

ASSESSMENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC  
OPINION ON FULANI HERDSMEN ACTIVITIES  
IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PART OF NIGERIA  
(A STUDY OF IBARAPA LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESIDENTS)

---

ADEYINKA OLUWADAMILOLA ESTHER  
*Matric No. 212019-06-0221*

DECEMBER, 2021

**ASSESSMENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON  
FULANI HERDSMEN ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PART  
OF NIGERIA**

**(A STUDY OF IBARAPA LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESIDENTS)**

**BY**

**ADEYINKA OLUWADAMILOLA ESTHER  
MATRIC NO: HND19-10-0221**

**BEING A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION, SCHOOL OF  
MANAGEMENT AND BUSINESS STUDIES, ABRAHAM ADESANYA  
POLYTECHNIC, IJEBU-IGBO OGUN STATE, NIGERIA.**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
AWARD OF HIGHER NATIONAL DIPLOMA (HND) MASS  
COMMUNICATION.**

**DECEMBER, 2021**

**CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that **Adeyinka Oluwadamilola Esther** with Matric Number **HND19-10-0221** in the Department of Mass Communication, School of Management and Business Studies (SMBS), Abraham Adesanya Polytechnic Ijebu-Igbo, Ogun State carried out this research work under my supervision.

  
**Mr. ODUNLAMI OLUSEGUN**  
Supervisor

  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
HOD

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to Almighty God for making me successful in this Higher National Diploma program

This is also dedicated to my Parent, Mr and Mrs Nath Adeyinka and Uncle, Mr Adekunle Ademiju for their support, encouragement, endurance and advices during my stay in the institution

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I appreciate God who has granted me the grace to complete my programme.

I'm highly grateful to my supervisor, Mr. Olusegun Odunlami for his tireless effort and suggestions with which he contributed during the supervision of this project

My gratitude goes to my lecturers; Mr. Aro Adebisi, Mr. Odunlami, Mr. Gbadebo, Mrs. Ogunnariwo, Mrs., Agholor, Mrs., Adeoye, Mrs. Oshobugie, Mrs. Ogundijo and to my H.O.D. for giving me the opportunity to learn from their wealth of knowledge. May God bless you and your families.

My profound appreciation also goes to my Parent, Mr and Mrs Nath Adeyinka and my Dear Uncle, Mr Adekunle Ademiju who made this a reality and helped me lay a good educational foundation.

I will like to thank my sisters and friends Nath-Adeyinka Ololade, Nath-Adeyinka Iseoluwa, Adeyinka Adenike, Ojo Oluwaseun, Olorungbemi Oluwaseun, Falowo Oluwaseun for their encouragement, understanding, support and Endurance.

I want to say a big thank you to all the lecturers in the department of Mass Communication

Thank you all, God Blessing always

## ABSTRACT

*The purpose of this research work is to determine the Assessment of the Influence of Public Opinion on Fulani Herdsmen Activities in the Southwestern part of Nigeria, using Ibarapa Local Government Residents as study. Agenda Setting Theory was used for this research. Survey design was used for this study. Public opinion has no influence on Fulani herdsmen activities in the south-western part of Nigeria. This is so because citizens have made their opinion public that they do not want the evil activities carried out by the Fulani herdsmen but nothing has been done to stop their evil deeds. Making a reference to the questionnaire distributed to the citizens of Ibarapa Local Government, one of the questions asked did the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen?, the response to the question revealed that 80% which represents the majority of the respondents agree that the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, and another question asked did the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion? The response to this question revealed that 90% which represents the majority of the respondents disagree that the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion.*

**Keywords:** Public Opinion, Fulani Herdsmen, Ibarapa residents, Influence, Assessment

## TABLE OF CONTENT

	Pages
Title page	
Certification	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>v</b>
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Objectives of the study	3
1.4 Research questions	3
1.5 Significance of the study	3
1.6 Scope of the study	4
1.7 Limitation of the study	4
1.7 Operational Definition of terms	4
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 Conceptual review	5
2.1.1 Concept of Public Opinion	5
2.1.1.1 Defining public Opinion	8
2.1.1.2 Brief history of Public Opinion	9
2.1.1.3 Public Opinion and Government	10
2.1.1.4 Equality of Individual Opinions	10
2.1.1.5 Majority Opinion	11
2.1.1.6 Opinion Leaders	12
2.1.1.7 Public Debate among Groups	13
2.1.2 Concept of Fulani Herdsmen Conflicts in Nigeria	14
2.1.2.1 Causes of the Conflict	14
2.1.2.1.1 Land Conflicts	

2.1.2.1.2 Climatic Crisis	
2.1.2.1.3 Regional Conflicts in Jos and Kaduna	15
2.1.2.1.4 Solving the Crisis	15
2.1.2.1.5 List of Attacks by Fulani Herdsmen	15
2.2 Theoretical review	16
2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory	17
2.3 Empirical Review	17
<b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b>	18
3.0 Introduction	
3.1 Research design	21
3.2 Population of the study	21
3.3 Sample and Sampling technique	22
3.4 Research instrument	22
3.5 Validity and reliability of research instrument	22
3.6 Method of data collection	23
3.7 Method of data analysis	23
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION</b>	
4.0 Introduction	24
4.1 Data presentation and analysis	24
4.2 Summary of Research Findings	29
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	
5.0 Summary	30
5.1 Summary	30
5.2 Conclusion	31
5.3 Recommendations	31
5.4 Suggestions for further studies	32
References	35
Appendix	



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Public opinion, an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community. (Davison, 2020).

The term public opinion was derived from the French opinion publique which was first used in 1588 by Michel de Montaigne in the second edition of his Essays (ch. XXII). The French term also appears in the 1761 work *Julie*, or the New Heloise by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Kurt and Friedrich, 2011).

The emergence of public opinion as a significant force in the political realm can be dated to the late 17th century. However, opinion had been regarded as having singular importance since far earlier. Medieval *fama publica* or *vox et fama communis* had great legal and social importance from the 12th and 13th centuries onward. Later, William Shakespeare called public opinion the "mistress of success" and Blaise Pascal thought it was "the queen of the world" (Daniel and Thelma, 2003).

In his treatise *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* John Locke considered that man was subject to three laws: the divine law, the civil law and most importantly in Locke's judgement, the law of opinion or reputation. He regarded the latter as of the highest importance because dislike and ill opinion force people to conform in their behaviour to social norms, however he didn't consider public opinion as a suitable influence for governments (Daniel and Thelma, 2003).

In his 1672 essay *On the Original and Nature of Government*, William Temple gave an early formulation of the importance of public opinion. He observed that "when vast numbers of men submit their lives and fortunes absolutely to the will of one, it must be force of custom,

of opinion which subjects power to authority". Temple disagreed with the prevalent opinion that the basis of government lay in a social contract and thought that government was merely allowed to exist due to the favour of public opinion. (Daniel and Thelma, 2003).

