

**HERDSMEN AND FARMERS CRISIS IN SOUTH-WEST REGION AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA**

BY

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this Research Project work was carried out by Miss **Iduwe, Joy** with matric number: **18012222032**, under my supervision in the Department of Political Science, SCHOOL of Arts and Social Sciences, Tai Solarin College of Education, Omu-Ijebu.

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DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to the Almighty God, the creator of heaven and earth. All glory and honor be unto Him for His mercy, kindness and protection over me since I was given birth to.

I also dedicate this research work to my Mother of blessed memory; Late Mrs. Iduwe Aanuoluwapo, May God continue to rest your gentle spirit. Mummy I love you but God loves you more.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the herdsmen and farmers crisis in the Southwest region of Nigeria and the implication for national security. It adopted social conflict theory as its theoretical framework and descriptive survey which involved the usage of secondary and primary sources of data. Relevant literature was reviewed and considered the nature of herdsmen activities and its relevance to national cohesion and security while it also assessed the crises herdsmen-farmers crises in Southwest and its effect on income of farmers and their livelihood and the security of the entire society. The structured questionnaire which comprised of 16 items was the main research instrument utilised for the purpose of data collection while the sample size (100) respondents were selected from Ketu Local Council Development Area of Ogun State and Lagelu Local Government area of Oyo State using stratified random sampling technique. Three hypotheses were formulated for the study and it made use of simple percentage and Chi-square analytical techniques to handle the socio-demographic items in the questionnaire and in testing the validity of the hypotheses formulated to guide the study. The findings of the study showed that herdsmen activities in the Southwest have negatively affected the farmer's income and their general livelihood. It was also found out that the government agricultural policies have intensified herdsmen grazing activities in the Southwest without the necessary laws to protect farmers on their farmlands. It recommended among other things that the government should develop comprehensive national strategy to address the issue, deploying significant military, intelligence and police resources to restore public safety and order in trouble spots while adequate land should be provided across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria for grazing and be declared as ranching zone.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

There have been clashes between herdsmen and the aborigines in several parts of Nigeria for over three decades (Abugu & Onuba, 2015). The clashes were occasioned by the destruction of agricultural farms by the cattle of the Fulani's. Naturally Fulani's by their nature are migrants who leave their traditional abode in search of greener pasture for their flocks. The migration is caused by the absence of good and veritable land for their flock to feed on. For instance, the rate of desertification and deforestation in the Sahara desert is at an alarming rate and Nigeria is part of the countries of the Sahel region that experiences drought, desertification and deforestation. These triadic challenges forced the Fulani's who occupy the areas to migrate down south for greener pasture for their cattle to graze.

In the course of entering the shores of the southern and middle-belt regions of the country, their cattle caused the great damage to farm land, resulting in conflicts and confrontation with the indigenes. Boko (2007) noted that the intensity of the drought in the Sahel region calls for worry and urgent attention. It must be recalled that the Sahel and the Sahara desert stretches across over fifteen countries from North, West and Central Africa and these areas is home for pastoralists, farmers, fishermen, traders etc. The Fulani's in Nigeria occupies some part of the drought stricken areas of the Sahel and to escape from the ravaging effect of the drought as well as to save their cattle from dying, they migrate down south and some areas of southwest like Ibadan, Ekiti, Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode, etc. In the main, the migration of these herdsmen has caused more harm than good in all these areas such as the case of Ekiti state where farms were

crushed by cows of the herdsmen and farmers were also massacred in the year 2015 (Adams, 2015).

Between the year 2000 and 2015, there had been reported cases of conflicts and confrontation between the Fulani's and the indigenes of the areas they migrated to. The media – print and electronics (between 2012-2015) is awash with reported cases of clashes between the Fulani's from the North and the inhabitants of the southwest part such as Ekiti, Osogbo, Iwo, Oyo, Saki and Lagos among others in the southern part region of the country (Bello 2015).

The Sun Newspaper of June 30th, 2014 reported of clashes between the Fulani's and the Agatu people of Benue state and the clashes which left several people dead. The case of Benue State is pathetic as the Fulani's has become an army of occupation to the inhabitants of the areas. Essentially, the main cause for the migration has been the change in climate occasioned by the absence of adequate rainfall, poor grazing land for their animals and lack of coping mechanism by the Herdsmen (Audu, 2014).

Essentially, in all these development, government had not been able to find a lasting solution to the frequent clashes between the herdsmen and their neighbours. Though the Nigerian constitution of 1999 (as amended) allows every citizen to conduct his/her legal business in any part of the country as desired, the clause does not state that herdsmen should destroy the lives and properties of others leading to national insecurity. Instructively, climate change is a global phenomenon which is not peculiar to Africa and Nigeria alone. The difference between the Western world and Africa is that they possess the resources and adaptation strategy to deal with the challenge while Africans and Nigeria in particular does not. McCarty (2009) noted that the lesser the rainfall, the more severe the drought and the more intensification for scarce resources in the future. Recent

observations on resource depletion across Africa, has shown that, climate change is capable of causing communal conflict and wars. While this observation was made years back, the reality in the Middle-belt and South Eastern region of the country shows that communal clash still live with them.

In the main, migration of the Herdsmen to other parts of the country has caused the country billions of naira. For instance, lack of basic services, for the pastoralists such as grazing land, clean water, security, schools, hospitals and livestock, markets are responsible for these conflicts. The report of International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and other regional bodies stated that climate change represents a major threat to sustainable growth, development and security in Nigeria. The poor economic status and widespread poverty in Africa, Nigeria inclusive and lack of adaptive capacity which makes Nigeria and the rest of Africa to be vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change. In Nigeria, the pastures are threatened by demographic pressure and land tenure system. It is against this backdrop that the research is being embarked upon to examine the herdsmen and farmers' crises in the southwest region of Nigeria and its implication for national security.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The various conflicts that ensued between herdsmen and farmers arose from the destruction of farm lands by herds of cattle. It appears that governments at various levels (federal, state and local) have not adequately addressed the issue of provision of grazing reserves to accommodate the interest of herdsmen who are always on the move to secure food and water for their herds. The socio-economic lives of both the farmers and the herdsmen revolve around land and therefore, land matters become easily conflictual and therefore put national security at risk. Studies have shown that conflicts arose in the

Southwestern states of Nigeria as a result of loss of land which the people considered as the basis of their social, economic and spiritual existence to the herdsmen who go about with their herds on their farms. Attempt to discount the people from this ancestral heritage usually resulted in large scale conflict.

