders is left untapped, a situation that has led to the underutilization of the ranch in the case study areas. The patronage of the ranch could be enhanced if the views, opinions and expertise of the nomads are exploited in the formulation and implementation of ranching. This situation reflects the view of Akov (2017) who argue that whether or not to subscribe to the ranching system should be determined by how the parties to the conflict perceive it.

Another issue raised by the herders is the limited number of completed ranches to accommodate the increasing herd population in the area. A herder argued that the Wawase ranch, for example, has failed to attract nomadic herders because it is the only operating ranch in the Kwahu Afram Plains area, with the others at various stages of completion. “How does anyone expect us to move into the only ranch with all these cattle?” a herder retorted in an interview. The herders were unanimous in their conviction that only one ranch is insufficient to accommodate the area’s ever-increasing cattle population. Figures from the District analytical report 2014, showed cattle population accounting for most of the livestock of various species counted in the research study areas with a total of 156,422. Furthermore, the limited number of ranches has engendered competition for the scarce food and water in the only functioning ranch in the Kwahu Afram Plains area. As a result, the herders intimated that being forced by the local assemblies through their bylaws could lead to conflict among the various herding groups, both local and migrants, over the limited grazing and water resources available in the ranch. One herder opined that “as nomads, our needs are not catered for. The local herders even regard us as non-indigenes and are always at loggerheads with us over grazing portions in the ranch”. The aforementioned situation makes ranching counterproductive as it defeats the purpose for which the ranch was established and the cattle confined.

From historical times, the sedentarisation of migrating herding groups has been a challenge. The perception of nomadic herding as unproductive, unorganized and environmentally destructive by both colonial and post-colonial governments in Africa has led to attempts to sedentarise nomadic herders by confining their use of resources to certain defined areas (Scoones, 2023). While the effort to confine livestock is admirable, some of these areas lack adequate pastures, water resources and extensive services, limiting herds’ access to spatially variable resources (Benjaminsen et al., 2009; Turner, 1999). The situation eventually forces herding groups to move their cattle away from these confined areas in search of resources elsewhere, bringing herds closer to farmer’s crop fields, which ultimately results in conflicts with reverberating consequences both for the conflicting parties and the nation at large.

### **5.2 Mismanagement of the Cattle Ranch**

The alleged mismanagement of the cattle ranch is a major concern in relation to the underutilization of the ranch in the case study. The herders blame the ranch managers for failing to properly account for the cattle sent to the ranch and to properly care for the herds, resulting in premature deliveries and unaccounted livestock deaths on the ranch. According to a cattle herder, the experiences of some nomadic herders on the ranch confirm the suspicion of mismanagement, informing the nomadic herder’s decision not to use the ranch during their temporal stay in the research study area. Their claim of mismanagement is that the cattle are not well fed, especially in the dry season where most grasses wilt, leading to the animals growing lean and malnourished. A herder described one such mismanagement as follows:

During the dry season, most of the grasses and trees wither. This makes it difficult for the cattle to find feed on the ranch, yet the managers do not provide adequate stored pastures for the cattle. In addition, the lack of tree cover during the dry season on the ranch causes direct sun rays on the cattle, resulting in high- stress levels. As a result of this combined effect, the herds become malnourished and eventually die. (Field Interview, 2019)

The loss of investments through the loss of cattle on the ranch has led to the few herders in the ranch moving out to save that which they claim is left of their investment. The failed attempt to sedentarise the nomadic herders resulted in massive crop destruction of farms by the marauding herds leading to attacks by farmers and the resultant counter-attacks, thereby creating a vicious cycle of attacks which further strains the social relations between the two feuding parties.