The prerequisites for the emergence of a public sphere were increasing levels of literacy which was spurred on by the Reformation, which encouraged individuals to read the Bible in the vernacular, and the rapidly expanding printing presses. During the 18th century religious literature was replaced with secular literature, novels and pamphlets. In parallel to this was the growth in reading societies and clubs. At the turn of the century the first circulating library opened in London and the public library became widespread and available to the public (Kurt and Friedrich, 2011).

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Public opinion, an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community.

The researcher observed that there have been a lot of public views on the activities of Fulani herdsmen in the south-western part of Nigeria, the public views are stated below:

- Fulani herdsmen are instruments from the Federal Government
- Fulani herdsmen are subdivision of Boko Haram
- The guns with the Fulani herdsmen are supplied by the government

The above public opinions are to mention a few of the opinion of the public on the activities of Fulani herdsmen in the south-western part of Nigeria.

The researcher wants to assess the public opinions/views to see if it influences the Fulani herdsmen's activities in the south-western part of Nigeria.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of this study among others are:

1. To determine if the respondents understand what public opinion is.
2. To examine if the respondents know who the Fulani herdsmen are.
3. To access if the activities of the Fulani herdsmen are peaceful or not.
4. To evaluate if the public opinion on Fulani herdsmen has influence on their activities in the South-Western part of Nigeria.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. Do the respondents understand what public opinion is?
2. Do the respondents know who the Fulani herdsmen are?
3. Are the activities of the Fulani herdsmen peaceful or not?
4. Does the public opinion on Fulani herdsmen have influence on their activities in the South-Western part of Nigeria?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The following are the significance of this study:

The results of this study will educate both the state government and the Federal government of the opinion of the public on the activities of the Fulani herdsmen.

This research will educate media practitioners on the influence of public opinion on Fulani herdsmen activities in the south-western part of Nigeria.

This research will be a contribution to the existing body of literature for future researchers studying a similar topic.

## 1.6 Scope of the Study

The research intends to focus on the residents of Ibarapa Local Government area of Oyo State for easy and complete analysis of data

## 1.7 Limitation of the Study

The major challenges to encounter are:

**Language barrier:** This is a challenge that occurs in a research work because not all the respondents understand English language, which might make the researcher explain to the respondents in a language they understand.

**Unwillingness to respond to question:** This problem might be faced in the course of this study. Some who are with the information might decide not to share.

**Money:** Since the government is not funding research, the researcher will be left with no option than to cover the area her funds can reach.

## 1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

**Assessment:** This is the action or an instance of making a judgment about something

**Influence:** This is the capacity to have an effect on the character, development, or behaviour of someone or something, or the effect itself.

**Public Opinion:** This is an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community.

**Activities:** These are the condition in which things are happening or being done.

**Fulani Herdsmen:** These are nomadic or semi-nomadic Fulani people whose primary occupation is raising livestock

**Perception:** This is the way in which something is regarded, understood, or interpreted.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Conceptual Review

##### 2.1.1 Concept of Public Opinion

Public opinion is one of the most frequently evoked terms in American politics. At the most basic level, public opinion represents people's collective preferences on matters related to government and politics. However, public opinion is a complex phenomenon, and scholars have developed a variety of interpretations of what public opinion means. One perspective holds that individual opinions matter; therefore, the opinions of the majority should be weighed more heavily than opinions of the minority when leaders make decisions. A contrasting view maintains that public opinion is controlled by organized groups, government leaders, and media elites. The opinions of those in positions of power or who have access to those in power carry the most weight (saylordotorg, 2018).

Public opinion is often made concrete through questions asked on polls. Politicians routinely cite public opinion polls to justify their support of or opposition to public policies. Candidates use public opinion strategically to establish themselves as front-runners or underdogs in campaigns. Interest groups and political parties use public opinion polls to promote their causes. The mass media incorporate reports of public opinion into news story about government and politics (saylordotorg, 2018).

##### 2.1.1.1 Defining Public Opinion

What exactly is public opinion? Scholars do not agree on a single definition of public opinion. The concept means different things depending on how one defines "the public" and

assumptions about whose opinion should or does count the most—individuals, groups, or elites (saylordotorg, 2018).

Public opinion, an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community. Some scholars treat the aggregate as a synthesis of the views of all or a certain segment of society; others regard it as a collection of many differing or opposing views. Writing in 1918, the American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley emphasized public opinion as a process of interaction and mutual influence rather than a state of broad agreement. The American political scientist V.O. Key defined public opinion in 1961 as “opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed.” Subsequent advances in statistical and demographic analysis led by the 1990s to an understanding of public opinion as the collective view of a defined population, such as a particular demographic or ethnic group (Davison, 2020).

The influence of public opinion is not restricted to politics and elections. It is a powerful force in many other spheres, such as culture, fashion, literature and the arts, consumer spending, and marketing and public relations (Davison, 2020).

The aggregation of the views of individuals in society. The idea of public opinion has roots in Western political thought that go back to the eighteenth century, although related ideas go back earlier and can even be found in the works of Plato and Aristotle. The term public opinion is derived from the concept of *l'opinion publique* popularized by Rousseau (Sear, 2020).

Analysts continue to be divided on a precise definition of the concept. Traditional definitions of public opinion had stressed the influence of elites and those best informed in society. The advent of scientific survey techniques in the early twentieth century led to a proliferation in the empirical analysis of public opinion. Based on the laws of probability sampling, opinion polls enabled a measurement of public opinion that represented the population. This view of

assumptions about whose opinion should or does count the most—individuals, groups, or elites (saylordotorg, 2018).

Public opinion, an aggregate of the individual views, attitudes, and beliefs about a particular topic, expressed by a significant proportion of a community. Some scholars treat the aggregate as a synthesis of the views of all or a certain segment of society; others regard it as a collection of many differing or opposing views. Writing in 1918, the American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley emphasized public opinion as a process of interaction and mutual influence rather than a state of broad agreement. The American political scientist V.O. Key defined public opinion in 1961 as “opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed.” Subsequent advances in statistical and demographic analysis led by the 1990s to an understanding of public opinion as the collective view of a defined population, such as a particular demographic or ethnic group (Davison, 2020).

The influence of public opinion is not restricted to politics and elections. It is a powerful force in many other spheres, such as culture, fashion, literature and the arts, consumer spending, and marketing and public relations (Davison, 2020).

The aggregation of the views of individuals in society. The idea of public opinion has roots in Western political thought that go back to the eighteenth century, although related ideas go back earlier and can even be found in the works of Plato and Aristotle. The term public opinion is derived from the concept of *l'opinion publique* popularized by Rousseau (Sear, 2020).

Analysts continue to be divided on a precise definition of the concept. Traditional definitions of public opinion had stressed the influence of elites and those best informed in society. The advent of scientific survey techniques in the early twentieth century led to a proliferation in the empirical analysis of public opinion. Based on the laws of probability sampling, opinion polls enabled a measurement of public opinion that represented the population. This view of

Attitudes often shape opinions. For example, people who hold attitudes strongly in favor of racial equality support public policies designed to limit discrimination in housing and employment.

Public opinion can be defined most generically as the sum of many individual opinions. More specific notions of public opinion place greater weight on individual, majority, group, or elite opinion when considering policy decisions.