Some researchers were of the view that since the Sahelian drought of the 1970s and 1980s, and the accompanying migration of a huge number of pastoralists into the fringes of the humid forest zone of West Africa, there has been a massive increase of the incidence of farmers-herders conflict. Cases of farmers-herders conflict are widespread in Nigeria in recent times. For instance, in Ekiti west Local Government of Ekiti State, 28 people were feared killed, about 2,500 farmers were displaced and rendered homeless in the hostility between cattle rearers and farmers in the host community in July 2015. Nweze (2005) stated that many farmers and herders have lost their lives and herds, while others have experienced dwindling productivity in their herds. This was supported by Ajuwon (2004), cited by Nweze (2005) that in Oyo State between 2006 and 2015, 19 people died and 42 people were injured in the farmers-herders conflicts and the violence that often accompanied such conflict. The conflicts are a threat to peace and national security and stability. It also has implication for tribal co-existence, Nigeria being a multi-ethnic and a multi-tribal nation. Hence, this study is set to examine the incidence of herdsmen and farmers' crises in the Southwest region of Nigeria and its implications for national security.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The major aim of this study is to examine the consequence of herdsmen and farmers' crises on the security of lives and farming proceeds of farmers and their family

in southwest region of Nigeria. This aim will be achieved through the following specific objectives:

- i. to examine the nature of herdsmen activities and its relevance to national cohesion and security;
- ii. to assess the crises between Herdsmen and farmers crises in southwest and its effect on income of farmers and their livelihood and the security of the entire society.
- iii. to assess the support of government policies for farmers against Herdsmen and their grazing activities;
- iv. to examine the perception of male and female farmers on sources and level of vulnerability caused by Herdsmen on their agricultural proceeds and security;
- v. to examine the strategies that can be adopted by the government to curb herdsmen and farmers' conflict in relation to national security.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions are formulated to guide the study:

1. What is the nature of herdsmen activities and its relevance to national security?
2. How the crises between herdsmen and Farmers in the Southwest have affected the income of farmers and national security?
3. What are the government policies that support farmers against herdsmen and their grazing activities?
4. Is there any difference between the perception of male and female farmers on source and level of vulnerability caused by herdsmen on their agricultural proceeds and security?

5. What are the strategies that can be adopted by the government to curb herdsmen and farmers' conflict in relation to national security?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are formulated in line with specific objectives of the study.

H0₁: There is no significant effect of herdsmen activities on farmer's income, their livelihood and national security.

H0₂: There is no significant relationship between government agricultural policies and herdsmen grazing activities in Nigeria.

H0₃: There is no significant relationship between herdsmen and farmers' crisis and Nigeria's national security.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study will be useful to stakeholders in the agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy Farmers, Herdsmen/Cattle rearers, Government and the general public. The farmers will benefit from the findings and recommendations of this study as it will expose to them the various strategies to be adopted to guide their farm produce from being damaged and probably destroyed by herdsmen and their activities. The farmers will be acquainted to the various government policies and programme that protect them from the herdsmen activities and how they can stay minimally affected.

The herdsmen/cattle rearers will benefit from the study because it will enlighten them on the best way to rear and graze their cattle instead of moving it about and destroying farm products of the farmers and if they must migrate from one place to

another, they should move through those places where important crops and farm products are not grown.

The government will get acquainted with the various challenges being posed to farmers in the southwest by the herdsmen through the migration activities and organize special cattle ranches in each of the states of the federation so as to lessen the cases of crises and riots that surface between the Fulani and farmers in southwest, Nigeria.

The general public will be enlightened through the literature and recommendation of this research of the various ways they can advise their families who farm on the strategies to be adopted to keep peace with the Herdsmen and have their crops grown without been destroyed.

1.7 Methodology and Method of Data Analysis

The primary source of data collection was used for the study – basically the questionnaire was designed by the researcher for administration on the respondents. The analysis of the collected data was carried out with the descriptive statistics. The bio-data was analysed with frequency, mean statistics for the items of the questionnaire and the hypotheses were tested with Chi-square statistics. The alpha level for the acceptance of rejection of each hypothesis was at 0.05 level of significance.

1.8 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the herdsmen and farmers' crises in the Southwest region of Nigeria between 2005 and 2017 and its implications for national security with specific reference to Oyo and Ogun states.

1.9 Limitations of Study

The limitations of this study include inadequate availability and accessibility of relevant data and material necessary for carrying out the study. Considering the

magnitude of the time and finance involved in the study, and considering also the difficulties of data collection form, the population, the study was limited to only the two local government areas in two states. The local government areas are: Ketu Local Council Development Area of Ogun State and Lagelu Local Government area of Oyo State.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

The study has been organised into five chapters; chapter one deals with the introduction and background of the study; the chapter two reviews related literature and focuses on the theoretical framework. The chapter three is about research methodology; chapter four deals with the data analysis and interpretation where hypotheses formulated were tested and interpreted and chapter five is about summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Understanding Conflict, Farmers/Herdsmen and National Security

Conflict is commonly understood as: a form of opposition between parties; an absence of agreement between parties; a way to solve social contradictions; and a natural process in human social interaction. However, the recent general trend has been to consider conflict as something normal, an everyday social phenomenon, and a simple and natural characteristic of human social systems. Society by its very nature, as human beings themselves, is not perfect, so disharmony and contradictions are inevitable parts of social development (Boko, 2007).

In Audu's view (2013), conflict could mean a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. Identifying the major elements in this conception is crucial for understanding conflict factors, regardless of the conflict type, as the first step towards analysing conflicts and managing them.

Diez et al (2016) conceive conflict as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Defined in broadest terms, conflict denotes the incompatibility of subject positions. This position emphasises the opposition or incompatibility at the heart of the conflict, and initially leaves open the exact nature of these incompatibilities, i.e. whether they are between individuals, groups or societal positions; whether they rest in different interests or beliefs; or whether they have a material existence or come into being only through discourse.

Thus, conflict is not always characterised by violence. Yet, conflict might escalate and lead to destructive results, in particular in the form of physical violence that is increasingly seen as legitimate as conflict intensifies. However, Bello (2013) contends

that conflict can also lead to a new social or political organisation and therefore be productive if the parties involved are able to deal with their incompatibilities so that such a new organisational form is achieved. In support of the Bello's position, Bourn (2012) is of the view that conflict is present in generally peaceful situations, but it (a) remains confined to isolated instances and so does not take on societal significance, or (b) is dealt with within clearly defined and observed societal rules, or (c) is dealt with productively so that it generates a new form of socio-political organisation through peaceful change. This is not to say that violent conflict cannot eventually lead to productive change, but in order to do so, it ultimately needs to be desecuritised and therefore at least lead to peaceful change.

Tonah (2002) views herdsmen or pastoralists as nomadic or semi nomadic herders whose primary occupation is raising livestock. The pure pastoralist engages in random movement of cattle while the semi-nomadic makes transhumance migration and return to their camps or homes. The herdsmen are largely located in the Sahel and semi arid parts of West Africa but due to changes in climate patterns many herdsmen have moved further south into the savannah and tropical forest belt of West Africa. The herdsmen are found in countries such as Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon. In Senegal they inhabit northeastern Ferlo and the southeastern part of the country. In many of these countries the Fula often constitute a minority group.

As observed by Okello (2014), in Nigeria, the livestock supplied by the herdsmen provide a bulk of the beef consumption in the country. A pastoral Fulani family is the traditional herding unit. Tasks are divided by gender and age among the members of the family. The main work of men is to manage the herd, find grazing sites, build tents and

camps and make security tools such as knives, bow and arrows and guns. Stressing further, Okello (2014) opined that women in the unit take on traditional roles such as sourcing food produce in the market, milking cows, weaving and mat making. Some women are also involved in farming such as growing vegetables and raising poultry. Cattle are the dominant composition of the Fulani herd in countries such as Nigeria and camel is the least liked animal. The livestock is largely female with close to 60% of cattle being female; the male species are usually reduced by selling them. Thus, cattle herding is dominated almost entirely by the Northern tribe in Nigeria.