### **5.3. An Aberration to Herding Strategy**

Nomadic pastoralism is an old-age response and livelihood strategy of Fulani herders in West Africa. The movement of the herds is a response to the changing climatic patterns and seasons. This strategy ensures that nomadic herders benefit in various ways and account for the long-term viability of nomadic livelihood (Tugjamba et al., 2021). This nomadic livelihood strategy is described in detail below:

Because of the continual need to provide quality and sufficient pastures and water resources to the livestock, we are constantly on the move; thus, sedentarisation will not be beneficial to the survival of our cattle. As a result, it is difficult to abandon our nomadic way of life. It is thus aggravating to be coerced to sedentarise as such enforcement alters our way of life. (Field Interview, 2019)

Interestingly, the current position of the nomadic herders in the research study area contrasts findings from Cameroon and some parts of northern Nigeria where pastoralists have settled and engaged in agro-pastoralism for varied reasons (Fekeng 2016; Tonah, 2005). However, these contrasting findings reveal that a major hurdle settled herders face is the

reduction in their herd population. Pastoralists take pride in their large herds; livestock remains an important source of income, whether through milk or hide sales. Thus, any action that reduces their cattle population is opposed, since the effect on their livelihood is undoubtedly consequential.

The pastoralists further contended that nomadism is a strategy for addressing the issue of disease predominance within the herd population. A herder asserted that “when we sedentarise, some strange disease is likely to afflict and kill all our herds in the shortest possible time. The nomadic herders claim that within a few days of settling at a particular place, their cattle will likely exhibit symptoms of disease or discomfort. As one herder succinctly put it, “this is not a myth but a reality” (Field Interview, 2019). The herders indicated that a few of their kinsmen who had arrived in the research area settled temporarily at the ranch and their experience relative to a widespread disease that eventually killed a number of the herds was enormous. This experience, according to the nomadic herders, confirms their long-held belief regarding the impact of sedentarisation on their cattle. Therefore, to prevent the spread of disease among the cattle population, the herds must be moved frequently from one location to the other.

According to Omotayo *et al.* (1999), this management approach is an environmentally friendly and time-tested mechanism for reducing herd mortality used by nomadic Fulani cattle herders. This narrative of the herders makes sedentarisation counterproductive because traditional seasonal movement is a defining feature of the lifestyle of nomadic Fulani herders, hence their low patronage of the established ranch in the research study area. This narrative of the herders relative to their long-held nomadic livelihood confirms the position of Ahmed and Kuusaana (2021), who argue that herding is a source of livelihood, and ranching might compromise herders’ nature-based livelihood strategies such as reliance on wild foods and medicinal plants and vast land thereby defying fixed perception of borders.

## 6. Conclusion

The growing incessant conflict between farmers and herders has been a concern for governments across the West African sub-region. Various measures have been put in place to address the menace to assuage and mitigate the effects of the conflict. One such is the construction of cattle ranches. Crop farmers and the local administration have hailed ranches as the surest way of preventing cattle from feeding on crop fields. However, the nomadic herders have expressed concerns about how the ranch is managed, the limited number of ranches in the area and that forcing them to settle negatively impacts their livelihoods. These concerns have further entrenched their resolution not to temporarily settle at the ranch when they arrived in the study area leading to underutilization of the ranch. The refusal to utilize the ranch has led herders to engage in open grazing, thereby getting into contact with farmers’ crop fields and the eventual outbreak of attacks. The low patronage of the ranch by the herders is an indicator of apparent weak engagement and inclusion of the herders in the implementation and ownership by the local authorities. This is further impaired by local and national politics that surround the farmer-herder business with a stronger influence on the frequency and scale of farmer-herder conflicts. We argue that the commitment of the state to accommodate the interests and needs of both farmers and herders as a measure of addressing, farmer-herder conflicts, food sufficiency and animal husbandry through ranching policy is weak. The concept of modernising ranching as a strategy for resolving the ongoing conflict between farmers and nomadic herders in the Kwahu Afram Plains area cannot be ignored. However, it is the responsibility of the local assemblies acting on behalf of the state to assess the diversity of views among nomadic herders, ascertain their challenges relative to whether they would prefer to be settled, and understand how transhumant mobility can be made to work more effectively and peacefully. We recommend that any animal or ecological-related innovation must consider herders’ knowledge, management strategies and their active participation in policy formulation and implementation rather than the paternalist attitude where projects are executed for and on behalf of the core beneficiaries. Thus, as argued by Akov (2017), whether or not to subscribe to the ranching system should be determined by how the parties to the conflict perceive it. We further recommend that a national policy framework or legislation on ranching should be formulated and implemented to comprehensively address the net benefits of food security, sustainable income and livelihoods, and the peaceful co-existence of both farmers and herders. This must also be situated within the broader concept of local economic development and poverty reduction.