### 2.1.1.2 Brief History of Public Opinion

The emergence of public opinion as a significant force in the political realm can be dated to the late 17th century; however, opinion had been regarded as having singular importance since far earlier. Medieval *fama publica* or *vox et fama communis* had great legal and social importance from the 12th and 13th centuries onward. Later, William Shakespeare called public opinion the "mistress of success" and Blaise Pascal thought it was "the queen of the world".

In his treatise, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, John Locke considered that man was subject to three laws: the divine law, the civil law and most importantly in Locke's judgement, the law of opinion or reputation. He regarded the latter as of the highest importance because dislike and ill opinion force people to conform in their behaviour to social norms, however he didn't consider public opinion as a suitable influence for governments.

In his 1672 essay *On the Original and Nature of Government*, William Temple gave an early formulation of the importance of public opinion. He observed that "when vast numbers of men submit their lives and fortunes absolutely to the will of one, it must be force of custom, or opinion which subjects power to authority". Temple disagreed with the prevalent opinion



that the basis of government lay in a social contract and thought that government was merely allowed to exist due to the favour of public opinion.

The prerequisites for the emergence of a public sphere were increasing levels of literacy which was spurred on by the Reformation, which encouraged individuals to read the Bible in the vernacular, and the rapidly expanding printing presses. During the 18th century religious literature was replaced with secular literature, novels and pamphlets. In parallel to this was the growth in reading societies and clubs. At the turn of the century the first circulating library opened in London and the public library became widespread and available to the public (Davison, 2020).

### 2.1.1.3 Public Opinion and Government

By its very nature, the democratic process spurs citizens to form opinions on a number of issues. Voters are called upon to choose candidates in elections, to consider constitutional amendments, and to approve or reject municipal taxes and other legislative proposals. Almost any matter on which the executive or legislature has to decide may become a public issue if a significant number of people wish to make it one. The political attitudes of these persons are often stimulated or reinforced by outside agencies—a crusading newspaper, an interest group, or a government agency or official.

The English philosopher and economist Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) saw the greatest difficulty of the legislator as being “in conciliating the public opinion, in correcting it when erroneous, and in giving it that bent which shall be most favourable to produce obedience to his mandates.” At the same time, Bentham and some other thinkers believed that public opinion is a useful check on the authority of rulers. Bentham demanded that all official acts be publicized, so that an enlightened public opinion could pass judgment on them, as

would a tribunal: "To the pernicious exercise of the power of government it is the only check" (Davison, 2020).

#### 2.1.1.4 Equality of Individual Opinions

Public opinion can be viewed as the collection of individual opinions, where all opinions deserve equal treatment regardless of whether the individuals expressing them are knowledgeable about an issue or not. Thus, public opinion is the aggregation of preferences of people from all segments of society. The use of public opinion polls to gauge what people are thinking underlies this view. By asking questions of a sample of people who are representative of the US population, pollsters contend they can assess the American public's mood. People who favor this perspective on public opinion believe that government officials should take into account both majority and minority views when making policy (Glynn, Susan, Garrett, and Robert 1999) cited in (M. Libraries, 2013).

#### 2.1.1.5 Majority Opinion

Another perspective maintains that public opinion is the opinion held by the most people on an issue. In a democracy, the opinions of the majority are the ones that should count the most and should guide government leaders' decision making. The opinions of the minority are less important than those of the majority. This view of public opinion is consistent with the idea of popular election in that every citizen is entitled to an opinion—in essence a vote—on a particular issue, policy, or leader. In the end, the position that is taken by the most people—in other words, the position that receives the most votes—is the one that should be adopted by policymakers.

Rarely, if ever, does the public hold a single unified opinion. There is often significant disagreement in the public's preferences, and clear majority opinions do not emerge. This

situation poses a challenge for leaders looking to translate these preferences into policies. In 2005, Congress was wrestling with the issue of providing funding for stem cell research to seek new medical cures. Opinion polls indicated that a majority of the public (56 percent) favored stem cell research. However, views differed markedly among particular groups who formed important political constituencies for members. White evangelical Protestants opposed stem cell research (58 percent), arguing the need to protect human embryos, while mainline Protestants (69 percent) and Catholics supported research (63 percent) (Pew Research 2005).

#### 2.1.1.6 Opinion leaders

Opinion leaders play a major role in defining popular issues and in influencing individual opinions regarding them. Political leaders in particular can turn a relatively unknown problem into a national issue if they decide to call attention to it in the media. One of the ways in which opinion leaders rally opinion and smooth out differences among those who are in basic agreement on a subject is by inventing symbols or coining slogans: in the words of U.S. Pres. Woodrow Wilson, the Allies in World War I were fighting "a war to end all wars," while aiming "to make the world safe for democracy"; post-World War II relations with the Soviet Union were summed up in the term "Cold War," first used by U.S. presidential adviser Bernard Baruch in 1947. Once enunciated, symbols and slogans are frequently kept alive and communicated to large audiences via the mass media and social media and may become the cornerstone of public opinion on any given issue.

Opinion leadership is not confined to prominent figures in public life. An opinion leader can be any person to whom others look for guidance on a certain subject. Thus, within a given social group one person may be regarded as especially well-informed about local politics, another as knowledgeable about foreign affairs, and another as expert in real estate.

These local opinion leaders are generally unknown outside their own circle of friends and acquaintances, but their cumulative influence in the formation of public opinion is substantial (Deviston, 2020).

### 1.1.1.7 Public Debate among Groups

According to Glynn, Susan, Garrett, and Robert (1999), some scholars contend that public opinion emerges from public debate among groups rather than from individual opinions. Political parties, interest groups, trade associations, nonprofit organizations, trade unions, and corporations will articulate positions and front public discussion of issues in which they have a stake. Groups representing opposing viewpoints often find themselves in a position to define social problems. While individuals often find it difficult to make their views known and have them taken seriously, organized groups have the resources, such as lobbyists and funding to administer polls and pay for advertising, as well as the ability to attract the attention of policymakers and the mass media. Social media have made it easier for groups without significant resources to publicize their opinions by using Facebook groups and other platforms.

Groups work hard to frame issue debates to their advantage. They often will gauge public preferences and use this information when devising media tactics to gain support for their positions (Ken, 1999). Opposing groups will present competing public opinion poll data in an effort to influence decision makers and the press. In 1997, the United States' participation in a summit in Kyoto, Japan, where nations signed a climate-control treaty, sparked a barrage of media stories on the issue of global warming and the potential for deadly gasses to induce climate change. Most Americans believed then that global warming existed and that steps should be taken to combat the problem (Krosniok, Penny, and Allyson 1998).

Groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Greenpeace, and the Sierra Club who favor government-imposed regulations on fossil-fuel companies and automobile manufacturers to curb pollution cited opinion poll data showing that over 70 percent of the public agreed with these actions. Organizations representing industry interests, such as the now-defunct Global Climate Coalition, used opinion polls indicating that the public was reluctant to sacrifice jobs or curb their personal energy use to stop global warming (Wilson, 2005).

The debate in the media among competing groups influenced public opinion over the following decade. There was a massive shift in opinion, as only 52 percent believed that global warming was a problem in 2010 (Borick, Erick and Barry, 2011).