As contended by Iro (2014), giving a vivid documentation of the herding system in Nigeria, herding is a daunting task, and contrary to widespread belief, it is not the delight of the Fulani- they herd not as a matter of choice but as a necessity. Iro (2014) found out that about 75% of the sampled nomadic pastoralists maintained that cattle herding is not only toilsome, but also becoming increasingly strenuous. He further to state that the optimum cattle herd size lies between 80 and 100. With a preponderance of female over male at ratio 4:1, the herdsmen maintain a balanced functional species composition that is made up of beefers, milkers, breeders, carriers, and stock beautifiers'. He also stated that the slow-maturing Sokoto Red cow and the lyre-horned White Fulani cattle are the mainstay of the pastoral holdings. In the same vein, White and Wickens (2010) disclosed that the White Fulani, though less hardy, has higher milk and beef yield compared with the Sokoto Red.

Also, Iro (2014) averred that cattle belonging to individual family members are usually herded together, with male family members assuming automatic rights to all cattle, making it difficult to determine cattle ownership by female family members. Herdsmen possessing less than twenty cows are seen as poor, while women having six

cows are considered as rich. In Swinton's (2014) view, women, however, own most of the small ruminants and all of the poultry. Though most Fulani men herd cattle well past the middle age, herding is dominated by the youths, while decisions about grazing are mainly made by the elderly family members. The herdsman makes excellent use of sign language, the cane and verbal command to drive the animals, with faster animals occupying the front rows. Vengroff (2000) and Fricke (2009) observed that during migration, a typical herd consisting of several family units move in a column of up to five meters wide and two kilometers long. And by the time it passes any given point, 'everything that stands at that point is destroyed.

Brennan (2011) held that national security is the protection of national survival, while Ray (2007) stated that national security is to be understood in terms of the desire and capacity for self-defence. Ochoche (2008) contended that national security focuses on the amassment of military armament, personnel and expenditure. All the above definition sees National security has changed overtime. It was expanded to include international economics, long term goals of national development and reconciliation. They are very important for the security of any nation. With this approach, Asad (2007) averred that that national security cannot be narrowed down to exclusively military term. Socio economic and cultural aspects, problems of development and modernization, and national integration should be deemed important in considering.

Al-Marshat (cited in Ayogu, 2015, p.22) suggested that national security is more than territorial defence and should focus on the "physical, social and psychological equality of life of a society and its members both in the domestic setting and within the large regional and global system".

National security question involves a lot of issues. It practically touches on all spheres of human existence. The best way to approach it is from the systems theory perspective where a dislocation in any particular area of the system is bound to have an overlapping effect on other areas. It ranges from food security to issues of environmental degradation. It touches on health matters. It encompasses psychological security as well as arms security. A number of factors may expose a nation to danger. To that extent, national security may also be viewed as a multidimensional process whose purpose is to safeguard national values. The most fundamental values of any nation is its survival, self-preservation, and self-perpetuation. A nation that is capable of protecting herself from harm equally enjoys immense capacity for enviable development. We may therefore posit that national security and national development are complementary and inseparable phenomena. They are mutually related. There can be security without real development and no development without security. It is vice-versa.

There are several works that deal with cattle herding in Africa, some with emphasis on the Fulani (Blench, 2004a; Abbas, 2010; Ifatimehin, 2008). Some organizations have also written on the subject. They include the African Union, AU (2010), the Food and Agricultural Organisation, FAO, and the International Institute for Environment and Development, (IIED) Roger Blench makes the revealing point that cost considerations, particularly the desire to fatten their herds close to their markets, constitute a major reason why the Fulani now graze large proportions of their cattle in central and southern Nigeria. That is also the finding of the FAO: that pastoralism persists because it is cheaper than sedentary breeding of livestock. Abbas (2010) pointed out that climate change and land acquisitions by capitalist farmers are other reasons why

Fulani herders have moved southwards in search of grazing lands, and, consequently, why they often come into conflict with farming communities.

On the whole, the existing literature on pastoralism supports pastoralists, portraying them as a marginalised community. Concerning the conflicts between farmers and herders, they generally recommend accommodation with herders - farmers giving up lands to herders and government protecting this right.

2.2 Causes of Farmer-Herdsman Conflicts in Nigeria

The causes of farmer-herdsman conflicts are often not far-fetched. However, there appears to be no consensus among both groups as to the causes of their mutual conflict. As stated by De Haan (2012), destruction of crops by cattle and other property (irrigation equipment and infrastructure) by the pastoralists themselves are the main direct causes for conflicts cited by the farmers, whereas burning of rangelands and FADAMA and blockage of stock routes and water points by crop encroachment are important direct reasons cited by the pastoralists. Ingawa, Ega, and Erhabor (2009) reported that the key underlying causes of farmer-herdsman conflict in Nigeria could be discussed below.

First, changing resource access rights, whereby traditional access rights to communal grazing and water resources are being obstructed by the individual tenureship of arable farmers. This is particularly severe on the traditional trek routes, which become favorite cropping sites because of their better soil fertility resulting from the concentration of animal manure from the trekking herds in these areas. Within the FADAMA areas, this is exacerbated by the fragmented nature of the crop plots, which makes prevention of animals straying in the crop plots difficult.

Second, inadequacy of grazing resources, as increasing crop cultivation (and increasing commercialisation of the crop-residues) and poor management of the existing grazing reserves have resulted in a significant reduction in available livestock feed resources, in particular in the Northern States. Moreover the high value crops introduced by NFDP (tomatoes and onions) produce almost no crop-residues for livestock feeding. Finally, the regulation that twenty percent of the FADAMA would need to be set aside for grazing (National Agricultural Policy, 2008) has not been adhered to.

Third, decline in internal discipline and social cohesion, as the adherence to the traditional rules regarding grazing periods, and the authority of the traditional rulers is breaking down. This is exacerbated by increased rent seeking of the formal and traditional authorities in managing resource access.

De Haan (2012) also noted that antagonistic perceptions and beliefs among farmers and herdsmen could compound conflict situation, especially due to failing institutions and fierce competition for resources. Another cause of farmer-herdsmen conflicts is increasing rate of cattle theft which, according to him, is often accompanied by violence. Others like Adisa (2011) perceived causes of farmer-herdsmen conflicts include inequitable access to land, diminishing land resources, antagonistic values among user groups, policy contradictions, and non-recognition of rights of indigenous people

Thus, in Adisa's (2011) view, whatever the causes of farmer-herdsmen conflicts are, it is evident that the conflicts have been of great negative effects. These range from economic effects (such as loss of income/resources/yield) to physical (such as home/farm destruction, bodily injury or death of family member) and socio-psychological effects such as emotional exhaustion, job dissatisfaction.

2.3 Consequences of Farmer-Herdsmen Conflict

Past conflicts were solely due to overlap of farmlands with cattle routes, where farmers grow crops on the routes. But recently, this conflict has escalated, taking another dimension of ethnic and religious differences with little effort from government or community leaders aimed at addressing them.

