

**HERDSMEN AND FARMER CLASHES IN NIGERIA
AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR NATIONAL PEACE,
SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT**

BY

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POLITICAL SCIENCE/CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

**A RESERACH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,
TAI SOLARIN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION,
OMU-IJEBU, OGUN STATE.**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF NIGERIAN CERTIFICATE IN EDUCATION (NCE).**

JANUARY, 2021.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this project work was carried out by **AKINTOYE OLUSOLA ISAAC** with Matriculation Number 17032221008, POL/CRS combination under my supervision in the Department of Political Science, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Tai Solarin College of Education, Omu-Ijebu, Ogun State.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the Almighty God who made all things possible and for His love, Grace, Mercies and Guidance throughout my stays in the college and for given me the grace to finish my project.

Also to my beloved caring and loving parents Mr. and Mrs. Akintoye who have laboured restlessly to give this unending legacy education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My profound gratitude goes to the Almighty God, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the one who is, who was and who is to come, the giver of wisdom, knowledge and understanding for His steadfast and immeasurable love and care towards me throughout my academic pursuit in the college, and for given me the priviledge to finish my project successfully.

My sincere appreciation goes to my supervisor Mr. Agoro, F.A for his understanding and patient toward me throughtout the course of writing this project. I pray that May the Almighty God renew your strength sir (Amen).

My sincere appreciation also goes to my wonderful parents Mr. Olamigoke Akintoye and Mrs. Elizabeth Akintoye for their moral, spiritual and financial support for making my journey on campus to be successful. I pray that God will grant you long life so as to reap the fruit of your labour in Jesus Name.

Also, I am grateful to my elder brothers, Akintoye Akinwunmi, Akinjeji Olasunkanmi and Akintoye Segun for their moral and financial support throughout my stay on campus. I also appreciate my younger brother, Akintoye Remi for his love and care.

My gratitude also goes to my friends, Emmanuel, Chally-Chi, Damilola, Wale, Sodiq, Kemi and Fesobi, for their immeasurable care and love towards me throughout our stays in the campus.

I also appreciate the efforts of my jewel, the heart that always loves me in person of Omolani Imisioluwa. Thanks for your love and care.

Finally, the fact that your name is not included does not mean you are not appreciated you all have made my stays and stay in TASCE worth living. I say to you all that may the Almighty God in His Infinite mercy bless you abundantly in Jesus name (Amen).

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the Herdsmen and Farmer Clashes in Nigeria and Its Implication for National Peace, Security and Development with a view to proffering solution to the problems identified survey research method was adopted. Data collected through questionnaire were analyzed. The findings revealed that there is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national security, peace and development in Nigeria. Subject for the study were fifty (50) respondents. Questionnaire was used to collect relevant data for the study. For the purpose of providing answers to the questions that initiate the study, the researcher made use of frequency tables and percentages for personal data of respondents. Responses to the research questions raised were analyzed using chi-square method. It was also concluded from the results of this study that the conflict and clashes between Fulani herdsmen and farmers have claimed enormous scores of lives in Nigeria. The researcher recommended that porous borders of Nigeria should be well manned.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction to the Study

According to Anter (2011), the Fulanis are traditionally a nomadic, pastoralist, tracking people, herding cattle, goats and sheep across the vast dry hinterlands of their domain, keeping somewhat separate from the local agricultural population. Their origin is a matter of contestation, with some scholars claiming Judaeo- Syrian ancestry and others suggesting a North African descent. However, most scholars agree that the group may have migrated from the Middle East through North Africa and settled in the Central and West Africa from Tekruur Empire in today's Senegal region. They are believed to be the largest semi- nomadic group in the world. In Nigeria, most of them still operate semi-nomadic herders, while others have embraced modernity and moved to the cities. Unlike the more integrated city dwellers, the nomadic groups spend most of their lives in the bush and are the one largely involved in the herders-farmers conflict. These herders usually herd the animals across vast areas, frequently clashing with farming communities.

Conflict between individuals and groups is traceable to the earliest written records as is evident in religious scriptures of Bible and the Quran and in mythical symbols of many cultures. Both scriptures had the parable of the children of Adam and Eve: Cain and Abel, in which Cain murdered Abel on a disagreement surrounding rivalry and animal sacrifice. Also, the Chinese emperors built the Great Wall to keep out the marauding hordes. The association of highly mobile pastoralists with raiding and warfare has been crucial in establishing negative stereotypes throughout history. In West Africa,

farmers formerly associated pastoral peoples with large-scale military conquest (Blench, 2003).

Arguably, Fulanis and Tuaregs are the largest (semi-)nomadic group in the world found across the West Central Africa. Anter (2011) also pointed out that the Fulani is an ethnic group who are spread over several West African countries and in some places in Central African and the Sudan. Fulani people are found in Mali, Mauritania, The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Togo, Niger, Senegal, Guinea, Benin, Ghana, Liberia, Sudan and Cameroon. In Nigeria, the Fulani people are found in large number. The nomadic group basically spends most of their lives in the bush and are the ones largely involved in clashes (Johnson & Akunola, 2017).

In his Fatwa on Urbanization of Nomads, Muhammad Ballo (2000) narrated that, both Fulanis and Tuaregs are nomads and their herds compelled them to move from desert to the south where there was better pasture. Before the present farmers-herdsmen relationship became acrimonious, they had been living in cordial and symbiotic manner. There was a period in which herdsmen entered into Nigeria via the Nigeria/Cameroon border in search of greener pasture. The herdsmen settled in Borno/Adamawa where they found pasture and they had a peaceful symbiotic relationship with the farmers, a situation that proved beneficial to both groups (Nweze, 2005). Obviously, the peaceful co-existence was conditioned by sufficiency of land for farmers and herdsmen and the subsistence nature of farming, limited numbers of cattle managed by the herdsmen

prevented fierce competition over scarce resources (Goke, 2018; Aliyu, Ikedinma & Akinwande, 2018).

With the increasing urbanization, numbers of cows, and limited land resources, the relationship between farmers and herders took a rather dangerous dimension, characterised by incessant conflict. Not only that increasing urbanization will be a reason for fighting between the Tuaregs and Fulanis and the settled communities they would later meet, Ballo (2000: 1) admitted that “northern Tuaregs clashed with the eastern groups over land of Adar and Gobir to which both were heading”. In similar vein, Blench (2003) asserted that as a result of the coming of the colonial regimes and the collapse of indigenous states, conflict between farmers and herders took on a different colouring, becoming more associated with competition for natural resources. Nigeria, however, presents a very special situation quite unlike other West African countries, for two reasons; most notably the ambiguous prestige of pastoral culture particular to Fulbe pastoralists and also because of its large and comparatively wealthy population (Blench 2003). Other reasons are; south ward movement of pastoral herds in to the humid and sub-humid zones, promoted by the successful control of epidemic posed by animal disease and the widespread availability of veterinary medicine and the expansion of farming activities into areas that hitherto served as pastureland. Since the 1950s, there has been a growth in human as well as livestock population in the coastal countries of West Africa. This gave rise to an increase pressure on natural resources and a stiff competition for available resources between farmers and herders (Ofuoku & Isife, 2010).

As time goes, cases of farmers-herdsmen conflicts across various states and locations in Nigeria began to draw the attention of the local authority and international community. These conflicts have now become so threatening on the country's national integration, such that the hitherto peaceful relationship between farmers and herdsmen across various parts of Nigeria is degenerating to a carnage level (Kolawole, Amoge, & Eunice, 2018). The conflict is usually resulting in the death of hundreds of people, the destruction of thousands of homes and extensive harm to people's livelihoods (Amnesty International, 2018). While conflict can be dangerous, it also carries the possibility of producing creative cooperation in a win-win solution (Shamir, 2003).

Amnesty International (2018) argued that the government of Nigeria has failed to comply with its obligation to exercise due diligence, failing both to address the underlying causes of the violence between herders and villagers also to curb violence when it did occur. The key to this is for participants to engage as joint problem solvers, seeking to resolve the dispute, and to try and "enlarge the pie" rather than acting as adversaries and aggravating the situation. A mediator can play a valuable role in this process, facilitate a negotiation process which has come to a dead end, helping the parties concerned to focus on their essential interests rather than defend (or attack) fixed positions. The principles and procedures of consensus building should also be dealt with in some detail (Shamir, 2003). Few studies have been carried out about the plights of herdsmen (Sieff, 1997) and that of farmers (Tefera, 2013), both of which established a correlation that can generate conflict between the two groups.

Violent conflicts between herdsmen from northern Nigeria and farmers in the central and southern zones have escalated in recent years and are spreading southward, threatening the country's security, stability and peace. With an estimated death toll of approximately 2,500 people in 2016, and nothing less than 4,500; these clashes are becoming as potentially dangerous as the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East. Yet to date, response to the crisis at both the federal and state levels have been poor (International Crises Group, 2017). Nigeria has experienced a considerable increase in natural resource conflicts since the early 1990s. The increasing conflicts between farmers and herdsmen have recently become a cause for worry, especially in wetland areas of the middle belt, North Central Nigeria (Leme, 2017).