### 2.1.2 Concept of Fulani Herdsmen Conflicts in Nigeria

Fulani Herdsmen terrorism, Herder-farmer conflicts in Nigeria have mainly involved disputes over land resources between mostly Muslim Fulani herders and mostly Christian farmers across Nigeria but more devastating in the Middle Belt (North Central) since the return of democracy in 1999. But most recently, it has deteriorated into terror attacks on farmers by Fulani Herdsmen - the fourth most deadly terrorist group in the world by the Global Terrorism Index. These attacks have been carried out with impunity with no Fulani terrorist arrested by the Nigerian government till date. The Nigerian president Muhammadu Buhari has been criticised for turning a blind eye to the atrocities committed by his kinsmen and for his inability to issue an arrest warrant for killer herdsmen. Attacks have also taken place in the northwest Nigeria against farmers who are mainly Hausa people. While the conflict has underlying economic and environmental reasons, it has also acquired religious and ethnic dimensions. Thousands of people have died since these attacks began. Sedentary farming rural communities are often target of attacks because of their vulnerability. There are fears that this conflict will spread to other West African countries but this has often been

Groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Greenpeace, and the Sierra Club who favor government-imposed regulations on fossil-fuel companies and automobile manufacturers to curb pollution cited opinion poll data showing that over 70 percent of the public agreed with these actions. Organizations representing industry interests, such as the now-defunct Global Climate Coalition, used opinion polls indicating that the public was reluctant to sacrifice jobs or curb their personal energy use to stop global warming (Wilson, 2005).

The debate in the media among competing groups influenced public opinion over the following decade. There was a massive shift in opinion, as only 52 percent believed that global warming was a problem in 2010 (Borick, Erick and Barry, 2011).

### 2.1.2 Concept of Fulani Herdsmen Conflicts in Nigeria

Fulani Herdsmen terrorism, Herder-farmer conflicts in Nigeria have mainly involved disputes over land resources between mostly Muslim Fulani herders and mostly Christian farmers across Nigeria but more devastating in the Middle Belt (North Central) since the return of democracy in 1999. But most recently, it has deteriorated into terror attacks on farmers by Fulani Herdsmen - the fourth most deadly terrorist group in the world by the Global Terrorism Index. These attacks have been carried out with impunity with no Fulani terrorist arrested by the Nigerian government till date. The Nigerian president Muhammadu Buhari has been criticised for turning a blind eye to the atrocities committed by his kinsmen and for his inability to issue an arrest warrant for killer herdsmen. Attacks have also taken place in the northwest Nigeria against farmers who are mainly Hausa people. While the conflict has underlying economic and environmental reasons, it has also acquired religious and ethnic dimensions. Thousands of people have died since these attacks began. Sedentary farming rural communities are often target of attacks because of their vulnerability. There are fears that this conflict will spread to other West African countries but this has often been

employed by governments in the region. Attacks on herders have also led them to retaliating by attacking other communities (Ito, Jonathan and Adamolekun, 2019).

### 2.1.2.1 Causes of the Conflict

Since the Fourth Nigerian Republic's founding in 1999, farmer-herder violence has killed more than 19,000 people and displaced hundreds of thousands more. It followed a trend in the increase of farmer-herder conflicts throughout much of the western Sahel, due to an expansion of agriculturalist population and cultivated land at the expense of pasturelands; deteriorating environmental conditions, desertification and soil degradation; population growth; breakdown in traditional conflict resolution mechanisms of land and water disputes; and proliferation of small arms and crime in rural areas. Insecurity and violence have led many populations to create self-defence forces and ethnic and tribal militias, which have engaged in further violence. The majority of farmer-herder clashes have occurred between Muslim Fulani herdsmen and Christian farmers, exacerbating ethno religious hostilities (PI Global Observatory, 2015).

#### 2.1.2.1.1 Land conflicts

Conflicts between farmers and herders can be understood as a problem of access to land. The beginning of the 21st century witnessed an expansion of the agriculturalist population and its cultivated land at the expense of pasturelands in the Middle Belt. In an already politically unstable region, it has never always been possible to ascertain a legal title to land for every farmer. As a result, transhumance routes of herders were no longer available, especially in a context of global warming (Simire, 2018).

## **Climatic crisis**

### **2.1.2.1.3**

Worsening environmental conditions, desertification and soil degradation have led Fulani herders from Northern Nigeria to change their transhumance routes. Access to pastureland and watering points in the Middle Belt became essential for herders travelling from the North of the country. It is often assumed that climate change is the driver of the conflict but recent study suggest that climate change does not automatically cause the conflict, but it has however changed the herders' migration pattern. Regions vulnerable to climate change (Northern Regions) experience less farmer-herder conflict and less intense farmer-herder fighting. It is argued that identity differentials between farming and herding groups need to be considered in the explanation of the mechanism of the climate change-farmer-herder conflict nexus (Eduresource World, 2013).

### **2.1.2.1.3 Regional conflicts in Jos and Kaduna**

The farmer/herder conflicts have been taking place in regions which have been unstable since the 2000s. Urban conflicts in Jos and Kaduna have been particularly violent and, despite violent clashes with the authorities, their causes have never been addressed politically. Conflicts might not have been addressed adequately because traditional authorities have not been fulfilling their role in colonial-era settlements (Last, 2007).

### **2.1.2.1.4 Solving the crisis**

The Nigerian government has been unwilling to address the causes of the crisis. Fighting Boko Haram in the North-East and facing rising levels of violence in different regions of the country, the government has nonetheless tried to implement a few measures. Since 2012, there have been projects to create transhumance corridors through the Middle



gait. Mostly supported by Northern lawmakers and opposed by their Southern counterparts, these endeavours have been rarely successful (The Punch online, 2012).

In 2019, President Muhammadu Buhari tried to create Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) settlements. His proposal was met with fierce criticism (Sahara Reporters, 2019).

#### 1.1.1.5 List of Attacks by Fulani Herdsmen

Nigerian and foreign newspapers are often unable to provide exact numbers of casualties. Despite the high number of attacks, Nigerian and foreign journalists have rarely access to first-hand testimonies and tend to report inaccurate figures (Hiribarren, 2019).

- According to the Global Terrorism Index (2015), these conflicts resulted in over 800 deaths by 2015.
- The year 2016 saw further incidents in Agatu, Benue and Nimbo, Enugu State (Morning Star News, 2016).
- In April 2018 Fulani gunmen allegedly killed 19 people during an attack on the church; afterwards they burnt dozens of nearby homes.
- In June 2018, over 200 people were killed and 50 houses were burnt in clashes between farmers and Fulani cattle herders in Plateau State ([www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com) 2018).
- In July 2018, a clash erupted between the Fulani settlers and the Yandang community in Lau Local Government Area of Taraba State. About 73 people were killed and 50 villages were razed. (Thisdaylive, 2018)
- In October 2018, Fulani herdsmen killed at least 19 people in Bassa. (Punch Newspapers, 2018).
- On 16 December 2018, militants believed to be Fulani herdsmen attacked a village in Jena'a, killing 15 people and injuring at least 24 others, the attack occurred at a wedding ceremony (Dailytrust, 2018).