John (2014) studied the predicaments of the pastoralists and farmers and the true stories behind their conflicts and how these can be resolved. His results show the existence of one-sided reporting by the media, research articles and interested parties. Majority of those reports tend to highlight and report cases in which the pastoralist faulted farmers and tend to ignore the other side of the stories or even their losses (John, 2014). This appears to aggravate the situation and adds to the speculation and allegations of the pastoralist. Other studies show farmers encroachment on cattle routes is the real cause (Nformi et al., 2014). These mystify who is wrong and how these conflicts can be addressed. Ethnic jingoists and politicians have been benefitting in these strives and without doubt have succeeded in creating a divide between the farmers and pastoralist, especially in communities that are less educated. Leaders at the Federal, State, Local Governments and even at community levels become perplexed and wondered on how these issues can be resolved.

Farmers and pastoralist in many localities and different countries make their livelihood within the same geographical, political, and socio-cultural conditions which may be characterised by resource scarcity (Braukämper, 2000) or political inequality (Bassett, 1988). Farmer-pastoralist conflicts have been associated with the conflict of land resource use exacerbated by dwindling resources (Blench, 2004b). Some researchers have linked this crisis to the theory of eco-violence (Okoli and Atelhe, 2014), where

environmental factors and exploitation of scarce resources leads to conflict and violence. This may explain the dwindling grazing resources (land, pasture etc.) and poor management of existing grazing reserves (Adisa, 2012) as culpable. In addition, the population is dynamic and ever increasing compared to land that is relatively static. The population growth rate of Nigeria per year is 3.2% (National Population Commission, 2012). Therefore, more and more people will continue to compete over land.

Other researchers (Okoli et al, 2014; Odoh and Chigozie, 2012; Abbas, 2012) relate the causes of conflict to the global climate change and the contending desertification and aridity that has reduced arable and grazing lands, forcing pastoralist to move southwards in search of pasture for their livestock. Climate change-induced rainfall shifting patterns/amount and desertification reduces crop lands, and farmers have to follow these patterns, leading to overlap on grazing lands. The Fulbe herders in Nigeria, for example are faced with rapidly vanishing grass, forcing them to switch from the Bunaji cattle breed, which depends on grass, to the Sokoto Gudali, which readily browses (Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), 2011).

The pastoralists are also competing with large-scale agricultural schemes that narrow the grazing lands. The use of tractors, herbicides and fertilizers have revolutionized agriculture in the country leading to more and more grazing lands being farmed extensively (Iro, 2010). As farmlands increase to the detriment of grazing lands, animals can easily veer into farmlands and destroy crops.

Land acquisition by capitalist farmers exacerbates the upsurge of conflict as pastoralist can no longer find where to pass let to talk of where to stay (Abbas, 2012). Changing access rights as traditional communal property are being replaced by private ownership (Adisa, 2012). It is common to see that Burtalis (cattle pathways) close to

cities do not exist anymore as houses and filling (petrol/gas) stations have taken over their places. Cattle now have to compete with motorist to the only path that is tarred road. There are many other predominant causes. Blockage of waterholes by farmers and fishermen, crop damage by pastoralist livestock and reprisal attacks on pastoralist by sedentary farmers when ethnic or religious disputes occur somewhere else (Umar, 2002; Abbass, 2012; Audu, 2014). Also, allocation of grazing lands as government layouts without compensating the pastoralist, breakdown of law and order and taking side by local rulers or Judges responsible for dispute resolution (Rasak, 2011; Fabusoro and Oyegbami, 2009). Others are gradual decline of social cohesion, ethnocentric and religious intolerance of leaders who are themselves sedentary farmers and conflict of cultures (Abbass, 2012; Bello, 2013).

Hence, it is important to note that these conflicts have direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those involved. They also disrupt and threaten the sustainability of pastoral production and agriculture in West Africa (Moritz, 2010). These conflicts reinforce circles of extreme poverty and hunger, and destroy social status, food security and affect mostly the most marginalized groups that include women and children. This affects education of children leading to obstacles in their development and mass displacement. Consequentially, this debilitates the once mutually existing farmer-pastoralist relationships. This awful situation becomes worst, especially when either the farmer or the pastoralist is categorized into a group relating to religion, tribe or region. Abbas (2012) warned that the disharmony in pastoralism and sedentarism reflect enhanced sedentarisation and increased pastoralism leading to constant conflict with the agrarian societies.

Some farmers practicing mixed farming attests that their animals have in one way or another affected other farmers, likewise sedentary pastoralists were in one way or the other affected by farmers (Nformi et al., 2014). This shows that the issue of farmer-pastoralist conflict is more or less shared problem. Therefore, this may not warrant isolation of farmers or pastoralists into ethnic or regional groupings for the sake of levying blames on any as the case may be.

Blench (2010) observed that judicial commissions set up to handle conflict issues do not yield any effective action. Both farmers and pastoralists are in dire need to settle these conflicts preferably by the customary institutions rather than the Courts. Even though, many of these conflicts are settled outside courts through the customary institutions, a lot of people are not aware of the existence of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). The ADR is formal and centres are provided within cities and towns. The arbitrators are professionals at law and cases are solved fairly quickly outside the courts. In Nigeria, the ADRs are established by Arbitration and Conciliation Act, Cap. A18 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (2004).

2.4 Government Responses to Farmer/Herdsmen Conflict

There is a bill at the Nigerian Senate, one of the two houses of the country's National Assembly, entitled —A Bill for an Act to provide for the Establishment, Preservation and Control of National Grazing Reserves and Livestock Routes and the Creation of National Grazing Reserve Commission and for purposes connected therewith, sponsored by Mrs. Zaynab Kure (Niger South) in 2013. There is a similar bill being considered at the House of Representatives, the other house of the National Assembly. The sponsors and other backers of bill - legislators from northern Nigeria-are seeking that power be granted to a federal commission to acquire lands from all the state

governments in Nigeria and the Minister of the Federal Capital Territory to establish grazing routes and reserves for Fulani herders. Subject to the directives of the commission, herdsmen would have a right to such lands, despite the wishes of the owners, and despite the wishes of the government of any state. The Senate and House of Representatives debated the bill in early August 2013. The bill was opposed by legislators from Southern Nigeria, and some from central Nigeria. Besides, several associations representing the interests of different ethnic groups in southern and central Nigeria have publicly opposed the bill. They include the Ijaw National Congress, the Federation of Middle Belt Peoples, Afenifere (a Yoruba organization), the Movement for the Survival of Ukwuani People and the Southern Kaduna in Diaspora (Nzeshi, 2013; *The Sun*, 2013).

2.5 Herdsmen and Farmers Crisis and National Security in Nigeria

The Agriculture Minister recently announced the results of the 2011 Agricultural Sample Survey which indicated that Nigeria had 19.5 million cows as of 2011. Based on prior data showing that Nigeria's cattle stock in 1975 was about 9.3 million head, a growth rate of about 2.1% per annum can be inferred. This puts the 2016 population of Nigerian cows at about 22 million cows (*Tribune*, 2017).

The average cow drinks about 30-40 gallons of water per day, and consumes as much as 20-30 kg of hay or forage crops. This implies that Nigeria's cows require about 1 billion gallons of water and 500,000 metric tons (i.e., 500 million kilograms) of hay and forage products on a daily basis. Since there are no commercial ranching operations in Nigeria, these significant nutritional needs are met through nomadic foraging activities by Herdsmen who roam the country with their cattle, following natural water ways and foraging reserves (*Punch*, 2017). About 1.3 million cows are slaughtered annually to

provide a portion of the meat for Nigeria's population of about 170 million people. Nigeria's cattle provide about 30% of our meat consumption and are therefore a critical and important part of assuring Nigeria's food security.