In a particular attack by Fulani herdsmen in 2016 on Nimbo residents in Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State, left about 40 persons dead (Abiodun, 2016). These conflicts between herdsmen and farmers have exacted a heavy humanitarian toll with thousands killed and tens of thousands displaced. In Benue, one of the hardest-hit states, Governor Samuel Ortom reports more than 1,878 people were killed between 2014 and 2016. Tens of thousands also have been displaced. From January 2015 to February 2017, at least 62,000 people were displaced in Kaduna, Benue and Plateau states; in the absence of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps, most seek shelter in other poor, rural communities, straining their already scarce resources. For women and girls, the impact is frequently magnified. The relatives of men killed in the violence often evict widows from their farmland. Moreover, post-conflict economic and social

disenfranchisement renders women and girls even more vulnerable to sexual and economic predation (International Crises Group, 2017).

Farmers and herdsmen conflict have remained the most preponderant resource-use conflict in Nigeria (Ajuwon, 2004; Fasona and Omojola, 2005). The necessity to provide food of crop and animal origin, as well as raw materials for industry and export in order to meet ever-growing demands, has led to intensification of land use (Nyong and Fiki, 2005). The competition between farmers and herdsmen, however, has often times turned into serious hostilities and social friction in many parts of Nigeria.

However, conflicts between farmers and herdsmen emanated as a result of the increase in population of both the farmers and the herdsmen. This was sequel to the increase in the need for more farmland. Other causes of the conflict include: change in climate condition leading to draught and dessert encroachment; improvement in technology that brought about irrigation; the need to cultivate and produce more of the cash crops newly introduced. Conflict between farmers and herdsmen is reinforced by the farmers' habit of extending the boundary of their farms to livestock route and the herdsmen's habit of allowing cattle to veer into the farmers' farm to eat their plants and drop their dung either on the farm or on the pedestal route (Moritz, 2003). The farmers-herdsmen conflict in Riyom Plateau State; Agatu in Benue State, Nimbo in Enugu State and the alleged kidnapping of Chief Olu Falae (who is a farmer), by suspected herdsmen in Ondo State, is a new twist to the incidents of farmers herdsmen conflicts which affirm the fact that farmers-herdsmen conflict is assuming a national integration threatening

dimension in Nigeria (Oyeyipo, James & Sanda, 2015). Also, various farmers-herdsmen attacks in Oke-Ogun area of Oyo State, has posed threat to the peaceful co-existence of the different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. The intractable nature of the conflict has prompted many studies by different researchers. Most of these studies note that the conflict is caused by population explosion, climate change, trampling of farmers' farms, rapping of female farmers, encroachment of livestock routes, and muddling of water ponds of communities by the herds.

The findings of Abbass (2012), Audu (2013), Nformi, et al., (2014), Ofem & Bassey (2014), Ezech (2015), Doyin (2017) and Akorede (2018) revealed that herdsmen/farmers clashes has led to loss of human lives and cattle, displacement of farmers and/or herdsmen and reduction in farm produce as some of the general effects of the conflicts in Nigeria. Farmers-herdsmen conflicts have gone beyond being a threat to individual lives but have now attained a national integration threatening dimension.

In view of this, this study examines the herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria and its implication for national peace, security and development.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The herders and farmers conflict in Nigeria has become recurring decimal. The cause can be ascribed to control over land for grazing and farming, massive desertification of vegetative lands and droughts in Northern Nigeria which compel herders to migrate towards the middle belt region and some parts, of the south in search of greener pasture and water for their livestock. In the course of their movement, the

nomadic herdsmen settle in farming communities where there is green vegetation and water such as within the Benue valley/tough. Often times, farmers accuse the herdsmen of encroaching and destroying their farmlands and crops and contaminating their main source of water supply. The herdsmen on their part accuse the farmers of poisoning, killing or even stealing their livestock especially cattles. The herdsmen also accuse the farmers of blocking their grazing routes, alleged to have been established in the early 1960s. The herdsmen and farmers conflict has assumed mere worrisome dimension with the use sophisticated weapons such as AK47 by the herdsmen who were known for the use of sticks and cutlasses while grazing.

Regrettably, the conflict has even defied security measures by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Several farming communities in several States of Nigeria have suffered unrelenting attacks for quite some years. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended in Chapter II Section 14 Subsection 2 (b) clearly states that ‘The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government’. The spirit of the constitution as mentioned above has not been adhered to. It is on record that in a single attack of herdsmen on farmers on January 1st, 2018, in Benue State alone, 73 victims were killed and buried enmass (The Nation Newspaper, January 11, 2018). These nomadic herdsmen mostly migrate in the dry season in search of the greener pastures. The fact remains that the rearing of livestock is a business just like farming is also the main occupation of the host communities.

The herdsmen are against ranching as provided for in enabling laws by the governments of Ebonyi and Taraba States and other states of the federation. These laws are in conformity with standard global best practices in livestock management. Before the 2019 General Election in Nigeria, the effects of the herders and farmers conflict disenfranchised of the electorates from voting the candidates of their choice. Some displaced families and communities who lost their Permanent Voters Card (PVCs) did not vote for candidate of their choice in the elections. Consequently, this research work seeks to investigate the herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria and its implication for national peace, security and development.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine the herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria and its implication for national peace, security and development. Other salient objectives will include:

- i. To examine the concept of conflict.
- ii. To trace the history of herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria.
- iii. To investigate the causes of herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria.
- iv. To look at the empirical evidence of herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria.
- v. To look at the security/peace implication of herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria.
- vi. To look at the impact of herdsmen/farmers clashes on development in Nigeria.
- vii. To proffer possible solution to electoral reforms in Nigeria.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study will be very useful to the government and stakeholders on the impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national peace, security and development in Nigeria.

The result of the study will also be useful to Nigerian citizens as they will comprehend and be enlightened on the future occurrences in Nigeria.

The finding will also be useful to students, staff and researchers looking for reference materials on the impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national peace, security and development. The public, private sectors and public affair analyst will learn a lot from the findings and recommendations made in this work.

1.5 Research Questions

The main research questions are:

- i. What is Conflict?
- ii. What are the causes of herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria?
- iii. What are the security implication of herdsmen and farmer clashes in Nigeria?
- iv. What are the measures taking prior to the 2011 general elections?
- v. What are the impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria?
- vi. How can herdsmen and farmers crises be settled in Nigeria?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

These are the hypothesis formulated for this study:

Hypothesis One

Ho: There is no significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on security in Nigeria.

H1: There is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national peace and security in Nigeria.

Hypothesis Two

Ho: There is no significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

Ho: There is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

1.7 Scope of The Study

This research work will focus on Herdsmen and Farmers Clashes in Nigeria and Its Implication for National Peace, Security and Development.

1.8 Limitation to the Study

The research is affected by many problems including, limited resources in terms of finances that is lack of funds to travel in search of data. Also availability of current relevant text that will give adequate information are not available. Furthermore, time constraint also hindered the perfect collection of necessary data for the project work.

1.9 Definitions of Terms

These are terms used in this research work:

1. **Conflict:** This is a situation of disagreement or incompatibility between two parties characterized by the inability of those concerned to iron out their differences.
2. **Development:** This is the general improvement in economic, social and political conditions of the whole society in terms of reduction or elimination of poverty and unemployment within the context of a growing economy.
3. **National Development:** According to Tolu and Abe (2011:238), national development is the ‘the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation’.
4. **Herders:** These are nomadic pastoralists who are mainly Fulanis, one of the ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria. Their main pre-occupation is rearing of livestock (cattle, sheep and donkey).
5. **Farmers:** Farmers in Nigeria are found in every part of the country. Most Nigerians are farmers-small scale (peasant) farming or large scale. Farmers till the land and cultivate all kinds of crops for either cash or consumption. Farmers belong to virtually all ethnic groups in Nigeria

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature Review

Conflict connotes clash or disagreement between two or more groups who have incompatible differences. It is a situation where two or more parties pursue similar goals but believe that such goals are achievable by just one of them and employ every resource within their disposal to hinder the other party from attaining such goal. According to Maltosa (1999), conflict often expresses itself in the form of violence, and once it assumes this character, it becomes undesirable and counter-productive. Conflict can lead to mutual satisfaction and growth, and can produce hostilities. Galtung (1996) complemented the above position by arguing that conflicts have both life-affirming and life-destroying aspects.

Similarly, Bloomfield, Ghai, and Reilly (2003) opine that conflict itself is not necessarily a negative process. It is one of the most powerfully positive factors for change in a society. Thus, conflicts can be harmful or harmless to humankind (Adeleke, 2018). It is the former, that is, harmful conflict which plagued Nigeria, via the farmers - herdsman conflict which is the focus of this study. For the purpose of this study, farmers mean only those who cultivate the land for plant produce. Most of these people are indigenous members of the community where they reside. In Nigeria, they are found in almost all the rural settings and cultivate at a subsistent level.