- On 11 February 2019, an attack on an Adara settlement named Ungwar Bardi by suspected Fulani gunmen killed 11. Reprisal attack by Adara targeted settlements of the Fulani killing at least 141 people with 65 missing. The attacks took place in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State. According to a governor the motive was to destroy specific communities. (Premium Times, 2019).
- The Coalition Against Kajuru killings stated on 18 March 2019 that 130 people have been killed in a series of revenge attacks since the massacre announced by El-Rufai (Tauna, 2019).
- In January 2018 about 10 persons were killed in an attack and reprisal involving herders and local farmers in Numan local council of Adamawa State (Sahara Reporters, 2018).
- In May 2018 over 400 herdsman attacked four villages of Lamurde, Bang, Bolk, Zumoso and Gon in Numan and Lamurde local councils of Adamawa State killing 15 people (The Sun Nigeria, 2018).
- 21 people were killed by herdsman in a village in Demsa local government area of Adamawa State (Punch Newspapers, 2020).
- 32 Christians were murdered by Muslim Fulani herdsman (MorningStar News, 2020).

## 2.2 Theoretical Review

### 2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting theory was propounded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw in 1972/1973 (Asemah, 2011, p.176). The major assumption of the theory is that the media set agenda for the public to follow. The theory holds that most of the pictures we store in our heads, most of the things we think or worry about, most of the issues we discuss, are based on what we have read, listened to or watched in different mass media (Asemah and Edegoh,

gill, 2005). The media make us to think about certain issues; they make us to think that certain issues are more important than others in our society. According to Winner and Dominic (2000) agenda setting theory of mass media proposes that public agenda or what kinds of things people talk about, think or worry about is powerfully shaped and directed by what the media choose to publicize.

This theory relates with this research as the media sets the tone and discussion for the society whereby what the media send out to the society is what the society will talk about and it most times forms public opinion.

### 1.3 Empirical Review

- Cale d. Horne (2006). The structure and significance of public opinion in non-democratic contexts.

This project addresses two direct but to-date unexamined questions: Do domestic audiences in non-democratic contexts, where public opinion should not matter for policymaking, develop structured preferences toward government policies nonetheless? If so, can these preferences ever influence policymaking in settings where governments are not obviously accountable to their citizens? Typically, studies of policy-preference formation or policy responsiveness are confined to democracies, where citizens have institutionalized means of punishing unresponsive leaders. It is argued that both the cognitive structures of policy preferences as well as responsiveness to those preferences are generalizable political traits, observable beyond democracies. This argument was tested using survey data from repressive political settings, where public preferences should be underdeveloped, and government responsiveness to those preferences largely absent. In so doing, the researcher offered a first effort to fill this lacuna in opinion-policy research, and in the process provide new insights into the opaque world of authoritarian politics.

• **Radhika Pethe (2018). Why should public opinion matter in a country?**

This research paper is going to focus on public opinion and why it should be matter in a country when we speak about public opinion the first thing which comes to our mind is thoughts and point of views of public as a whole on a particular topic when there is no public in a country it cannot be called a country and for the decisions that a country take the opinion of public is way too much necessary. This research paper will examine that how the public opinion varies differently from country to country and how its criteria change from place to place people to people. The research paper is totally a work of doctrinal method which drawn up various major points about public opinion this paper is going to cover the major points of characterization like meaning of the public opinion, process of public opinion that how the people tend to speak, why it matters in a country, fundamental concepts like types of public opinion its characteristics its examples and the evolution and history the paper also going to cover the importance of public opinion and mainly article 19 freedom of speech and expression s highlight which is related to this.

**Paul Burstein (2003). The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda**

This article considers the impact of public opinion on public policy, asking: (1) how much impact it has; (2) how much the impact increases as the salience of issues increases; (3) to what extent the impact of public opinion may be negated by interest groups, social movement organizations, political parties, and elites; (4) whether responsiveness of governments to public opinion has changed over time; and (5) the extent to which our conclusions can be generalized. The source of data is publications published in major journals and included in major literature reviews, systematically coded to record the impact of public opinion on policy. The major findings include: the impact of public opinion is substantial; salience enhances the impact of public opinion; the impact of

• **Radhika Pethe (2018). Why should public opinion matter in a country?**

This research paper is going to focus on public opinion and why it should be matter in a country when we speak about public opinion the first thing which comes to our mind is thoughts and point of views of public as a whole on a particular topic when there is no public in a country it cannot be called a country and for the decisions that a country take the opinion of public is way too much necessary. This research paper will examine that how the public opinion varies differently from country to country and how its criteria change from place to place people to people. The research paper is totally a work of doctrinal method which drawn up various major points about public opinion this paper is going to cover the major points of characterization like meaning of the public opinion, process of public opinion that how the people tend to speak, why it matters in a country, fundamental concepts like types of public opinion its characteristics its examples and the evolution and history the paper also going to cover the importance of public opinion and mainly article 19 freedom of speech and expression s highlight which is related to this.

**Paul Burstein (2003). The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda**

This article considers the impact of public opinion on public policy, asking: (1) how much impact it has; (2) how much the impact increases as the salience of issues increases; (3) to what extent the impact of public opinion may be negated by interest groups, social movement organizations, political parties, and elites; (4) whether responsiveness of governments to public opinion has changed over time; and (5) the extent to which our conclusions can be generalized. The source of data is publications published in major journals and included in major literature reviews, systematically coded to record the impact of public opinion on policy. The major findings include: the impact of public opinion is substantial; salience enhances the impact of public opinion; the impact of

opinion remains strong even when the activities of political organizations and elites are taken into account; responsiveness appears not to have changed significantly over time; and the extent to which the conclusions can be generalized is limited. Gaps in our knowledge made apparent by the review are addressed in proposals for an agenda for future research.

**John Ashcroft, Deborah J. Daniels, Sarah V. Hart (2003). Factors That Influence Public Opinion of the Police**

Police can improve public opinion by increasing their informal contacts with citizens. According to a survey of Los Angeles residents' opinions of police job performance and officers' demeanor, police can increase residents' approval of their job performance by participating in community meetings, increasing officers' visibility in neighborhoods, and talking with citizens. Such informal contacts had a positive impact on job approval ratings even when other factors associated with lower approval ratings—such as residents' perceptions that their neighborhoods are crime ridden, dangerous, and disorderly—were present. Informal contacts with police also lessened the negative impact of residents' formal contacts with police (such as being arrested or questioned by police). Residents with both types of contact reported higher approval ratings than residents with only formal contact. Race and ethnicity were not found to be as important as neighborhood characteristics or personal contacts in determining the public's satisfaction with police, although race and ethnicity did seem to play a role in residents' assessment of officers' demeanor. The media were also found to **ABOUT THIS STUDY** have little influence on public opinion of the police.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the method of research design, population of study, sampling technique/sample, instrumentation as well as the validity and reliability of the instrument used. It also stated the method of data collection and method of analyzing the data. Since this study is aimed at finding out the effect of listening on socialization and edutainment among students in tertiary institutions, using Abraham Adesanya Polytechnic and Olabisi Onabanjo University students as a study.