Although, Nigeria's cattle are a key part of its food security, events that have occurred over the last 5 years have strained the relationships between nomadic herdsman and the communities situated on the grazing routes followed by the herdsman. Nigeria's cattle population has been the cause of intensifying insecurity and gruesome conflicts. Why is it that a practice that has existed for hundreds of years, with few conflicts, has now become a live wire issue that is pitting many southern communities against the Fulani? One obvious cause is the growing population of Nigeria's cattle population. From about 9 million heads of cattle in 1975, Nigeria's cows are now about 25 million, and are on pace to reach about 60 million by 2050. It is unconscionable that the provision of food and water to such massive numbers of animals should continue to be left to the unpredictable lottery of nomadic foraging (*Punch*, 2017).

While there have been many heated debates on the issue, we have observed very limited discussions on the root cause of the crisis. In our view, without understanding the root cause of the problems, a lasting solution will be impossible to find. This policy brief is our contribution to the debate. It is evidence based – meaning that it is stripped of all opinion. Whatever recommendations we make, are informed by a detailed techno-economic analysis of the causal factors that have led to the crisis, and a comprehensive evaluation of the most practical solutions available.

For sustainability, a significant portion of the financing of the operations should require contributions from the herdsman. As earlier indicated, about 1.3 million cows are consumed annually in Nigeria, yielding about N200 billion (\$1 billion) of value. The

herdsmen should be taxed to pay a portion of the services being provided to them. At a direct taxation of 10% of the value of the animals that are slaughtered each year, the direct taxation amount should come to about \$100 million per annum (*Tribune*, 2017).

Rather than imposing a slaughter tax, which might be difficult to collect, we recommend that the government simply establish a herd tax that will be set to ensure that a minimum value of \$100 million is collected. This herd fee corresponds to about \$5 per cow per year i.e., N1,000 per head per annum.

The eruption of violent conflicts between the Fulani pastoralists and farmers as manifested, in many forms and dimensions have wide range of implications on the Nigerian security. However, the intensity, scope and frequency of such conflicts have shown the fragility of unity of ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. The tenacity to maintain ‘no retreat and no surrender’ by all parties in the conflict indicates the porosity of Nigerian federation. The conflict prone areas in fierce struggle and competition over the shared resources undermine the relative peace, stability hitherto enjoyed; with threats to social order. The conflicts have brought about fundamental problems of human security in the region particularly with regard to humanitarian crises.

These challenges are due to policy implications of the political economy with the formulated policies designed ostensibly to reduce and manage the conflicts, but ironically turned to escalate them the more. This development has put the MDGs under serious threat due to struggle for natural resources under contention. Conflicts in a federal structure can be effectively and efficiently managed when there is a sound and clear policy to respect the feelings of each group, with give and take devices. Mismanagement of these conflicts shows that there is a weak institutional capacity in Nigeria’s federation to manage them right from traditional to governmental institutions.

The essence of federalism is good governance, collective security and safety for the constituent units. Since human security is paramount, the elimination of potential threats of existence and fear of the deprivation as well as enhancement of collective will must be sufficiently guaranteed (Elaigwu & Akindele, 1996). Conflicts in Nigeria since the 1960s have fundamentally undermined the stability and development of the Nigerian State and economy. The social, economic and political tensions created as a result of numerous escalations of violent conflicts have raised fundamental national questions for the survival of the Nigerian State. The failure of the state to manage and resolve such conflicts has put a question mark on the suitability or relevance of the federal structure to the Nigerian reality. The identity or resource and political based conflicts have become the recurring dismal in the failure of the Nigerian federation.

The woeful failure of the Nigerian State in enhancing security to Nigerians is breeding mistrust and lack of patriotism amongst Nigerians and leaders. This has cast dark clouds over the survival of the federation. The harvest of conflicts, especially the stand-off between Pastoralists and farmers, must have been cultivated and irrigated by the leaders and followers in varying forms and magnitude. This has shown the low level of cohesion and fragility amongst numerous ethnic nationalities sequel to the construction and constitution of the Nigerian federal structure leading to the ubiquity of instability of the failed Nigerian State and federalism.

2.6 Herdsmen and Farmers Crisis in the Southwest Region of Nigeria and Implications for National Security

Former Ondo State Governor, Dr. Olusegun Mimiko, has declared that the incessant attacks on farmers by Fulani herdsmen in the South-West and some other parts of the country must be checked. Mimiko feared that if the attacks of the herdsmen were

not curtailed urgently, the development might lead the country to the precipice. The governor called on President Muhammadu Buhari and other stakeholders to be more proactive about the attacks in order to stop them from degenerating to a serious crisis in the country (*Vanguard*, 2017). The Fulani herdsmen was reported to have invaded the farm of a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief Olu Falae and killed a guard, identified as Ayodele Ige, who was one of the leaders of the OPC in the State. The herdsmen had earlier in September, 2015 invaded the farm, where they kidnapped Falae, and he was released three days after on collection of a ransom.

The kidnap and subsequent rescue of Chief Olu Falae, has brought to the fore the need to debate what should be the approach of the government's towards the activities of Fulani herdsmen in the country. There have also been recent reports of women and girls being raped, sometimes in front of their husbands and parents by the herdsmen, not to talk of wanton destruction of lives and properties in the wake of increasing and unprovoked atrocities by cattle herdsmen (Ochoche, 2017).

Conflicts between the Fulani herdsmen and the farming communities usually arise when the former invade community farmlands with their cattle and allow them graze unrestricted both on cultivated and uncultivated land thereby destroying valuable food and cash crops, which are the mainstay of the host communities. Reportedly, when the communities attempt to resist the herders and their animals by insisting on their exit, the Fulani herdsmen would become violent and attack the community members (Brennan, 2011).

Armed with sophisticated weapons, including AK 47 rifles, herders have often reportedly attacked their target and vulnerable communities, killing and looting with impunity. Communities in North Central states of Plateau, Nasarawa, Taraba and Benue

have paid heavy tolls in human lives and property. More and more, the menace has been reported in the South East and South West as the herders extend their search for grazing fields southwards. As they advance, so does their mayhem and destruction. Most worrisome is the brutality and impunity with which the herdsmen reportedly operate, with scant regard for the law and the sanctity of life. Add this to the known inability or outright reluctance of Nigeria's security agencies to defend the victims who are brutally killed in their homes, and a clearer picture of the seriousness of the situation would emerge (Al-Marshat cited in Ayogu, 2015).

The suspicion that some of herds-men might be used as vectors for the transportation of arms to Nigeria, in the guise of grazing their cattle across the nation's borders, has brought new unsettling reality into what is already a very worrying issue. This becomes so in the light of the current wave of violence by Boko Haram in-surgents (and other dangerous groups and individuals) across the country. The situation is, because exacerbated by the porous nature of the country's borders (Raymond, 2014).

Besides the security implications of the activities of these herdsmen is the issue of the health of both the herdsmen and the communities they invade. Living with animals is never a healthy habit, particularly among the people who are strangers to cattle rearing. Also posing a serious health challenge is a situation whereby communities are exposed to animal drop-pings in communities and particularly the sources of potable water for the rural dwellers, with dangerous implications for their health and well-being (Al-Marshat cited in Ayogu, 2015).