Herdsman, on the other hand, are people who rear livestock and mostly of the Fulani extraction. The particular group in this study is the transhumant category and not

the sedentary type. This is because, the sedentary ones have little record of clashes with their host communities compared to the transhumant category which grazes livestock and shifts from one location to another where they can get feeds for their animals. Farmers-herdsmen conflict is basically the verbal and lethal confrontations that farmers usually have with the herdsmen as a result of their competition over the available resources of grazing farmland on one hand and drinking or use of water for irrigation on the other hand.

Available records indicate that quite a number of researchers in diverse fields have addressed the issue of conflicts and possible solution generally. In the words of Stern (1998) and Akorede (2005), conflicts are natural parts of life. Both scholars aver that conflict is a by-product of the interaction of people or groups with different expectations, interests and backgrounds in the society. This position aptly agrees with the herders and farmers conflict situation in Nigeria. The herders' background, expectations and interests are no doubt, at variance with that of farmers in Nigeria. They are therefore, continuously to achieve their interest and expectations by attacking the peasant farmers in the course of grazing their herds.

Shadrach (2016) captures it graphically that:

The fact cows began to be slim, there was no more water for them to drink and for the love of herd, the herdsmen began to work down towards central Nigeria (Middle Belt), by the

time they reached Plateau, Taraba and other Middle Belt states, they began to see fresh green grass and water.

This naturally, brings the herders into conflict with the farmers whose crops and fertile farming land is now endangered by the arrival of the herdsmen. Many scholars, (Isard 1992, Otite 1999, Weck 1992 and Jibo 1993), groups and/or organizations such as Amnesty International (AI) and International Crisis Group (ICG) all over the world are concerned and worried about conflict generally. They also indicate worry and concern over the issue of the conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria and the implications. Somehow, the emerging debate on the matter is seen to be based on certain assumptions and these assumptions appear to be the opinions of very many scholars. They all appear to agree to the assumption that conflict is a natural and inevitable phenomena that is an important part of human existence.

Isard (1992) says it is a “natural part of our daily lives”. Weck (1992) affirmed that “it cannot be excluded from social life.” Emerging from this same assumption that conflict is inevitable and ubiquitous, Yecho (2006) agrees that “contemporary world is built around conflict”. Other scholars, Simons (1979) and Sorkaa (2006) also agree that conflict and disagreements are the same phenomenon. Simon (1979) particularly notes the extensive use of the term “communication breakdown” to describe conflict situation. Though conflict tantamount to disagreement, conflict in real sense, is more serious than mere disagreement and deserves more serious attention. Another assumption is that conflict is dynamic, not static.

Lederach in Mamkaa (2018) insists that conflict is a static phenomenon, but expressive, dynamic and dialectical. Best (2006) argued that “each conflict has its dynamics, characterized by different stages and phases of change and transformation”. This assumption could be useful in addressing issues of conflict by isolating particular conflict, with its peculiarities, to deal with rather than giving up that it is inevitable, therefore cannot be resolved and should just be accepted as such.

For the purpose of this study, farmers mean only those who cultivate the land for plant produce. Most of these people are indigenous members of the community where they reside.

In Nigeria, they are found in almost all the rural settings and cultivate at a subsistent level. Herdsmen, on the other hand, are people who rear livestock and mostly of the Fulani extraction. The particular group in this study is the transhumant category and not the sedentary type. This is because, the sedentary ones have little record of clashes with their host communities compared to the transhumant category which grazes livestock and shifts from one location to another where they can get feeds for their animals. Farmers-herdsmen conflict is basically the verbal and lethal confrontations that farmers usually have with the herdsmen as a result of their competition over the available resources of grazing farmland on one hand and drinking or use of water for irrigation on the other hand. National Integration is conceived as the feeling of unity and togetherness, which every Nigerian should have, to uphold the oneness of Nigeria.

2.1 Who are Herdsmen?

Herdsmen refer to a group of people involved in cattle, goat and sheep herding activities. They are socio economically pastoralist by behavior and occupation. In Nigeria and many parts of West Africa, they are predominantly of Fulani ethnic grouping, hence, the emergence of the phrase “Fulani Herdsmen”. According to David Levinson (1996) “one third of Fulani populations are pastoralist” thus making Fulani the largest herding ethnic group in the world. Herding is a cultural and socio economic part of the Fulani people. Estimated to be between 10 and 15 million in Nigeria, Fula, Fulbe, or Hilani (as they are also called), are culturally bonded by the Fulfulde language and religiously by Islam. Herdsmen (or Fulani) oral history opines that they are a group of people from Egypt, the Middle or Far East. Their migratory movement saw the first wave of Fulani settle around Mediterranean Africa and Mauritania. There, they mingled with the Berbers of North Africa (Richard, 2008; Ndukwe, 1996).

From North Africa they moved south into the Senegambia region of West Africa by the 5th century (Skutch, 2005), and by the 15th century they had established their presence in what later became northern Nigeria. Herdsmen are predominantly of Fulani stock. They are a mixture of Arab, Berbers of North Africa and native West Africa people - mostly the Toucoulor, Wolof and Serer. According to Skutch (2005) both the language of, and contemporary Fulani people (sedentary and pastoralist) originates from the Senegambia region of West Africa. Herdsmen occupy an east-west geographical

expanse immediately below the Sahara Desert, spanning across the Sahel and just above the Savannah (swamp and rain forest) region of Africa (Denver, 2015).

Thus, they could be found in Mauritania, Central Africa Republic, Cameroun and in many countries of West Africa; especially Nigeria, where Fulani are regarded as the fourth largest ethnic group at an estimated population of 15 million. By the 16th century, Fulani presence, whether as sedentary or pastoralist, had been established in Nigeria by virtue of the expansion of influence into Rano (today Kano) by the Askia Mohammed Fulani Empire of Songhai. Later in 1808, another Fulani by name Usman Dan Fodio established, through a jihad, the Sokoto Caliphate which spanned across most parts of northern and partly central Nigeria. It must be noted that Pastoral Fulani or “Fulani Herdsmen” were not MIA – missing in action during the jihads. According to Stanton (2012) “Pastoral Fulani were the warring entities of the jihads, armed with horses and other artilleries of warfare”. In Nigeria the group of people actively involved in herding activities are the Kanembu, Kiroya, Manga, Fulbe (Fulani) and Shuwa Arabs.

Among these groups, the Fulani are the largest owners of livestock in Nigeria accounting for about 90% of the nation’s stock (Abbas, 2009). This implies that herding activities in Nigeria is dominated by Fulani. Hence, many refer to herdsmen with the ethnical phrase “Fulani herdsmen”. Their herding activities, just like their 15th century eastward search for pasture is strategic. While some have argued that Herdsmen transhumance (pastoral) activities are simply for tax evasion, avoidance of harsh climatic conditions; dangerous cattle diseases and a form of cheap economic production, others

have argued it to be associated with their culture. These multiple factors, including environmental and demographic changes, forces an annual northwest - southeastern transhumant movement in search of pasture which is essential for their survival -human and cattle. In recent times, their socio-economic activities have increasingly culminated in violent conflicts with the economic activities of several farming communities, and the rising state of its occurrence, destruction and human fatality recorded, is in contemporary Nigeria, an issue of national security concern.

2.2 Origin of Farmers/Herders Conflicts in Nigeria

It has not been easy situating the origin of conflicts between sedentary farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. Many presumed reasons have been adduced in literature ranging from historical background of Nigerian herdsmen, economic, ethno-religious, political to climate change. Tracing the history of herdsmen in Nigeria, Danver (2015) noted that Hausa Language speakers interpret the term Fulani largely describing the nomadic people commonly found across West Africa. Historical pundits also trace the history of nomadism in Nigeria to the backdrop of Fulani herdsmen of Futa Jalon in the present day Guinea specifically Takrur on the Futa Jalon highlands of the 15th century (Tordoft and Fage, 2013). The innate behaviour of Fulani origin of Futa Jalon background was said to be settling and razing as strangers in unused parcel of land, and that it is normally expected that they breach preexisting security protocols and order and

would move to conquer any less powerful land owners and tribes (Mandal, 1990, Sotunde, 2016).

This type of behaviour, according to Abraham (2017) is characteristic of the Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria which has consistently defined their strategy by friendly occupation before getting into hostilities, with the host communities. Historical antecedents showed that the Fulani's who migrated to the Northern Nigeria were of the Futa Jalon origin who upturned the political equation in Jalonke and then started competing for power with the indigenous people from 1726 – 1750 (Hammond, 1961).

2.3 Causes of conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers

Some factors have been considered to be responsible for many of the conflicts that happen between the farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. The factors are stated as follows.