## References

Adjepong, A. (2009). *The Origins, Implementation and Effects of Ghana’s 1969 Aliens Compliance Order*. Master’s Dissertation, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

- Afolabi, B.T. (2009). Peacemaking in the ECOWAS Region: Challenges and Prospects. *Conflict Trends*, (2), 24.
- Agyemang, E. (2017). Farmer-herder Conflict in Africa: An Assessment of the Causes and Effects of the Sedentary Farmers-fulani Herdsmen Conflict: A Case Study of the Agogo Traditional Area, Ashanti Region of Ghana. Master's Thesis, University of Agder, Norway.
- Agyemang, E. (2019). Resolving Farmer-herder Conflict in Agogo Traditional Areas of Ghana: An Assessment of the Government Policy of Expulsion. *Journal of African Political Economy and Development*, 4(1), 67-89.
- Ahmed, A. and Kuusaana, E.D. (2021). Cattle Ranching and Farmer-herder Conflicts in Sub-saharan Africa: Exploring the Conditions for Successes and Failures in Northern Ghana. *African Security*, 14(2), 132-155.
- Akov, E.T. (2017). The Resource-conflict Debate Revisited: Untangling the Case of Farmer-herdsman Clashes in the North Central Region of Nigeria. *African Security Review*, 26(3), 288-307.
- Amanor, K.S. and Pabi, O. (2007). Space, Time, Rhetoric and Agricultural Change in the Transition Zone of Ghana. *Human Ecology*, 35(1), 51-67.
- Aremu, J.O. and Ajayi, T.A. (2014). Expulsion of Nigerian Immigrant Community from Ghana in 1969: Causes and Impact. *Developing Country Studies*, 4(10), 176-186.
- Bassett, T.J. (1988). The Political Ecology of Peasant-herder Conflict in the Northern Ivory Coast. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 78(3), 453-472.
- Bello-Tukur, M. (2005). Conflict Between Transhumant Pastoralists and Farmers in Nigeria: the Way Out. Available: <http://pastoralist2.wordpress.com/2013/06/11/conflicts-between-transhumant-pastoralists-and-farmers-in-nigeria-the-way-out>. Accessed on June 12, 2020.
- Benjaminsen, T.A., Maganga, F.P. and Abdallah, J.M. (2009). The Kilosa Killings: Political Ecology of a Farmer-herder Conflict in Tanzania. *Development and Change*, 40(3), 423-445.
- Blench, R. (2017). Pastoral Conflict and Supplying Nigeria with Meat. *How Can the Paradox be Resolved?* Cambridge, Misereor Partners.
- Bronkhorst, S. (2012). Customary Mediation in Resource Scarcities in Sudan: Making a Case for the Judiyya. M. Mutisi and K. Sanculotte-Greenidge, (Eds.), *Integrating Traditional and Modern Conflict Resolution: Experiences From Selected Cases in Eastern and the Horn of Africa*, Dialogue Monograph Series No.2. ACCORD.
- Bukari, K.N. (2017). Farmer-herder Relations in Ghana: Interplay of Environmental Change, Conflict, Cooperation, and Social Networks. Ph.D. Thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences, Georg-August University of Gottingen
- Cotula, L., Toulmin, C. and Hesse, C. (2004). *Land Tenure and Administration in Africa: Lessons of Experience and Emerging Issues*. London: international institute of Environment and Development (IIED).
- Dunbar, G.S. (1970). African Ranches Limited, 1914-1931: An Ill-fated Stockraising Enterprise in Northern Nigeria. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 60(1), 102-123.
- Fekeng, M.R. (2016). Transhumance or Sedentarization of Nomadic Herders: What Future for a Sustainable Livestocking in the Tubah Uplands, North West Cameroon. *International Journal of Advancement in Remote Sensing, GIS and Geography*, 4(1), 42-52.
- Field Interview. (2019). Non-Attributable Comments. Ghana.
- Glowacki, L. and Gonc, K. (2013). Customary institutions and Traditions in Pastoralist Societies: Neglected Potential for Conflict Resolution. *Conflict Trends*, 1, 26-32.
- Hauser, M., Van Rooyen, A., Homan Kee-Tui, S., Ajeigbe, H. and Henze, J. (2021). Towards a Green New Deal Mitigating Conflicts between Pastoralists and Farmers, Issue Brief, ICRISAT, Kenya.
- Homer-Dixon, T.F. and Blitt, J. (1998). *Eco Violence: Links among Environment, Population and Security*, Rowman and Littlefield, Boulder, Colo.
- Kposowa, A.J. (2000). The Fulbe in Sierra Leone. *International Migration Review*, 30(129), 303-304.
- Krätli, S. and Toulmin, C. (2020). *Farmer-herder Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa?* International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), London.
- Kwahu Afram Plains South District (2014). District medium term plan, 2014 – 2017. Available@ [https://new-ndpc-stat1.s3.amazonaws.com/CACHES/PUBLICATION/2016/04/04-ER\\_Kwahu+Afram+Plains+South\\_2014-2017+DMTDP.Pdf](https://new-ndpc-stat1.s3.amazonaws.com/CACHES/PUBLICATION/2016/04/04-ER_Kwahu+Afram+Plains+South_2014-2017+DMTDP.Pdf).