In doing this, the survey method is used to investigate the research problem.

#### 3.1 Research Design

Research design is the plan or blue print which specifies how data relating to a given problem should be collected and analyzed or the procedural outline for the conduct of any given investigation (Nworgu, 1991). It is also the frame work or plan for a study that is used in collecting and analyzing a set of data (Campbell 1998).

Therefore, survey will be used for collection of data.

#### 3.2 Population of the Study

Population can be explained as a comprehensive group of individuals, institutions, objects and so forth with have common characteristics that are the interest of a researcher.

This study centers on the residents of Ibarapa Central Local Government area, which the population of the Local Government as at 2006 Population Census is around 103,243 (Citypopulation.de, 2020).

### **3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Technique**

In social science and educational research, practically it is not possible to a researcher to approach all the individuals/elements in a population for the purpose of data collection. Instead they select and approach a representative group of individuals/elements who falls under the particular population to collect needed information regarding the group.

In respect to this study, the researcher employs a simple random sampling technique in selecting the sample. Therefore, out of the total population of this study (using Monkey Survey sample calculator at 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error), the researcher randomly selects a sample size of two hundred and seven (207) respondents.

### **3.4 Research Instrument**

The research instrument used for this study is the questionnaire. A questionnaire is a data collection tool which uses various questions to achieve the research objectives (Medlerne 2010). It is used to ascertain facts, opinion, beliefs attitude, ideas, practices, views and other demographic information (Obasi 2012). The questionnaire is divided into two sections. Section A contains questions on the background of the respondent while section B contains questions that will beam more light on the topical issues under review. The questions asked covered the objective of the study with emphasis on assessment of the influence of public opinion on Fulani herdsmen activities in the south-western part of Nigeria.

### **3.5 Validity and Reliability Of Research Instrument**

The research instrument was given to the project supervisor for proper scrutiny to ensure the accuracy and relevance to the research study.



### 3.6 Method of Data Collection

To ensure proper and personal monitoring of the study result, the questionnaire will be self-administered face to face to the respondent by the researcher. This is much reliable as it ensures high response and return rate. The completed copies of the questionnaire will be collected and analyzed by the researcher.

### 3.7 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The method of data and information analysis in this study is a simple percentage analysis. The formula to be used is shown below:

$$\frac{\text{Number of response}}{\text{Total number of respondents}} \times 100 \%$$

Total number of respondents      1

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter represents the data analysis in-line with the research questions raised in the study. The research employed simple random sampling techniques by conveniently obtaining data from the respondents. The study arrived at a sample size of 207 respondents out of total population of the residents of Ibarapa Central Local Government area.

#### 4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

##### PERSONAL DATA ANALYSIS

Table 4.1.1 Gender

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	55	27%
Female	152	73%
Total	207	100%

##### Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 27% of the respondents are male, while 73% are female. This implies that majority of the respondents are female.

Table 4.1.2 Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-28years	120	58%
29-39years	57	28%
40years and above	30	14%
Total	207	100%

##### Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 58% of the respondents are between the age bracket of 18-28, 28% are 29-39, while 14% are 40years and above.

## CHAPTER FOUR DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter represents the data analysis in-line with the research questions raised in the study. The research employed simple random sampling techniques by conveniently obtaining data from the respondents. The study arrived at a sample size of 207 respondents out of total population of the residents of Ibarapa Central Local Government area.

### 4.1 Data Presentation and Analysis

#### PERSONAL DATA ANALYSIS

Table 4.1.1 Gender

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	55	27%
Female	152	73%
Total	207	100%

#### Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 27% of the respondents are male, while 73% are female. This implies that majority of the respondents are female.

Table 4.1.2 Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-28years	120	58%
29-39years	57	28%
40years and above	30	14%
Total	207	100%

#### Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 58% of the respondents are between the age bracket of 18-28, 28% are 29-39, while 14% are 40years and above.

**Table 4.1.3 Marital Status**

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	114	55%
Married	93	45%
Others	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 55% of the respondents are single, while 45% of the respondents. This implies that majority of the respondents are single.

**Table 4.1.4: Academic Qualification**

Academic qualification	No. of Respondents	Percentage
SSCE	70	33%
ND/NCE	40	20%
HND/BSC	97	47%
POSTGRADUATE	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 33% of the respondents are in ssce holders, 20% are ND/NCE holders, and 47% are HND/BSC holders, while none is a postgraduate. This implies that majority of the respondents are HND/BSC holders.

**Table 4.1.5: Have you heard the word public opinion before?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	180	87%
No	27	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 87% of the respondents have heard the word public opinion before, while 13% of the respondents have not. This implies that majority of the respondents have heard the word public opinion before.

**Table 4.1.6: Do you know what public opinion is?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	180	87%
No	27	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 87% of the respondents know what public opinion is, while 13% of the respondents have not. This implies that majority of the respondents know what public opinion is.

**Table 4.1.7: Public opinion is the same as propaganda**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Agree	141	68%
Strongly Agree	22	11%
Disagree	44	21%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 68% of the respondents agree, 11% of the respondents strongly agree, and 21% of the respondents disagree, while none strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Public opinion is the same as propaganda.

**Table 4.1.8: Do you know who Fulani herdsmen are?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	207	100%
No	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that all the respondents know who Fulani herdsmen are.

**Table 4.1.9: Fulani herdsmen are Hausas.**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	150	72%
Strongly Agree	12	6%
Disagree	45	22%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 72% of the respondents agree, 6% of the respondents strongly agree, and 22% of the respondents disagree, while none strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen are Hausas.

**Table 4.1.10: Fulani herdsmen graze on people's farms**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	177	86%
Strongly Agree	30	14%
Disagree	0	0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 86% of the respondents agree, 14% of the respondents strongly agree, while none neither disagrees nor strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen graze on people's farms.

**Table 4.1.11: Fulani herdsmen kill farm owners**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	181	87%
Strongly Agree	26	13%
Disagree	0	0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

**Table 4.1.9: Fulani herdsmen are Hausas.**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	150	72%
Strongly Agree	12	6%
Disagree	45	22%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 72% of the respondents agree, 6% of the respondents strongly agree, and 22% of the respondents disagree, while none strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen are Hausas.

**Table 4.1.10: Fulani herdsmen graze on people's farms**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	177	86%
Strongly Agree	30	14%
Disagree	0	0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 86% of the respondents agree, 14% of the respondents strongly agree, while none neither disagrees nor strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen graze on people's farms.

**Table 4.1.11: Fulani herdsmen kill farm owners**

Response	No. of. Respondents	Percentage
Agree	181	87%
Strongly Agree	26	13%
Disagree	0	0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 87% of the respondents agree, 13% of the respondents strongly agree, while none neither disagrees nor strongly disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen kill farm owners.

**Table 4.1.12: Do Fulani herdsmen apologize when they make a mistake?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	0	0%
No	207	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that all the respondents disagrees that Fulani herdsmen apologize when they make a mistake.

**Table 4.1.13: Are the activities of the Fulani herdsmen peaceful?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	0	0%
No	207	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that all the respondents disagrees that the activities of the Fulani herdsmen are peaceful.