Firstly, unauthorized encroachment into farmlands have led to serious conflicts between the farmers and herdsmen in recent times, because of the damage they cause to crops and fallow lands left to replenish the nutrients after long years of use. The herdsmen's cows often stray into the farmlands of the farmers without permission and destroy crop nurseries or full-grown crops, which they hope to harvest and sell in the near future. This attitude, no doubt, provokes the farmers to go after their animals. Okoli and Atelhe (2014) reveal that the shrinking of ecological space and resorts creates an atmosphere of ecoscarcity, which raises the stakes and puts a premium on the available resources. What usually results from this is fierce competition and a desperate struggle

for subsistence. In this context, therefore, conflict not only becomes inevitable; it simply becomes a matter of survival.

Secondly, the Fulani herdsmen use other people to buy land for them in their own name while they lie to the natives that they are people buying the land for one business or the other. However, the owners of the land discover later that they have been tricked by the herdsmen when they see the land being used by herdsmen for cattle business, contrary to their will; this leads to conflicts.

Thirdly, climate change is one of the major causes of conflicts between farmers and herdsmen. This is so because when there is unfavourable weather the herdsmen will be compelled to leave their original habitation to another area for greener pastures. Lending support to this, Gleick (2010) observed that climate change has been tipped as the greatest single factor to induce migration and population displacement. According to the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change, this will affect people displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding and agricultural disruption. According to Ibenwa, Nwokocha and Okoli (2017), migration is the movement of people from one geographical region to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence.

Fourthly, lack of political will by the government to arrest and punish the offenders adequately is one of the factors fuelling the activities of the herdsmen in Nigeria today. A case in point was what happened in Nimbo in Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area and in Enugu town in 2016, all in Enugu State. The Fulani herdsmen

attacked farmers at Nimbo because of a misunderstanding over grazing fields and killed over 50 persons and destroyed their property, worth thousands of naira (Mamah et al. 2016). From that time to the present no serious arrest has been made and the Fulani come back at intervals to attack famers and villagers on their farms. A few months after the attack at Nimbo and Enugu, Fulani herdsmen entered a farm to feed their flocks and while they were doing that the owners of the farm land came and chased them and their cattle away. Sequel to this, at midnight the Fulani herdsmen came and attacked the people, killing a pregnant woman.

Fifthly, the inability of government in most cases to respond quickly to distress calls and early warning signs is an issue that promotes conflict. This negative attitude has made it difficult to stop crises that would have been prevented if government had responded accordingly to distress calls and warnings.

2.4 Empirical Incidents of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflicts in Nigeria

These are some of the incidents of farmers-herdsmen conflicts in the country. At least, a case of farmers and herdsmen conflict in a state in each of the six geo-political zones in the country will be examined.

Experience from the South West

The former governor of Ekiti State, Ayodele Fayose declared war against the herdsmen, following alleged killing of two people in the State. The governors' threat was initially provoked by an earlier attack reportedly carried out by herdsmen on the 20 May, 2016, at Oke Ako, where five people were allegedly killed. In September 21, 2015,

herdsmen numbering over 20 were equally reported to have abducted a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF) and chieftain of Afenifere, Chief Samuel Oluyemisi Falae on his 77th birthday after invading his farm in Ilado Village, Akure North Area of Ondo State (Oyedotun, 2017). Less than two hours after the incident, the kidnappers were said to have demanded N100m ransom but after about 96 hours, Falae, who was also a former Finance Minister, was said to have regained his freedom after he was reportedly rescued by a team of security operatives led by the former Inspector General of Police, Solomon Arase (Doyin, 2017).

Following Falae's abduction, the Afenifere cultural group called for the expulsion of the herdsmen from the South-West, if they would continue to jeopardize the peace in the region (Thisday, 2016). On the same day, farmers in Lagun, Iyana Offa, Atagba, Lapata and the surrounding communities in Lagelu Local government area of Oyo State reported that they were attacked by herdsmen who also stole valuables from them (Punch, 2016). Saki, Ago-Are, Oje- Owode areas of Oyo state have been severally reported of having severe encounters of farmers and herdsmen (Vanguard, 2016). In each of the conflict, lives and properties were reported to have been lost and villagers displaced (Adeleke, 2018).

Menace of the Conflict in the North-Central

In March 2016, the people of Agatu Local Government of Benue state, comprising of communities such as Aila, Akwu, Adagbo, Okokolo, Ugboju, Odugbeho, Ogbaulu, Egba and Obagji, witnessed herdsmen attack that resulted in the death of over

300 people. Houses, schools, health centres and worship centres were razed down (The Nation, 2016). The cause of the carnage was reported to be a reprisal attack by the Fulani over their 10,000 cows that were initially rustled. Again, there was a clash between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers on July, 2016 (Vanguard, 2016). The report had it that, not fewer than five persons were killed by the incident in Logo Local Government Area by suspected herdsmen. An eyewitness claimed that the armed herdsmen stormed the villages, singing war songs, shooting sporadically and burning houses, huts and food barns in the affected communities over clash on grazing land (Vanguard, 2016).

In a related development, suspected Fulani herdsmen were reported to have killed at least 103 people in the North Central (AFP, 2015; Clara, 2018). This is one of the clashes in a long running battle with farming communities in the restive region. Between January and July 2018, not less than 500 lives were lost the clashes between farmers and herdsmen (Clara, 2018). The Benue state Governor, Samuel Ortom, claimed while defecting from All Progressive Congress to the Peoples Democratic Party that he cannot continue to keep his tent with a political party that has evidently failed to protect his people (Tribune, 2018). The first Niger state experience of farmers-herdsmen conflict occurred in November 17 2016, in Kukaki community of Shiroro Local Government Area where six of the residents were killed by cattle rustlers (Vanguard, 2016).

In the incident, four Fulani and two Gbagyi were said to have been killed while several others sustained different degrees of injury. The suspects, numbering about 50, according to a report, carted away about 700 cows along with other smaller animals like

goats and sheep. In Plateau state, people of Riyom Local Government Area were attacked by herdsmen on March 5, 2014, killing not less than 10 people. According to Realnews (2014), more than 100 houses were also burnt when gunmen reportedly stormed Gwon, Torok, Gwawereng and Gwarim in Rim District of the Local Government Area shooting sporadically and setting houses on fire. According to a survivor, who craved anonymity, the attackers were Fulani herdsmen accompanied by some people in police uniform (Realnews, 2014).

Similarly, in 2012, Senator Gyang Danton and the Majority Leader of the Plateau State House of Assembly, Mr. Gyang Fulani died in a stampede that ensued while attending the mass burial of about 50 victims of attack by Fulani herdsmen at Maseh village in Riyon LGA, Plateau State (Thisday, 2016). Till date, the North-Central geopolitical zone is still witnessing regular killings of innocent people arising from farmers-herdsmen clashes (Akorede, 2018 and Adeleke, 2018).

Farmers-Herdsmen Conflicts in the North-East

In Taraba state, farmers-herdsmen crisis in Gassol appears to have been a protracted one spanning the period between 7 April, 2014 and 21 July, 2014. As reported by Gistmania Naijapals (2014), between the periods stated above, there had been series of attacks involving farmers and Fulani herdsmen resulting in several deaths and destruction of properties. Adamawa state also witnessed bloodletting due to farmers and herdsmen conflict over grazing right. The crisis took a religious dimension because both Christians and the Muslims houses were reportedly burnt.

Premium Times (2016) reported that on Sunday, September 4, the Divisional Police Officer, DPO, in charge of Vunokilang Police Station in Girei Local Government Area of Adamawa State was reportedly killed alongside 30 other people in an attack by suspected Fulani herdsmen. The online news reported that the suspected herdsmen were said to have raided four villages: Demsare, Wunamokoh, Dikajam and Taboungo in what is believed to be a vengeance mission over an existing feud with farmers in the area. Several houses and other properties in the villages were also burnt in the attack. As at July 2018, many residents were still fleeing Adamawa and Taraba due to incessant attacks that were connected with farmers-herdsmen clashes (Goke, 2018 and Akorede, 2018).

The Orgy of the Conflicts in the North-West

On August 3, 2016, it was reported that some armed Fulani herdsmen killed at least five villagers in Jama's Local government of Kaduna state (News 24). Just like in other places, the cause of the disagreement was competition over grazing right. As reported by Vanguard (2014), another attack took place in Kaduna state on 9 March, 2014, with over 57 gunmen, suspected to be Fulani herdsmen attacked the community of Angwan Sakwai in Kaura Local Government Area and killed over 57 people (men, women and children). Houses were burnt and properties destroyed (Vanguard, 2014).