- Kuusaana, E.D. and Bukari, K.N. (2015). Land Conflict Between Smallholders and Fulani Herdsmen in Ghana: Evidence from the Asante Akim North District. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 42, 52-62.
- MoFA (Ministry of Food and Agriculture). (2010). Ghana Medium Term Agriculture Sector investment Plan (METASIP) 2011 – 2015. Accra, Ghana: Ministry of Food and Agriculture.
- Okoli, A.C. and Atelhe, G.A. (2014). Nomads Against Natives: A Political Ecology of Herder/farmer Conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 4(2), 76-88.
- Omotayo, A.M, Adu, I.F and Aina, A.B (1999). The Evolving Sedentary Lifestyle Among Nomadic Pastoralists in the Humid Zone of Nigeria: Implication for Land Use Policy. *The International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, 6(3), 220-228.
- Osei-Hwedie, K. and Rankopo, M.J. (2012). Indigenous Conflict Resolution in Africa: the Case of Ghana and Botswana. *IPSHU English Research Report Series*, 29, 33-51.
- Paalo, S.A. (2021). The Politics of Addressing Farmer-herder Conflicts in Ghana. *Peacebuilding*, 9(1), 79- 99.
- Otu, B.O and Impraim, K. (2021). Aberration of Farmer-pastoralists Conflicts in Ghana, *Peace Review*, 33(3), 412-419.
- Sarfo, K. and Roberts, C.O. (2021). Land Tenure Dynamism in Yam Farming in the Atebubu-Amanten District, Ghana. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*, 9(6), 97-106.
- Soysa, I.D. (2002). Ecoviolence: Shrinking Pie, or Honey Pot? *Global Environmental Politics*, 2(4), 1-34.
- Scoones, I. (2023). Confronting Uncertainties in Pastoral Areas: Transforming Development from Control to Care. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 1-19. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3167/saas.2023.04132303>
- Tonah, S. (2005). *Fulani in Ghana: Migration History, Integration, and Resistance*, Yamens Press, Accra.
- Tinsley, J.H. and Gwiriri, L.C. (2022). Understanding the Representation of Pastoralism in Livestock-Related Climate Adaptation Policies in Ghana and Nigeria: A Review of Key Policy Documents. *Nomadic Peoples*, 26(1), 83-105.
- Tugjamba, N, Walkerden, G. and Millar, F. (2021). Adaptation Strategies of Nomadic Herders in Northeast Mongolia: Climate, Globalisation and Traditional Knowledge. *Local Environment*, 26(4), 411-430.
- Turner, M.D. (1999). Conflict, Environmental Change, and Social institutions in Dryland Africa: Limitations of the Community Resource Management Approach. *Society & Natural Resources*, 12(7), 643-657.
- Yaro, J.A. (2013). The Story of Northern Ghana. in *Rural Development in Northern Ghana*, 1-16. J.A. Yaro (Ed.). Nova Publishers, New York.

**Cite this article as:** Bernard Okoampah Otu, Kwasi Sarfo and Humphrey Kankam Botchway (2023). Cattle Ranching and Farmer-Herder Conflict in Ghana: Views of Nomadic Herders. *International Journal of African Studies*, 3(1), 16-23. doi: 10.51483/IJAFRS.3.1.2023.16-23.