**Table 4.1.14: Have the Fulani herdsmen stopped their harmful activities?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	24	12%
No	183	88%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 12% of the respondents agree that Fulani herdsmen stopped their harmful activities, while 88% of the respondents disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents disagree that Fulani herdsmen stopped their harmful activities.



**Table 4.1.15: Did the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	166	80%
No	41	20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 80% of the respondents agree, while 20% of the respondents disagree. This implies that majority of the respondents agree that the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen.

**Table 4.1.16: Did the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion?**

Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	20	10%
No	187	90%
<b>Total</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>100%</b>

Researcher's Field Survey, 2021

The above table shows that 20% of the respondents agree, while 90% of the respondents disagree that the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion.

## 4.2 Summary of Research Findings

**Research Question One (Do the respondents understand what public opinion is?)**

Table 4.1.6 answers this question. Table 4.1.6 reveals that 87% which represents that majority of the respondents know what public opinion is.

**Research Question Two (Do the respondents know who the Fulani herdsmen are?)**

Table 4.1.8 answers this question. Table 4.1.8 reveals that that all the respondents know who Fulani herdsmen are.

**Research Question Three (Are the activities of the Fulani herdsmen peaceful or not?)**

Table 4.1.13 answers this question. Table 4.1.13 reveals that all the respondents disagrees that the activities of the Fulani herdsmen are peaceful.

**Research Question Four (Does the public opinion on Fulani herdsmen have influence on their activities in the South-Western part of Nigeria?)**

Table 4.1.16 answers this question. Table 4.1.16 reveals that 90% which represents the majority of the respondents disagree that the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, an overview of this study is presented. The conclusion derived from the study is also presented as well as recommendations are suggested for further studies.

#### 5.1 Summary

This research work examined the assessment of the influence of public opinion on Fulani herdsmen activities in the south-western part of Nigeria, using Ibarapa local government residents as a study.

A statement of problem was established and research questions were raised from the study objectives to properly guide the researcher to achieve its basic goals. Also the study was guided with relevant literature, theories and empirical studies. The study employed survey as its research design and used purposive sampling as a way of obtaining data from the subjects of the study and simple random sampling techniques by giving every respondent in the population an equal chance of been selected in order to obtain relevant data from the respondents.

Data gotten from field were collated and analysed using frequency distribution and simple percentage for simplicity. Also, the last chapter of the work summarised the whole research work including conclusion based on findings, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

#### 5.2 Conclusion

Public opinion has no influence on Fulani herdsmen activities in the south-western part of Nigeria. This is so because citizens have made their opinion public that they do not want the

evil activities carried out by the Fulani herdsmen, but nothing has been done to stop their evil deeds.

Making a reference to the questionnaire distributed to the citizens of Ibarapa local government, one of the questions asked did the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen?, the response to the question revealed that 80% which represents majority of the respondents agree that the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria made their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen, and another question asked did the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion? The response to this question revealed that 90% which represents the majority of the respondents disagree that the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made:

Government should listen to the opinion of the people concerning a national issue as government's silence will give the herders more power and will leave the citizens with no option but to retaliate which might cause uproar in the nation.

Media should echo the opinion of the people so it can have a wider reach and frequency.

### **5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies**

The researcher suggests that studies that address public opinion and its effect on national peace should be carried out by future researchers.

## REFERENCES

- Asemah E.S.(2011): Selected Mass Media Themes, (2011), Jos: University Press.
- Asemah E.S. and Edegoh L.O. (2012), Mass media, agenda setting and conflict resolution in Plateau state, Nigeria, *Afrev Ijah: An International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 1(4) (November) (2012b), 112-19
- Borick, C. Erick L. and Barry G. (2011) "Climate Compared: Public Opinion on Climate Change in the United States and Canada," *Issues in Governance Studies*, no. 39, April 2011, accessed April 11, 2011, [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/04\\_climate\\_change\\_opinion/04\\_climate\\_change\\_opinion.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/04_climate_change_opinion/04_climate_change_opinion.pdf)
- Citypopulation.de (2020): *Oyo State in Nigeria* retrieved from <https://www.citypopulation.de/php/nigeria-admin.php?adminid=NGA031>
- Dailytrust (2018): "15 killed, 24 injured as gunmen attack Kaduna village". [www.dailytrust.com.ng](http://www.dailytrust.com.ng). retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Daniel S, Thelma F. (2003): *The Politics of Talk and Reputation*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2003 retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_opinion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_opinion)
- Davison, W. (2020). Public opinion. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>
- Eduresource World (2013): *Causes and Effect of Desertification in Nigeria*". Eduresource World. 2013-08-09. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Global Terrorism Index (2015): (PDF). Institute for Economics and Peace. pp. 43–44. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Glynn, C. J., Susan Herbst, Garrett J. O'Keefe, and Robert Y. Shapiro, (1999) cited in M. Libraries (2013): *What is Public Opinion*, retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/american-government/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Hiribarren, V. (2019). *Un manguier au Nigeria : Histoires du Borno*. Paris: Plon. ISBN 978-2-259-25086-3.
- Ilo, U; Jonathan-I; Adamolekun, 'Y. (2019). "The Deadliest Conflict You've Never Heard of". *Foreign Affairs : America and the World*. ISSN 0015-7120.
- IPI Global Observatory (2015): "Farmer-Herder Clashes Amplify Challenge for Beleaguered Nigerian Security". 16 July 2015. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)

- John A. Deborah J. D, Sarah V. H (2003). Factors That Influence Public Opinion of the Police, retrieved from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/197925.pdf>
- Ken, K (1999) cited in M. Libraries (2013): What is Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Key V. (1961) cited in Davison, W. (2020). Public opinion. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>
- Krosnick, J. Penny, S. and Allyson L. (1998) cited in M. Libraries (2013): What is Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Kurt B, Friedrich N. (2011): Eine Studie zur Theorie der Öffentlichen Meinung, Walter de Gruyter, 2011 retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_opinion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_opinion)
- Last, M. (2007). "Muslims and Christians in Nigeria: An economy of political panic". The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 96 (392): 605-616. doi:10.1080/00358530701626057. ISSN 0035-8533. S2CID 219627153
- Madueme, I. S. (2010). Fundamental Rules in Social Science Research Methodology. Nsukka: Jolyn Publishers 52.
- Morning Star News (2016): Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Massacres Reach Southern Nigeria, retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- MorningStar News (2020): "Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria Escalates with more Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Attacks". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Obasi. F. (2012). Data Analysis in Communication Research. (unpublished lecture note) Caritas University, Amorji-Nike, Enugu.
- Paul Burstein (2003): The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda, retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/106591290305600103?journalCode=prqb>
- Pew Research (2005): "More See Benefits of Stem Cell Research" (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center), retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Premium Times (2019): "How 66 people were killed in Kaduna in two days". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Punch Newspapers (2018): "Herdsmen kill 19 in Plateau midnight attack " retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)