The Punch (2016) reported that in another encounter, on Thursday, 13 October 2016, two police officers were ambushed and killed by suspected Fulani herdsmen along Kagoro Gidan Waya road in Kaura Local Government Area. In the attack, at a check

point in the area, two other police officers were said to have sustained injuries while two escaped unhurt. The Godogodo area of Southern Kaduna in Jama'ah Local Government Area witnessed the killing of 20 persons between 15 and 16 October, 2016, by gunmen suspected to be herdsmen. Also affected in the attack were several people who sustained various degrees of injuries. Consequent upon this attack, a 24 hour curfew was imposed on the local government by the State government (Punch, 2016). On the 17 October 2016, in what seemed like a reprisal attack for the 20 people killed at Godogodo on the 15 and 16 October 2016, some suspected youths, resident in southern Kaduna were reported to have attacked, hacked and burnt 14 men, suspected to be Fulani herdsmen (Punch, 2016). According to (Goke, 2018), between July 2017 and July 2018, not less than 187 people have been killed in the North-West geo-political zone during attacks not unconnected with farmers-herdsmen clashes.

South-East Encounter of the Conflicts

In Enugu State, over 46 people were killed in Nimbo community in an attack allegedly carried out by over 500 Fulani herdsmen (Vanguard, 2016). Although, a threat was said to have been issued out by the attackers prior to the event, but nevertheless executed successfully. Security agents were reported to have responded to the threat by strategically stationing themselves in the community. But the attackers tarried until when the security agents had left the community before they carried out the retaliatory attack (Premium Times, 2016). They were also said to have fled before the security agents came back. It was reported in the Vanguard of Thursday, April 27, 2016 that over 2000 people

were displaced, 40 injured and many houses and churches were destroyed as a result of the attack. Both the Senate President and the House of Representative Speaker were reported to have said, on different occasions that the farmers-herdsmen attack was threatening national unity and capable of disintegrating the country. Abia State witnessed attacked by a group of suspected Fulani herdsmen in Abam community of Arochukwu Local Government Area.

Thisday (2016) reported that the incident was said to have occurred on the farms of the farmers when they were harvesting their crops (rice) on 14 November, 2016 with several people killed and others sustained various degree of injuries. As at May, 2018, killings associated with farmers-herdsmen clashes have not been fully stopped (Oyedotun, 2018). South-South Menace On April 19 2014, residents of 25 local government areas in Delta State grounded activities on the Benin-Asaba Expressway, protesting the killing of 23 people by the nomadic herdsmen (Thisday, 2016). Also in June 19, 2015, Port Harcourt was thrown into pandemonium as a result of the killing of about 10 farmers by herdsmen (The nation, 2016). A lecturer and about 16 villagers were reportedly killed in Abraka on Sunday, March 26, 2017 (Punch, 2017). As at June 2018, the South-South geo-political zone is still embroiled in killings that are well established to be related to farmers-herdsmen confrontations (Akorede, 2018 and Goke, 2018).

2.5 Herders and Farmers Crises in Nigeria and Implications for Development

The outcomes of violent confrontations are hardly advantageous when the well-being and safety of the generality of the people are considered, as well as its implications on the growth and development of the nation. For instance, the loss of social capital in form of breakdown of social relationships that have been built over the years between these livelihood groups in neighbouring communities is one of the fallouts of the cattle herders and farmers' crisis. This situation robs both groups the ability to trust each other in future dealings, thus creating and re-creating tension situations that may give rise to new forms of conflict and crisis. Whole communities have been sacked and displaced thereby increasing the burden of government, groups and individuals in providing care and other necessities of life for them.

Also, the crisis has put the Nigerian government under serious spotlight nationally and internationally. Governance in Nigeria has been assessed to have failed to provide the needed security for all her citizens. The tensed social atmosphere has definitely limited her development effort and achievements in so many ways. For example, there is a looming food crisis in Nigeria. Benue, a food producing State has adversely been affected in terms of food production. Farmers having lost so much are discouraged and fearful of continuing with their livelihood. Individual farms, school and corporate or institutional farms have all been negatively impacted. None has been spared the rampaging effects of these clashes. As noted by Abdulsalami Abubakar, a former Nigerian head of State, the

estimated annual loss Nigeria incurs as a result of the herders and farmers' crisis stands at a shocking 13.7 billion dollars (Onwumere, 2017).

The implication is that scarcity and exorbitant cost of food will be imminent and feeding her population will be most difficult. The only option will be to divert financial resources to importation of food, while ignoring other sectors that require critical attention as well. Industries will also be affected as some of their inputs may be difficult to source. Agricultural Investment firms can be re-located to other countries with favourable social climate. The loss of human lives cannot be equated with any other form of loss. The herdsman and farmers' clashes, amongst many other conflict situations in the country, have led to the decimation of many lives since independence till date.

Onwumere (2016) quoted the number of deaths as at 2014 resulting from the herders and farmers' crisis as officially recorded by Institute for Economics and Peace as 1,229. This figure pales into insignificance when compared with the most recent killings witnessed in Benue state. This most recent Benue State experience, for instance, recorded over seventy lives lost in one single attack of a community. No doubt many individuals have been affected in several ways such as loss of bread winners and food producers, children being orphaned, women widowed and the emotional and physical injuries sustained are traumatic and longer lasting. The implication of all these on development is enormous and devastating. As noted by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 2015, the consequences of conflict, especially civil conflicts, for development are profound. Armed conflict often leads to forced migration, long-term refugee

problems, and the destruction of infrastructure. Social, political, and economic institutions are permanently damaged.

Bhatti (2015) also noted that violent conflict has serious economic consequences which usually affect other facets of the society. In addition to the lost lives, injuries and the overall scale of human suffering that conflicts create, violence destroys assets and institutions. The consequences, the intensities of conflicts and their linkages with human endeavours to transcend socio-economic, political and environmental challenges pose serious developmental challenges for conflicting societies. Nigeria's strive towards development has remained unachievable largely because of the recurrent violence and conflict befuddling the country, and the inability of the State to contain it and its attendant effects. Sustainable Development implies the consistency in the positive qualitative increment in the standard of living, economic, political and cultural variables in a society. Conflict and violence impede on such increases and renders a nation's development goals static and unachievable.

According to Adetula (2009), the effect of conflicts in Nigeria is seen in the diversion of resources from productive uses to the payment of compensation, reconstruction of destroyed public property among others as a result of conflicts. The World Bank reported that \$800 million have been diverted away from development to solve problems of conflict in West Africa, with Nigeria as a key player. Also, International donors and development agencies have made it known that development assistance projects have greatly been frustrated in many countries in Africa due to

incessant conflicts in the region (Dalhatu, 2012). Transparency International and Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) have noted that Nigerian Government officials spend roughly N241.8 billion (that is \$670 million) yearly in the name of 'Security Votes' (Mutum, 2018).

Nigeria's Chief of Defence Staff, Abayomi Olonisakin, also disclosed that the country has spent well over \$2.6 billion in 2016 on tackling the humanitarian challenges brought about by the Boko Haram insurgency. NEMA (National Emergency Management Agency), over the years has also spent a lot of money purchasing relief materials for displaced persons in different parts of the country as a result of conflicts. BBC, in 2016, also revealed that Nigeria planned to spend \$10 billion to end conflict in oil-rich Niger Delta. All of these are resources that would have been used in the provision of infrastructure, but now diverted into the management of conflicts.

Conflicts have equally affected the social life of the people particularly in communities where such clashes and violence have taken place. The ability of the people in affected areas in Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, etc., to enjoy night life, go to work, participate in social events, etc. have been greatly affected. Education in such areas is usually stalled as number of displaced persons increase. The implications of these are vast, as human development, peace, social order and economic productivity are hampered. This situation also tends to contribute to the increase in vices such as armed robbery, sex crimes, kidnapping, etc., in the society. This situation explains the theory that no society develops in the face of cyclical violence.

2.6 Implications of Farmers And Herdsmen Conflicts on Peace and Security in Nigeria

An important aspect of changed nature of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers has been the increasing availability and use of modern sophisticated weapons which not only constitute security threat to the means of livelihood of the conflict groups but also threatens the nation. Thus, Moritz, (2010) rightly observed herders-farmers conflicts not only have direct impact on lives of those involved, they also disrupt and threaten the sustainability of agricultural and pastoral production in West Africa, and invariably the sustainability of the livelihoods of the rural communities. Hence, the primary impact of the conflict is the resultant food insecurity. That is why Adetula (2007) noted that more often, crop farmers are highly vulnerable, perhaps due to the subsistence, small scale, rudimentary system of production and over dependence on natural resources for livelihood.

In the same vein, Attah (2012) equally observed that farmers have limited resources and are dependent on rainfall, traditional farming implements, family are hired labour with poor access to institutional and infrastructural facilities (input, advisory serves and market information, roads, etc) which have implications for yield per hectare, and any threat to the farmers constitute serious threat to food security with its attendant negative multiplier effects. International Crisis Group Report (2017) indicated that proliferation of light arms and infiltration of looted stockpiles from Libya, constitute great security implication that is heightening conflict in Nigeria. As indicated in the said

report, easy access to small arms, including assault rifles, make the conflict situation more dangerous, as weapons come from various sources, some local, others from black markets across West and Central Africa. This situation has made the conflict groups (herders and farmers) to have easy access to weapons. Thus, the increasing prevalence of weapons has simplified the human cost.