Against this backdrop, it has become very exigent for the Federal Government to summon the political will and forge a lasting solution to the problem of grazing for Fulani herdsmen and their cattle. This is not only meant to curb the killings and inter-

ethnic wars that follow most of their movement, any step in this direction will equally nip in the bud any attempt by the herdsmen to turn their freedom of movement into opportunity to engage in acts of terror or become agents of terror as has been reported severally (Mathew, 2009)

The Authority is not unaware of the consistent and strident denial by the umbrella Fulani Miyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), that their members are responsible for the wanton killings and destruction going on in various areas of conflicts. That might well be so, but the group has to take it further and take steps to help curb the activities of people that give them a bad name (Al-Marshat cited in Ayogu, 2015).

It is obvious that the herders that destroy farms and crops with their herds; as well as attack communities are not ghosts; they are traceable to mostly Fulani cattle owners. We also acknowledge many efforts of the governments at different levels, as well as prominent leaders, like the Sultan of Sokoto, to bring sanity to this worrying trend. But we urge that much more needs to be done, and until the issue is finally settled, the efforts would remain too little (Brennan, 2011).

The final solution, in our estimation, to all these would come with finding a win-win solution to the problem of grazing for the herders and their cattle. To this extent, The Authority insists that an outright ban on indiscriminate movement of herdsmen with their cattle within the borders of Nigeria in the name of grazing would provide the final solution to the problem. This is because the problem is not the ownership and grazing of cattle; rather it is the indiscriminate and insensitive movement in search of grass that is the root cause of the conflicts. In its place, the governments of the day should designate

areas as ranches in different parts of the country and allocate them to cattle owners and herders (Ochoche, 2016).

Nigeria is not an island and elsewhere in other parts of the world cattle owners as well as the highest exporters of beef, like Argentina, USA and Brazil, all practice cattle ranching. For instance, President Muhammadu Buhari himself rears cattle. The good news is that he has all of them ranched! Therefore, the Federal Government should enact laws banning the haphazard movement of herds and insist that every cattle farmer must ranch his herd. This will even stem the tide of cattle rustling which has become a fresh scourge to cattle owners (Mathew, 2009).

Meanwhile, the Authority insists that while these steps are being taken, it is incumbent upon the law enforcement agencies that now treat the complaints against these herders with levity to become alive to their responsibilities, before reprisals by communities lead to huge conflagration. It takes two to fight, just as it takes two to tango.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Social conflict theory is a Marxist-based social theory which argues that individuals and groups (social classes) within society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. Through various forms of conflict, groups will tend to attain differing amounts of material and non-material resources (e.g. the wealthy vs. the poor). More powerful groups will tend to use their power in order to retain power and exploit groups with less power.

Conflict theorists view conflict as an engine of change, since conflict produces contradictions which are sometimes resolved, creating new conflicts and contradictions in an ongoing dialectic. In the classic example of historical materialism, Karl Marx and

Friedrich Engels argued that all of human history is the result of conflict between classes, which evolved over time in accordance with changes in society's means of meeting its material needs, i.e. changes in society's mode of production.

Consider the relationship between the owner of a housing complex and a tenant in that same housing complex. A consensus theorist might suggest that the relationship between the owner and the tenant is founded on mutual benefit. In contrast, a conflict theorist might argue the relationship is based on a conflict in which the owner and tenant are struggling against each other. Their relationship is defined by the balance in their abilities to extract resources from each other, e.g. rent payments or a place to live. The bounds of the relationship are set where each is extracting the maximum possible amount of resources out of the other.

Conflict can take many forms and involve struggle over many different types of resources, including status. However, formal conflict theory had its foundations in the analysis of class conflict, and the example of the owner and the tenant can be understood in terms of class conflict. In class conflict, owners are likely to have relative advantages over non-owners. For example, the legal system underlying the relationship between the owner and tenant can be biased in favor of the owner. Suppose the owner wishes to keep the tenant's security deposit after that tenant has moved out of the owner's residence. In legal systems based on English common law, the owner is only required to notify the tenant that the security deposit is being withheld. To regain the security deposit, the tenant must file a lawsuit. The tenant bears the burden of proof and is therefore required to prove that the residence was adequately cleaned before move-out. This can be a very difficult or even impossible task.

In summary, conflict theorists view the relationship between the owner and tenant as being built primarily on conflict rather than harmony. Even though the owner-tenant relationship may often appear harmonious, any visible harmony is only a product of the law and other elements of the superstructure which constrain the relationship and which are themselves a product of an even deeper conflict, class conflict. A conflict theorist would say that conflict theory holds more explanatory power than consensus theory in this situation since consensus theory cannot explain lawsuits between owners and tenants nor the legal foundations of the asymmetrical power relationship between the two.

From a social conflict theorist / Marxism point of view, social class and inequality emerge because the social structure is based on conflict and contradictions. Contradictions in interests and conflict over scarce resources between groups are the foundation of society (Engels & Marx, 1848). The higher class will try to maintain their privileges, power, status and social position - and therefore try to influence politics, education, and other institutions to protect and limit access to their forms of capital and resources. Whereas the lower class - in contradiction to the higher class - has very different interests. They do not have specific forms of capital that they need to protect. All they are interested in is in gaining access to the resources and capital of the higher class. For example, education: the lower class will do everything to gain access to the higher class resources based on democratizing and liberalisation of education systems because these forms of capital are thought to be of value for future success. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests. Marx believed that western society developed through four main epochs—primitive communism, ancient society, feudal

society and capitalist society. Primitive communism is represented by the societies of pre-history and provides the only example of the classless society. From then all societies are divided into two major classes—master and slaves in ancient society, lords and serfs in feudal society and capitalist and wage laborers in capitalist society.

Weber sees class in economic terms. He argues that classes develop in market economies in which individuals compete for economic gain. He defines a class as a group of individuals who share a similar position in market economy and by virtue of that fact receive similar economic rewards. Thus a person's class situation is basically his market situation. Those who share a similar class situation also share similar life chances. Their economic position will directly affect their chances of obtaining the things defined as desirable in their society.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section describes the method adopted for the study that will describe the status of herdsmen and farmers crises in the Southwest region of Nigeria and its implication for national security.

3.1 Research Design

The descriptive research design was adopted for this study. The design was chosen because the study wanted to describe the existing factors that contributed to herdsmen and farmers crises in the southwest region of Nigeria and its implication for national security.

3.2 Population of the Study

The population for this study consists of the people from two States of the Southwest, Nigeria which include Ketu Local Council Development Area of Ogun State and Lagelu Local Government area of Oyo State..

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

Stratified random sampling technique was used to select respondents 2 states in the Southwest of Ketu Local Council Development Area of Ogun State and Lagelu Local Government area of Oyo State.

3.4 Research Instruments

Research instruments are tools that were used by researchers to gather useful information on a study from various respondents. A structural questionnaire that was designed by the researcher was used to gather information on topic from the respondents. The questionnaire is divided into two sections. Sections (A and B).Section A consists of

the respondent demographic data while section B centred on issues that are related to the stated hypotheses.