- John A. Deborah J. D, Sarah V. H (2003). Factors That Influence Public Opinion of the Police, retrieved from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/197925.pdf>
- Ken, K (1999) cited in M. Libraries (2013): What is Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Key V. (1961) cited in Davison, W. (2020). Public opinion. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion>
- Krosnick, J. Penny, S. and Allyson L. (1998) cited in M. Libraries (2013): What is Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Kurt B, Friedrich N. (2011): Eine Studie zur Theorie der Öffentlichen Meinung, Walter de Gruyter, 2011 retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_opinion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_opinion)
- Last, M. (2007). "Muslims and Christians in Nigeria: An economy of political panic". The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs. 96 (392): 605-616. doi:10.1080/00358530701626057. ISSN 0035-8533. S2CID 219627153
- Madueme, I. S. (2010). Fundamental Rules in Social Science Research Methodology. Nsukka: Jolyn Publishers 52.
- Morning Star News (2016): Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Massacres Reach Southern Nigeria, retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- MorningStar News (2020): "Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria Escalates with more Muslim Fulani Herdsmen Attacks". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Obasi. F. (2012). Data Analysis in Communication Research. (unpublished lecture note) Caritas University, Amorji-Nike, Enugu.
- Paul Burstein (2003): The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda, retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/106591290305600103?journalCode=prqb>
- Pew Research (2005): "More See Benefits of Stem Cell Research" (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center), retrieved from <https://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/7-1-what-is-public-opinion/>
- Premium Times (2019): "How 66 people were killed in Kaduna in two days". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Punch Newspapers (2018): "Herdsmen kill 19 in Plateau midnight attack " retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)

- Punch Newspapers (2020): "21 feared killed in Adamawa herdsman attack". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Sahara Reporters. (2018): "Herdsman Attack: Reprisal Claims Six Lives in Adamawa" retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Sahara Reporters, (2019): "Ruga settlement". Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Saylordotorg(2018): *Public Opinion* retrieved from [https://saylordotorg.github.io/text\\_american-government-and-politics-in-the-information-age/s11-public-opinion.html](https://saylordotorg.github.io/text_american-government-and-politics-in-the-information-age/s11-public-opinion.html)
- Sean D. (2020): Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100353599>
- Simire, M. (2018). "Nigeria threatened by desertification, says NCF". *EnviroNews Nigeria*. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Tauna, A. (2019). "Kajuru killings: Over 130 lives wasted - Group laments" retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- The Punch (2012): "Senators fight over grazing land for Fulani herdsman". July 2012. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- The Sun Nigeria (2018): "JUST IN: 400 herdsman attack Adamawa villages, 15 locals killed". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Thisdaylive (2018): "Gunmen Kill 15, Injure 20 in Southern Kaduna". [www.thisdaylive.com](http://www.thisdaylive.com). retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Wilson, G. (2005): "Global Warming: Competing Ideas and Interest Groups," *Public Opinion Project*, May 2, 1998, accessed June 19, 2005. <http://www.southerner.net/fast/pocompet.html>.
- Wimmer R. and Dominick J. (2000), *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (6th ed), (2000), Belmont C.A.: Wads Worth Publishers.
- [www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com) (2018). "Communal clashes leave 86 dead in Nigeria". Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)



- Punch Newspapers (2020): "21 feared killed in Adamawa herdsmen attack". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Sahara Reporters. (2018): "Herdsmen Attack: Reprisal Claims Six Lives in Adamawa" retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Sahara Reporters, (2019): "Ruga settlement". Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Saylordotorg(2018): *Public Opinion* retrieved from [https://saylordotorg.github.io/text\\_american-government-and-politics-in-the-information-age/s11-public-opinion.html](https://saylordotorg.github.io/text_american-government-and-politics-in-the-information-age/s11-public-opinion.html)
- Sean D. (2020): Public Opinion, retrieved from <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100353599>
- Simire, M. (2018). "Nigeria threatened by desertification, says NCF". *EnviroNews Nigeria*. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Tauna, A. (2019). "Kajuru killings: Over 130 lives wasted - Group laments" retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- The Punch (2012): "Senators fight over grazing land for Fulani herdsmen". July 2012. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- The Sun Nigeria (2018): "JUST IN: 400 herdsmen attack Adamawa villages, 15 locals killed". retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Thisdaylive (2018): "Gunmen Kill 15, Injure 20 in Southern Kaduna". [www.thisdaylive.com](http://www.thisdaylive.com). retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)
- Wilson, G. (2005): "Global Warming: Competing Ideas and Interest Groups," Public Opinion Project, May 2, 1998, accessed June 19, 2005. <http://www.southerner.net/fast/pocompet.html>.
- Wimmer R. and Dominick J. (2000), *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (6th ed), (2000), Belmont C.A.: Wads Worth Publishers.
- [www.bbc.com](http://www.bbc.com) (2018). "Communal clashes leave 86 dead in Nigeria". Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herder%E2%80%93farmer_conflicts_in_Nigeria)

**APPENDIX**  
**ABRAHAM ADESANYA POLYTECHNIC**  
**DAGBOLU/AKANRAN, IBADAN ROAD, ATIKORI**  
**P. M. B.1020, IJEBU IGBO, OGUN STATE.**  
**DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Respondent,

I am a final year student of the above institution carrying out a research on "Assessment of the Influence of Public Opinion on FULANI Herdsmen Activities in the South-Western part of Nigeria". This questionnaire is designed to assist in the attainment of the objectives of the research.

I shall be very grateful if you could help to fill the attached questionnaire. I assure you that whatever information given will strictly be used for academic purpose and treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks.

Adeyinka Esther

**SECTION A: BIOGRAPHIC DETAILS**

Instruction: Please tick ( ) the appropriate response.

1. Sex: Male ( ) Female ( )
2. Age: 18-28 ( ) 29-39 years ( ) 40 and above ( )
3. Marital Status: Single ( ) Married ( ) Others ( )
4. Academic Qualification: S.S.C.E ( ) ND/NCE ( ) HND/Bsc ( ) Postgraduate ( )

**SECTION B: PSYCHOGRAPHIC DETAILS**

5. Have you heard the word public opinion before?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

6. Do you know what public opinion is?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

7. Public opinion is the same as propaganda

Agree [  ] Strongly agree [  ] Disagree [  ] Strongly disagree [  ]

8. Do you know who Fulani herdsmen are?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

9. Fulani herdsmen are Hausas.

Agree [  ] Strongly agree [  ] Disagree [  ] Strongly disagree [  ]

10. Fulani herdsmen graze on people's farms.

Agree [  ] Strongly agree [  ] Disagree [  ] Strongly disagree [  ]

11. Fulani herdsmen kill farm owners.

Agree [  ] Strongly agree [  ] Disagree [  ] Strongly disagree [  ]

12. Do Fulani herdsmen apologize when they make a mistake?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

13. Are the activities of the Fulani herdsmen peaceful?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

14. Have the Fulani herdsmen stopped their harmful activities?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

15. Did the citizens in the south-western part of Nigeria make their opinion known about the activities of the Fulani herdsmen?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

16. Did the Fulani herdsmen stop their harmful activities because of the people's opinion?

Yes [  ] No [  ]