The International Crisis Group Report (2017) noted that there may be wider regional implications of herdsman vs farmers conflicts as a major confrontation involving Fulani herders could draw into Nigeria their brethren from beyond Nigeria as they could mobilize support including fighters from several West and Central African countries which could worsen the security situation. The said report corroborated Spring, (1993) who noted that Fulani herdsman that migrated to Nigeria were already in the act of organized mercenary fighting force which was what they applied during Uthman Danfodio's Jihad war in Northern Nigeria.

Equally too, a study carried out by Emeni (2012) on the crisis in Batern in Riyan Local Government Area of Plateau State indicated that mercenaries were deployed. The mercenary approach was also said to have been deployed in various other herdsman – farmers crises such as Benue and Kogi States, George (2014), Nimbo in Uzuwani Local Government Area of Enugu State, in 2016 (Sandra and Oyiyebo, 2016), Kaduna (Aljazeera News, 2014).

The mercenary approach also validates the raiding approach as a means of forcefully obtaining more land by Fulani cattle rearers, as explained by Oba (1992) where

one pastoralist group could make an area unstable for others by constantly raiding the other groups with the intent of weakening the other group so as to take over the land. Again, investigations carried out by Premium Time in 2016 showed that attacks by herdsmen in the North-Central Nigerian State of Benue had led to the killing of at least 1,269 persons between 2013 to July 2016. A study carried out by Abraham (2017) reported that the spate of killing and the intensity it takes pose serious security challenge to the Nigerian nationhood.

Abraham (2017) further reported that between 2012 and 2016, herdsmen attacks across the country led to the death toll of about 9,037 and over 5,991 injured. Between 2017 to 2018, the attacks continued unabated with more frequencies and high intensity across the North Central States, particularly Benue, Kogi, Nasarawa, Kwara and Plateau. In Kogi State, it was reported by Olaniyi and Akubo (2018) that herdsmen invaded three communities in Dekina and Omala Local Government areas leaving at least 35 people dead. The communities attacked according to report included Oganenigu, Ojiapata, Iyale and Ojoo in Dekina Local Government Area, while in Omala Local Government Area Obakume, Abejukolo, Agojeju-Ikpoba and Ogo communities were said to have been attacked. This was said to be a reprisal attack for 2016 altercation that led to the death of four Fulani herdsmen and a number of cattle, (Oladipo, 2018).

As revealed from available literature, it has been observed that from 2011 to 2016, herdsmen attacks have occurred in virtually all states of the federation, with Kebbi State having only one of such attack in 2014 (S.B. Morgan Intelligence Report 2016).

This report was also supported by Abraham (2017) whose findings revealed that the established pattern of attacks , injuries, deaths and timing suggests that herdsmen attacks obviously poses a great threat to contemporary security situation in the Nigeria. The security threat of herdsmen attacks as observed by Asabo (2017) may create a hydra headed security challenge that may become more monstrous than the challenge posed by Boko Haram terrorists because of the spread of herdsmen attack across the country. The summary of the frequency of the attacks across the country for a period of five years, 2012 – 2016 as noted in Abraham (2017) put the figure at 830 times throughout the country. That is why Crisis Group Report of September 19, 2017 warned that the geographical spread and escalation of the conflicts could put Nigeria security forces under greater stress. Security implications of climate change and the likely effects on the Sahel were widely documented in literature. The most striking and widely referred to is the Solana Report of 2008 which identified the likely threat that may be posed by climate change and sent a warning signal to Africa in 2008.

The report, according to Philipp (2010) identified seven climate change related threats to state and global security which it hypothesized that they may not necessarily degenerate into armed conflict. The Solana Report viewed climate change as a threat multiplier which could exacerbate existing trends, tensions and instabilities. The report as cited in Philipp (2010) read in part: These threats and forms of conflict cover all countries, however, Africa is identified as one of the continents most vulnerable to climate change because of multiple stresses and low adaptive capacity, and is therefore

likely to cause growing international insecurity that directly affects European interest. The above report could be seen as a warning note to African leaders and their governments to be more proactive in relation to climate change and its security threat to the African continent.

Again, arms proliferation, especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular has been described as great security threat to the nation. A study on arms proliferation as reported in This Day newspaper, August 19, 2016 indicated that out of the 857 million small arms and weapons in the world, 500 million are illegal out of which 100 million were found in sub-Saharan Africa, with about 7.5 percent of (that is 75%) of the 100 million found in Nigeria. This was validated by the findings of the Presidential Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons in 2015 which found that 350 million of the 500 million small arms and light weapons in West Africa are in Nigeria. This was equally supported by Kehinde (2016) whose study reported that Nigeria holds about 70% of the estimated 500 million of small arms and light weapons proliferation in West Africa sub-region. Kehinde further observed that Nigeria is one of the countries that are experiencing devastating effects of arms proliferation due to spillover effects of crisis in Libya and Mali as well as the unresolved internal conflicts in many parts of the country, including farmers-herders conflicts.

2.7 Effects of Farmers and Herdsmen Conflict in Nigeria

All over Nigeria there is an emphasis on the need for the promotion of agriculture as an alternative to oil as a major source of national revenue. A lot of agricultural programmes are put in place by governmental and nongovernmental organization. Due to this emphasis on agricultural production, many people are going into farming; likewise more people are going into livestock and cattle breeding in particular. The effect of this agricultural surge is that there is a competition for the available land resources between farmers and herdsmen. A dimensional problem arises as cattle do graze on the farms of farmers and farmers in retaliation attacks the cows of the herdsmen. The herdsmen go on a reprisal attacks on the farmers largely because they value their cows immensely. So the attacks and reprisal attacks by farmers and herdsmen leads to destruction of lives and properties and also precipitate national disintegration.

The insistent feud between the herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria has devastating effects on the citizens. The effect of this conflict ranges from wanton destruction of lives and properties to decline in agricultural product which is the major source of sustenance in the nation. Lose of live and properties: In 2016 there was an estimated death toll of about 2,500 arising from herdsmen attacks (International Crises Group, 2017).

Farmers and herdsmen conflicts in Nigeria have grown, spread and intensified over the past decade and today pose a threat to national survival and integration. Thousands of people have been killed, communities have been destroyed and so many farmers and herdsmen have lost their lives and property in an extended orgy of killings

and destruction that is not only continuously destroying livelihoods but also affecting national cohesion (Gambari, Luther-Agwai, Ibrahim, Jega, Kwaja, Balla, Fesse, Muhammed Oyeboode & Ya'u, 2018). Adisa and Adekunle (2010) in a quantitative study examined farmers-Herdsmen conflict and its socio-economic implications in North Central Nigeria. Random sampling was used to select 300 farmers. The result of the study showed that greater number of farmers 64% lose quality relationship and loved once as a result of farmers and herdsmen conflict.

Among the major effects of farmers and Fulani herdsmen conflict in Nigeria are destruction of properties; theft of cattle and goats; destruction of crops; physical fight with machetes and sticks; pollution of drinkable water; destruction of reservoirs and source of drinkable water; burning of rangelands, Fadama I and houses; and damages to irrigational facilities. The destruction has direct impact on the peoples' livelihood as their economic activities are tied to these environmental resources like water, land (soil), and vegetation (herbs and food crops) (Bello, 2013).

The persistence and consistency of farmers and herdsmen conflicts portends grave socioeconomic consequences (Adisa & Adekunle, 2010). Farm products which also serve as Nigerian foreign exchange products are destroyed during attack. These farm products like cash crops add to Nigerians' National Domestic Products but when these crops are destroyed it leads to depletion of economic growth. Economically Nigeria does not fare well with the incessant attacks on farmers and farm produce by the Fulani herdsmen, at the advent of conflict. On the other hand, cattle rearing have in no small measure

contributed to the Nigerian economy. Nigeria is part of the country that exports cow meat and products and this adds to our GDP, however it can be observed that when farmers' farm products are destroyed by cows, there is always a reprisal attacks on the cow leading to the killing and injuring of hundreds of cows and this immensely Nigerian cow meat production which in turn leads to the depletion of the Nigerian economy. The economic effects have also been huge.

According to a 2015 study, the federal government was losing \$13.7 billion in revenue annually because of farmers and herdsman conflicts in Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Plateau states. The study found that on average these four states lost 47 percent of their internally-generated revenues. In March 2017, Benue state Governor Samuel Ortom asserted that attacks by herders coming from more northerly states, and possibly also from Cameroon and Niger, had cost his state N95 billion (about \$634 million at that time) between 2012 and 2014 (International Crises Group, 2017).

Adisa and Adekunle (2010) in a quantitative study examined Farmers-Herdsman conflict and its socio-economic implications in North Central Nigeria. Random sampling was used to select 300 farmers. The result of the study showed that 90.8% of the respondents lost their income as a result of farmer and herdsman conflict in Nigeria, 85.0% lost their farm yield, 23.5% lost their house hold resources and 22.5% lost their stored products. Loss of farm yield could pose far-reaching consequences by reducing family food and income as well as planting stock for the next farming season. Clashes

that involved loss of household items and stored farm products also have the potential to exacerbate indigence among farmers.