3.5 Validity and Reliability

The questionnaire items were drawn in line with the research questions and hypotheses formulated for the study. The items were scrutinised by the supervisor to ensure that it tested what it ought to test. The clarity of language, content and technicality observed while constructing the questionnaire will be looked into while suggestions from the expert will be incorporated into its final draft.

3.6 Reliability of Instrument

This means a research instrument is consistent only when put to test over time, it gives same or very similar result. If an instrument is tested more than once and gives same result, it means it is reliable. This will be ensured through test re-test method.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher administered the copies of the questionnaire to the respondents from each of the two states selected in the Southwest, Nigeria. The questionnaire designed was used to collect primary data for the study. All copies of questionnaire were printed and administered by the research assistants to the respective respondents to obtain immediate feedback. Data collected was assembled and stored in both hard copies and soft copies for further analysis. The data collection process estimated to have taken approximately four weeks.

3.8 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was coded manually, organised, and analysed using percentages and frequencies. The raw data was manually keyed into the computer and analysed with Chi-square statistics on computer based software SPSS. After the data has been

completely analysed, its results were properly interpreted and decisions were made accordingly.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

Data analysis and interpretation are very important as part of this study. This is the process of giving meaning to the data collected in the field. The questionnaire sent out and retrieved was to obtain opinions about the subject matter of research which were collectively analyzed to get vital information for the purpose of this research work.

This chapter therefore comprises the data presentation, analysis and interpretation of result. The first section is the analysis of responses from the questionnaire through the use of tables and percentages, while the next section is a representation of the test of the hypotheses followed by the summary of findings.

4.2 Bio Data of Respondents

Table 4.2.1: Respondents Responses According to Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	49	48.5	49.0	49.0
	Female	51	50.5	51.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2021

According to the table above, 49% of the respondents are male, while 51% of the respondents are female. This shows that the majority of the respondents are female students.

Table 4.2.2: Respondents Responses According to Age-Range

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	21-30 years	10	10	10.0	10.0
	31-40 years	42	42	42.0	52.0
	41-50 years	21	21	21.0	73.0
	51-60 years	13	13	13.0	86.0
	61years and above	14	14	14.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The 4.2.2 shows it clearly that 10% of the respondents fall below age 21-30, 42% between age range 31-40, 21% between age range 41-50, 13% between age range 51-60, 14% between age range 61 years and above.

Table 4.2.3: Respondents Responses According to Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single	37	37	37.0	37.0
	Married	40	40	40.0	77.0
	Separated	5	5	5.0	82.0
	Divorced	10	10	10.0	92.0
	Widower	8	8	8.0	100
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	100

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4.2.3 shows that 37% of the respondents are single, 40% are married, 5% of the respondents are separated, 10% are divorced, while 8% are widowers.

Table 4.2.4: Respondents Responses According to Educational Qualification

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	NCE/OND	43	43.0	43.0
	HND/BSC	26	26.0	69.0
	Masters Degree and above	20	20.0	89.0
	Professional Diploma	11	11.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2021

From the table 4.2.4, 43% are NCE/OND Holders, 26% are HND/BSC holders, 20% are Masters Degree holders, while 11% are professional diploma holder.

Table 4.2.5: Respondents Responses According to Occupation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Students	20	20	20.0	20.0
	Civil Servants	30	30	30.0	50.0
	Business men/Women	25	25	25.0	75.0
	Professional	15	15	15.0	90.0
	Artisans	10	10	10.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 4.2.5 above shows that 20% of the respondents are students, 30% are civil servants, 25% of them are businessmen/women, 15% of the respondents are Professionals and 10 of them are artisan. This shows that most of the respondents are civil servants.

Table 4.2.6: Respondents Responses According to Ethnic Group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hausa/Fulani	20	20	20.0	20.0
	Yoruba	50	50	50.0	70.0
	Igbo	20	20	20.0	90.0
	Minority	10	10	10.0	10.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The table 4.2.6 above shows that 20% are Hausa/Fulani, 50% of the respondents are Yoruba, 20% of the respondents are Igbo, while 10% of the respondents are minority.

Table 4.2.7: Respondents Responses According to Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Islam	38	38	38.0	38.0
	Christianity	45	45	45.0	83.0
	Traditional	10	10	10.0	93.0
	Others	7	7	7.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

The table 4.2.7 above shows that 38% of the respondents are Muslims, 45% of the respondents are Christians, 10% of the respondents are Traditionalist, while 7% belongs to other religious faith.

4.3 Testing of Hypotheses

Testing of Hypothesis 1

There is no significant effect of herdsmen activities on farmer's income, their livelihood and national security.

Table 4.3.1 (A) Herdsmen Activities and Farmer's Income, Livelihood and National Security

Crosstabulation

Count						Total
		SD	D	A	SA	
	SD	5	0	0	5	10
	D	0	0	14	6	20
	A	0	10	50	5	65
	SA	0	0	0	5	5
Total		5	10	64	21	100

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	86.910 ^a	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	71.061	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.218	1	.073
N of Valid Cases	100		

The critical value from Chi-Square Table at 0.05 level of significance

$$df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$$

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

$$= (3)(3)$$

$$= 9$$

9 under 0.05

16.919

Decision Rule

If $X^2C > X^2T$ – reject H_0

If $X^2C < X^2T$ – accept H_1

Since X^2C (86.910) $> X^2T$ (16.919), H_0 will be rejected while H_1 will be accepted. From the stated hypothesis one above, with due reference to the stated

hypothesis, It can be affirmed that there is significant relationship between herdsmen activities on farmer's income, their livelihood and national security.

Testing of Hypothesis II

There is no significant relationship between government agricultural policies and herdsmen grazing activities in Nigeria.

Table 4.3. 1 (Bs) Government Agricultural Policies and Herdsmen Grazing Activities

Crosstabulation

Count

					Total
	SD	D	A	SA	
SD	5	0	5	0	10
D	0	0	15	5	20
A	0	10	30	25	65
SA	0	0	0	5	5
Total	5	10	50	35	100

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	65.907 ^a	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	50.852	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.069	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	100		

The critical value from Chi-Square Table at 0.05 level of significance

$$\begin{aligned}
 df &= (r - 1)(c - 1) \\
 &= (4 - 1)(4 - 1) \\
 &= (3)(3)
 \end{aligned}$$

= 9

9 under 0.05

16.919

Decision Rule

If $X^2C > X^2T$ – reject H_0

If $X^2C < X^2T$ – accept H_1

Since X^2C (65.907) $> X^2T$ (16.919), H_0 will be rejected while H_1 will be accepted. From the stated hypothesis one above, with due reference to the stated hypothesis, it can be affirmed that there is significant relationship between the government agricultural policies and herdsmen grazing activities in Nigeria.

Testing of Hypothesis III

There is no significant relationship between herdsmen and farmers' crisis and Nigeria's national security.