2.8 Conflict Management Techniques Forcing and Competing

Several conflict management techniques and strategies can be applied to reach a peaceful resolution. For example, conflict management techniques such as forcing and competing strategies can be used by the government as the herder-farmer conflict becomes a threat to Nigeria's national security (Mohammed, Umar, & Hamisu, 2017). The government and state government should flexibly use forcing strategy when they have more power or legal rights to enforce law or regulation. The federal government and security agencies can intensify operations to protect both parties from being harmed, as well as improving supervision systems to track livestock movement. Also, people can strengthen cross-border cooperation with the neighboring regions.

Win-Win Strategy

Fulani herdsman and farmers can use this strategy to achieve a win-win situation to satisfy the concerns of both parties. The win-win strategy will help both parties build a high level of trust and create a long-term relationship. Parties need to work and cooperate, as well as be willing to take full responsibility to establish a win-win solution. Additionally, both Fulani herdsman and farmers can discuss how to improve their shared resources such as transportation in order to live together in their communities peacefully. Moreover, with limited access to services and resources, Nigerians are struggling to gain economic opportunities and equality. In this case, the government can develop a

comprehensive policy framework and choose the best alternatives for both parties. The new policy plan should be developed for a transitional period. The framework of the mediation draft should map out the strategy and timelines for the particular transition plan in order to address how to solve the violent conflict and to eliminate tensions. There must be a consultative process in mediation or negotiation, and parties should listen to the others' concerns carefully in developing a new framework for social development and benefitting each party.

Compromising

Another technique of conflict management is compromising. Compromising helps parties to look for a mutual solution, which can partially satisfy both parties (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Fulani herdsmen-farmers can open more free markets and decrease restrictions in order to reach solutions on important issues. It helps parties provide a temporary solution while still allowing them to look for a win-win solution. Nigeria has a total of about 420 grazing reserves out of which only about 110 have been officially recognized. Grazing reserves can be considered as a possible solution (Mohammed, Umar, & Hamisu, 2017). Because many herdsmen must continue to practice seasonal migration during dry and wet seasons, parties could take steps to encourage the herdsmen to remain in their region to avoid encroaching on farmlands. A possible suggestion would be the expansion of cattle grazing reserves to facilitate migratory cattle raising in order to meet the needs for herdsmen.

Avoiding

Parties can choose the Withdrawing model when both parties can not pursue their interests or concerns and to avoid unacceptable consequences. They can use this model when the issue is not essential for them to take efforts immediately. When it is not the right time to deal with the problem, or when the conflict cannot be solved immediately because it requires a system change, herdsman and farmers can choose to withdraw or to avoid the confrontation. Alternatively, when one party tries to manipulate the process and limit another party's rights, the weaker party might need to avoid risks and to withdraw to maintain their group's safety while exploring alternatives (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

Accommodating

The last model that can be used to address the conflict is accommodating. When the conflict is not as important to another party, people can use this model. For example, if one party believes they lack evidence to persuade another party, or when people assume they are wrong, they have to accommodate. Alternatively, when one party has no choice to compete because another party is in a more powerful bargaining position, people could find out ways to focus on spending their time to improve their economic efficiency and to strengthen their national economy, which is essential to keep the right balance and to help marginalized people develop confidence and skills to transform their lives and to adjust themselves to the mainstream of the society.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology employed in carrying out this study which is aimed at determining herdsman and farmer's clashes in Nigeria and its implication for national peace, security and development.

This chapter explains the procedures followed and the instruments used in collection of data and method used in analyzing the collected data under the following headings.

- ❖ Research design
- ❖ Population of the study
- ❖ Sample and sampling techniques
- ❖ Research instrument
- ❖ Validation of instrument
- ❖ Procedure for data collection
- ❖ Procedure for data collection

3.1 Research Design

The research design adopted for this study is the descriptive survey design. The justification for this is the ability of the design in eliciting information from respondents based on the nature and characteristic of variables under study.

3.2 Population Of The Study

The population of this study comprises all students, civil servant and self-employed people in Ijebu Ode Local government Area of Ogun State.

3.3 Sample And Sampling Techniques

The sample for this study will comprise of 20 students, 20 civil servants and 10 traders from major areas in Ijebu Ode Local Government which will be selected using simple random sampling.

3.4 Research Instrument

The instrument for this study will be structural questionnaire and will be in three sections: section A and B. Section A will consist of personal data of the respondents and section B will be used to elicit information from the respondents. The responses of the respondent will be based on four rating: viz: SA= Strongly Agree, A=Agree, D=Disagree, SD=Strongly.

3.5 Validation Of The Instrument

The instrument (questionnaire) will be carefully subject to content validation. The research questions are made as the guide to the construction of the questionnaire putting in mind the hypotheses, which are highly itemized on the instrument, however, the instrument is to be scrutinized by the researcher's supervisor who will give necessary correction for restructuring.

3.6 Reliability Of The Research Instrument

The use of test – retest method or reliability would be used for this study to establish the reliability of the measuring instruments. Based on the statistical computation and level of responses from the respondents which the study would base on the test – retest would be based to confirm the research instrument and to be sure that it is realizable.

3.7 Procedure For Data Collection

This questionnaire will be administered personally by the researcher. A total of 50 copies of the questionnaire will be administered and it is expected that they will be duly completed and returned immediately after the respondents will have been assured of the confidentiality and that the research is strictly for academic purpose.

3.8 Method Of Data Analysis

The data that will be obtained from the respondents will be coded and analyzed using chi-square method.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on the description of respondents, demographic data and analysis of the collated data in order to test the hypothesis formulated in chapter one. However, attempt would be made at examining the percentage of the respondent's responses.

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Table 4.1.1

The responses of the respondents according to their sex

Sex	No of respondents	Percentages
Male	69	46%
Female	81	54%
Total	150	100%

The table above shows that male respondents had 69 (46%), female is 81 (54%).

Table 4.1.1

The responses of the respondents according to their ages

Age	No of respondents	Percentages
20-30yrs	56	37.3%
31-40yrs	71	47.3%
41 and above	23	15.4%

Total	150	100%
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The table above shows that the ages of the respondents followed in this order in this manner 20-30yrs respondents with 56 (37.3%), 31-40yrs with 71 (47.3%), 41 and above with 23 (15.4%).

The percentage of the respondents according to their highest qualification.

Table 4.1.3

Highest Qual.	Number	%
WAEC	52	34.6%
NECO	37	24.7%
NCE/ND	33	22%
B.Sc	27	18%
M.Sc	1	0.7%
Total	150	100%

The table above shows that percentage of the respondents according to their highest qualification: respondents with WAEC certificate were 52 (34.6%), respondents with NECO certificate were 37 (24.7%), respondents with NCE certificates were 33 (22%), respondent with B.Sc. certificate were 27 (18%), respondent with M.Sc certificate was just 1 (0.7%).

The percentage of the respondents according to their occupation.

Table 4.1.4

Occupation	Number	%
Students	77	51.3%
Civil servants	39	26%
Self-employed	34	22.6%
Total	150	100%

The table shows the responses of the respondents according to their occupation students were 77 (51.3%), civil servants were 39 (26%), while self-employed were 34 (22.6%).

4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

After receiving the questionnaire from the respondents, the questions were assembled and analyzed. Each of the alternatives of the questions were scored differently. Fifty questionnaires were retuned and worked upon.

TEST OF HYPOTHESIS

The following hypothesis are formulated to be in this research.

Hypothesis One

Ho: There is no significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on security in Nigeria.

H1: There is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national security in Nigeria.

Hypothesis Two

Ho: There is no significant impact of herdsman and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

Ho: There is significant impact of herdsman and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

HYPOTHESIS ONE

Ho: There is no significant impact of herdsman and farmers clashes on national peace and security in Nigeria.

H1: There is significant impact of herdsman and farmers clashes on national peace and security in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.1

The above hypothesis would be tested by using sex classification.

SEX	SA	A	D	SD	RD
Male	48 (47.38)	18 (19.78)	3 (1.38)	0 (0.46)	69
Female	55 (55.62)	25 (23.22)	0 (1.62)	1 (0.54)	81
Total	103	43	3	1	150

$$\chi^2_{cal} = \frac{(oi - ei)^2}{ei}$$

$$= \frac{(48-47.38)^2}{47.38} + \frac{(18-19.78)^2}{19.78} + \frac{(3-1.38)^2}{1.38} + \frac{(0-0.46)^2}{0.46} + \frac{(55-55.62)^2}{55.62} + \frac{(25-23.22)^2}{23.22}$$

$$\frac{(0-1.62)^2}{1.62} + \frac{(1-0.54)^2}{0.54}$$

$$= 1.62 + 1.78 + 1.12 + 1.78 + 1.40 + 1.91 + 1.44 + 2.76$$

$$r = 13.7$$

The critical value from chi-square table at 5% or (0.05) level at significance.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Degree of freedom} &= (r-1) (c-1) \\ &= (2-1) (4-1) \\ &= (1 \times 3)\end{aligned}$$

Therefore, the critical value = (χ^2 t) = 7.82

DECISION RULE

Since that the calculated value of χ^2 cal i.e 13.7 is more than the table value 7.82, we will reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. This means that there is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national peace and security in Nigeria.

HYPOTHESIS TWO

H₀: There is no significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

H_a: There is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.2

The above hypothesis would be tested by using sex.

M.S	SA	A	D	SD	RD
Male	48 (35.8)	18 (30.8)	2 (0.90)	1 (0.45)	68
Female	31 (43.2)	50 (37.2)	0 (1.1)	0 (0.55)	81
Total	79	68	2	1	50

$$\chi^2_{cal} = \frac{(e_i - c_i)^2}{e_i}$$

$$\begin{aligned} &= \frac{(1-0.74)^2}{0.74} + \frac{(3-2.96)^2}{2.96} + \frac{(18-17.76)^2}{17.76} + \frac{(15-15.54)^2}{15.54} + \frac{(0-0.26)^2}{0.26} + \frac{(6-5.46)^2}{5.46} \\ &\quad + \frac{(6-6.24)^2}{6.24} + \frac{(6-5.46)^2}{5.46} \end{aligned}$$

$$= 2.60 + 1.01 + 2.12 + 2.02 + 1.41 + 0.09 + 1.09 + 1.01$$

$$= 11.08$$

The critical value from the square table at 5% or (0.05) level of significance

Degree of freedom = (r-1) (c-1)

$$= (2-1) (4-1)$$

$$= (1 \times 3)$$

$$= 3$$

Therefore, the critical value (χ^2_t) = 7.82

Decision Rule

Since the calculated value of χ^2 cal i.e 11.08 is more than the table value i.e χ^2 t, we will reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. This means that there is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

The above analysis revealed that there is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national security in Nigeria. However, from the analysis in table 4.2.2, it was revealed that there is significant impact of herdsmen and farmers clashes on national development in Nigeria.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 Summary

The research work examined the Herdsmen and Farmers Clashes in Nigeria and Its Implication for National Peace, Security and Development. This project has assessed and discussed the following.

The chapter one of this study discusses the introduction to the study, which include statement of the problem, research questions and hypothesis and the significance of the study.

Chapter two of this project review relevant literature on who are herdsmen? origin of herdsmen in Nigeria, causes of Fulani herdsmen/Fulani clashes, empirical incidents of herdsmen/farmers clashes in Nigeria, herdsmen/farmers clashes implications on development, implication of herdsmen attacks on peace and security in Nigeria, effects of farmers and herdsmen crises, conflict management techniques forcing and competing were also looked into.

However, the chapter three of this research work gives the methodology adopted. Fifty (50) questionnaires were administered by the researcher to gather information together from the respondents and the researcher employed chi-square method to analyze the data collected.

The chapter four of this research project shows the analysis of the data collected.

Chapter five of this project gives the on summary, conclusion and necessary recommendation by the researcher.

5.2 Conclusion

The conflict and clashes between Fulani herdsmen and farmers have claimed enormous scores of lives in Nigeria. The death toll of the killing of Nigerians by herdsmen is about 3,780 from 2012 to 2018 (Gbaradi, 2018). The effects of farmers' and herdsmen conflict in Nigeria are overwhelming. This conflict has led to the destruction of lives and properties in Nigeria; it has also affected the Nigerian economy adversely, the destruction of farm produce and killing of cows have not fared well with the Nigerian economy, psychological wellbeing of victims' relatives and survived victims of the attacks have been distorted adversely (International Crises Group, 2017, Gambari, et al, 2018, Adisa and Adekunle, 2012 & Bello, 2013).

Scholars have identified some fundamental causes of farmers and herdsmen conflict in Nigeria; land use which also involves scarcity of land resources, ethnic and religious differences were among the major factors (Muhammed, et al 2015, NPC, 2012, Adisa, 2012, Okoli, & Atelhe, 2014, Blench, 2004, Nfomi, 2014). Other identified causes of clashes between farmers and herdsmen includes; destruction of crops by cattle, burning of rangelands, increasing rate of cattle theft, decline in internal discipline and social cohesion and inadequacy of grazing resources (Ingawa et al 1999 & Bello, 2013). Conflict resolution is a core competency of social work practice. Social Workers continuously work in areas where conflict is prevalent on a daily basis (Kelly, 2014 & Mayer, 2013).

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the above conclusion, the researcher recommended that:

- The porous borders of Nigeria should be well manned. This is because; the porous borders allow the passage of guns from some war ravaged areas into the country. In 2018, the Nigeria Customs Service intercepted about 661 new guns allegedly packed as automobile spare parts that had earlier been cleared by some connived customs personnel. This is to describe the extent some security officers can go to enrich their pockets. Some Nigeria's borders also serve as avenues for private and illegal gun dealers. This illicit trade allows a lot of guns to get into wrong hands and be used indiscriminately. Such seems to be the case of the gun-wielding herdsmen in Nigeria.
- In addition, value re-orientation should be promoted so that Nigerians will come to appreciate the values that unite them more than those that divide them. Tolerance for the values of other ethnic groups should be encouraged.
- Efforts should be directed towards providing gainful employment for the unemployed youths who are roaming the streets of major cities in Nigeria. This will prevent them from becoming willing tools in the hands of political jobbers.
- Government across the various levels should provide enabling environment for the youths to pursue their aspirations. Provisions of skill and entrepreneurial trainings as well as stable electricity are basic things that should be given more priority.

- Formulation and execution of government policies should not be taken to favor a group of people or a tribe against another. As it is currently, allegations of support by the federal government towards the Fulani herdsmen need to be sincerely addressed. In order to forestall further land scarcity, more grazing reserves and routes need to be created. To ease the burden that are likely to be associated with this, local communities, local governments, state governments, federal government, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should be engaged on how to go about this.
- Poverty eradication among farmers is very important so as to achieve food security, and in a way eradicate farmers-herdsmen conflicts. Farm inputs could be made available to the farmers at subsidized rates. Provision of improved seeds, with high yield capacity could also be provided to farmers so as to enable them to produce more food.
- Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) should be introduced in finding amicable resolution to farmers-herdsmen conflicts in other parts of the country instead of resorting to court settlement. This kind of conflict resolution could be enshrined into the country's national policies. For the ADR strategy to be effective, more powers have to be devolved to the local level and empower the local chiefs and traditional rulers. Local governments should collaborate in various ways to forestall occurrence of farmers-herdsmen conflicts. One of those ways they can

collaborate is in the area of ensuring the registration of immigrant herdsmen in their localities.

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TAI SOLARIN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Ma,

The intention of this questionnaire is to gather information for the purpose of writing a project on the topic: **Herdsmen and Farmer Clashes in Nigeria and Its Implication for National Peace, Security and Development.**

Respondents are assured that information provided to the researcher will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

SECTION A

Sex: Male () Female ().

Age: 20-30yrs () 31-40yrs (), 41yrs and above ()

Educational Qualification: WASC (), NECO (), ND/NCE (), B.Sc (),
M.Sc ().

Occupation: Student (), Civil Servant (), Self-Employed ().

SECTION B

Please respond appropriately to all the issues raised hereby ticking (✓) any option of your choice. Key, SA= Strongly Agree, A=Agree, D=Disagree, SD=Strongly.

S/N	STATEMENT	SA	A	D	SD
1.	Herdsman/farmers clashes can cause ethnic crisis.				
2.	Herdsman/farmers clashes can cause unemployment on the part of farmers.				
3.	Herdsman/farmers clashes has led to destroying of farm products.				
4.	Herdsman/farmers clashes has led to death on both sides.				
5.	Herdsman/farmers clashes is an ethnic crisis.				
6.	Herdsman/farmers clashes has claimed many lives.				
7.	Cattle ranching is the best solution to Herdsman/farmers clashes.				
8.	During crisis, farmers and herdsman made use of sophisticated weapons against each other.				
9.	Herdsman/farmers clashes has affected the socio-economic development of the affected communities.				
10.	Herdsman/farmers clashes has caused disunity among ethnic groups.				
11.	The contamination of stream by the cattle has led to outbreak of cholera and typhoid fever in the affected communities.				

12.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes has significant impact on national peace and security in Nigeria.				
13.	Herdsmen engaged themselves in raping house wives and young girls.				
14.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes has led to ethno-religious crisis.				
15.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes may lead to civil war.				
16.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes has significant impact of national development in Nigeria.				
17.	Nigerian border need to be tightened.				
18.	Anti-open- grazing law should be passed by all states.				
19.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes has led to threat to the peaceful co-existence of different ethic groups.				
20.	Herdsmen/farmers clashes has contributed to the high rate of poverty and starvation.				