Table 4.3.1 (C) Herdsmen and Farmers' Crisis and National Security

Crosstabulation

Count

					Total
	SD	D	A	SA	
SD	0	0	1	0	1
D	0	5	0	0	5
A	0	5	34	20	59
SA	5	0	15	15	35
Total	5	10	50	35	100

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	60.304 ^a	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	43.081	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.339	1	.247
N of Valid Cases	100		

The critical value from Chi-Square Table at 0.05 level of significance

$$df = (r - 1)(c - 1)$$

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

$$= (3)(3)$$

$$= 9$$

9 under 0.05

16.919

Decision Rule

If $X^2C > X^2T$ – reject H_0

If $X^2C < X^2T$ – accept H_1

Since X^2C (60.304) $> X^2T$ (16.919), H_0 will be rejected while H_1 will be accepted. From the stated hypothesis three above, with due reference to the stated hypothesis, it can be affirmed that there is significant relationship between herdsman and farmers' crisis and Nigeria's national security.

4.4 Discussion of Findings

In sum, the conflicts between farmers and herdsman in Southwest, especially in Ogun and Oyo States have exacerbated socio-economic lives of the people. It has negatively affected inter-group relations leading to mutual mistrust among the people. The vulnerable groups which are women and children bear the full brunt of the conflict. More disturbing is the political and religious underpinnings of the conflicts. All these have degenerated Nigeria's drive to sustainable security. To buttress the impact of the conflict on the standard of living of the people, Okoli & Atelhe (2014) observed that the social impacts of the farmers and herdsman conflicts are evident in the glaring level of

rural impoverishment and destitution in the hinterlands. The intense violence associated with the conflicts has tended to worsen hunger and human insecurity. This does not augur well for the nation's internal security.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study examined the herdsmen and farmers crisis in the Southwest region of Nigeria and its implication for national security. It considered the nature of herdsmen activities and its relevance to national cohesion and security while it also assessed the crises herdsmen-farmers crises in Southwest and its effect on income of farmers and their livelihood and the security of the entire society. It further looked into the support of government policies and strategies adopted for farmers against Herdsmen and their grazing activities. The finding of the study indicated that herdsmen activities in the Southwest have negatively affected the farmer's income, their livelihood. It was also found out that the government agricultural policies have intensified herdsmen grazing activities in the Southwest without the necessary laws to protect farmers on their farmlands.

5.3 Conclusion

It is clear that internal security has continued to be a major challenge to the civilian administration since the advent of democratic practice in Nigeria. . One of the major challenges is the phenomenon of the herdsmen-farmer conflict. The menace of herdsmen-farmers crisis in the Southwest has brought about untold hardship to the people in the affected areas. This has continued to give serious challenge to the security architecture of Nigeria There is therefore an urgent need for review of country's national security policy and strategy to accommodate this new dimension of security challenge arising from the herders/famers clashes. It is the duty of the Nigerian government to

midwife this transition from pastoralism to mechanised and commercial ranching by addressing this crisis head on.

5.3 Recommendations

First, the government can do a lot by acknowledging that this crisis is a matter of national security. and then the government has develop and comprehensive national strategy to address the issue, deploying significant military, intelligence and police resources to restore public safety and order in trouble spots.

Second, a large expanse of land should be set aside solely for grazing and be declared as ranching zone. This should be established across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. It will go a long way in reducing the tension between the farmers and the herdsmen.

Third, when the Fulanis find themselves in the farmer's territory despite spending decades in the middle belt region, they are still regarded as settlers by the indigenes. These differences should be bridged through regular meetings, social gatherings, festivals and sporting events. Also, the governors of the affected states should stop addressing the Fulani herdsmen as foreigners. It is a losing strategy, which ostensibly seeks to absolve the state governments of any responsibility in containing the crisis.

Fourth, the federal government should draw up a roadmap to commence the immediate reconstruction, rehabilitation and re-integration of the internally displaced persons from their various communities. Similarly, the Fulanis who lost their cattle during the crisis should be compensated accordingly.

Lastly, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture is urged to immediately organise a broad stakeholders meeting between cattle breeders and farmers with a view to providing short, medium and long term solutions to the crisis between cattle breeders and farmers

in Nigeria while the federal, states and local governments are urged to evolve a strategic framework for the implementation of the long term solution to the problem of grazing.

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APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE
HERDSMEN AND FARMERS CRISIS IN SOUTH-WEST REGION AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

Dear Respondents,

I am a final year student of Tai Solarin College of Education, Omu Ijebu currently carrying out a research study on the above topic. You are kindly requested to fill the questionnaire as honest as possible and be sure that information provided will strictly be treated with confidentiality as is meant for research purpose only.

Yours faithfully,

Iduwe, Joy.

SECTION A (Demographic Data of Respondents)

Please tick the option where appropriate.

1. Sex: (a) Male (☐) (b) Female (☐)
2. Age: (a) 21 – 30yrs. (☐) (b) 31 – 40yrs. (☐) (c) 41 – 50yrs. (☐)
(d) 51 – 60yrs (☐) (e) 61yrs and above (☐)
3. Marital Status: (a) Single (☐) (b) Married (☐) (c) Separated (☐)
(d) Divorced (☐) (e) Widower (☐)
4. Educational Qualification: (a) NCE/OND (☐) (b) HND/BSc (☐)
(c) Masters Degree and above (☐) (d) Professional Diploma.....
5. Occupation: (a) Student (☐), (b) Civil Servant (☐), (c) Business Men/Women (☐)
(d) Professional (☐), (e) Artisans (☐)
6. Ethnic Group: (a) Hausa/Fulani (☐), (b) Yoruba (☐), (c) Igbo (☐), (d) Minority (☐)
7. Religion: (a) Islam (☐), (b) Christianity (☐), (c) Traditional (☐), (d) Others (☐)

Section B – Respondents’ Opinion

The options provided are SA – Strongly Agreed A – Agreed, D – Disagreed & SD – Strongly Disagreed.

S/N	ITEMS	SA	A	D	SD
	Herdsmen activities and its relevance to national cohesion and security				
1.	The socio-economic lives of both the farmers-herders rotate around land.				
2.	Land matters become easily conflictual and therefore put national security at risk.				
3.	Herdsmen movements and business have resulted to chaotic situations in Nigeria.				
4.	Movements of the herdsmen to other paths of the country have resulted to unquantifiable to the nation’s economy.				
5.	Absence of basic services and infrastructures for the pastoralists are responsible for the conflict.				
6.	The pastures are endangered by demographic pressure and land tenure system.				
7.	The collective effects of competition for land and droughts have made the herdsmen search for survival desperate.				
	Crises between Herdsmen and farmers crises in Southwest and its effect on farmers’ income, their livelihood and Threat to National security				
8.	Herdsmen damage has product about low productivity to the framers in the Southwest of Nigeria.				
9.	Herdsmen damage of farmlands has resulted to farmers’ loss of income in the Southwest of Nigeria.				
10.	Herdsmen damage of farmlands has resulted to farmers’ low standard of living in the Southwest of Nigeria.				
11.	Many Southwest farmers have become refugees by fleeing their farmlands due to herders’ continuous attacks.				

12.	The continuous violent conflicts between the herdsmen and farmers have wide range of implications on the Nigerian security.				
13.	The crises between Southwest farmers and herdsmen have resulted to security breach.				
	Support of government policies for farmers against Herdsmen and their grazing activities				
14.	Making appropriate laws to prevent conflicts between herders and farmers is good development.				
15.	Designation of grazing routes and reserves in non-Fulani communities for the Fulani herdsmen will curb the conflict.				
16.	Treating herdsmen who carry dangerous weapons as common criminals in the course of grazing will curb the conflict.				