

## **Farmers-Herders Conflict in Nigeria: An Analytical Discussion of the Causes, Effects and Solutions**

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### **Keywords**

*Farmers, Herders, Conflict.*

### **Abstract**

*This study analytically examined farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria. The discourse was on the causes, effects and possible solutions. Some reported incidents of farmers-herders conflicts were also highlighted in the study. The violent conflicts between nomadic pastoralist and sedentary farmer communities in Nigeria cause thousands of lives and economic losses. The conflict has escalated in recent years as conflicting parties have easier access to arms and communication devices. In 2019, the Buhari-led federal government announced the implementation of Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) settlements, the latest in a line of interventions billed to put an end to the recurring conflict between nomadic herders and farmers. However, the policy did not settle the crisis as many states kicked against the policy. The study adopted 'Scarce Resources Theory' by Stevan E. Hobfoll in (1989) and modified by Mulder & Krahn, (2005). The study adopted desk research which relied on secondary data. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the secondary data. The discussion on the reasons for the conflict showed that use of land, armed groups, climate change, and others are behind the farmers-herders conflict. The effects of the conflict are hostility, loss of lives, and rape among other effects. The study concludes by recommending that government must immediately implement the development plans, such as creating ranches and improving grazing reserves in order to get to the roots of the problem.*

### **I. Introduction**

Gaining the independence caused many changes in Nigeria. Attempts to create a modern state structure did not give the results as it was planned. The country's fate was full of military coups which also prevented the foundation of sustainable state institutions. However, one of the most important events in the history of modern Nigeria has been the discovery of oil in the country. Oil industry was the center of government's attention and

projects. Until then the biggest source of income, agriculture was providing the 63% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Nigeria. In 1988, this contribution of agriculture to GDP was only 34% (Egbuta, 2018). The neglect of the agricultural sector was visited by the worst nightmare facing Nigeria today ‘farmers-herders conflict.’

Nigeria’s ongoing herders-farmers conflict has a long and complex historical background. The land disputes among nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers are nothing new. However, it transformed by time and turned into a destructive and violent conflict since the beginning of twenty first century (Egbuta, 2018). In 2019, the Buhari-led federal government announced the implementation of Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) settlements, the latest in a line of interventions billed to put an end to the recurring conflict between nomadic herders and farmers. However, the policy did not settle the crisis as many states kicked against the policy. Nigeria is a vast country with different climates in different regions. It has arid, semi-arid, sub-humid and humid zones, which all allow different kinds of lifestyles and means of living. The climate and the land are significant factors in Nigerian people’s lives, since around 70% of the manpower works in agriculture (International Crisis Group, 2017).

It also had different administrative systems in several regions under British colonial rule which started with the twentieth century. British colonial administration divided the land into three administrative parts as North, East and West. The coastal regions and whole Eastern and Western protectorates were under direct rule of British, while the Northern region was ruled indirectly by British through Nigerian traditional governors. Therefore, the Northern region had its different rules and regulations than other regions. This privilege provided the North more political power. After the independence in 1960, to dispute the influence of the North, the administrative regions of the country were divided into smaller ones until it reached 36 states (Penrose, Jean-Paul, Bdiya, & Chettleborough, 2005).

The farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria also has ethnic and religious dimensions. The pastoralist herders who mostly live in the north are called “Fulani” people. Fulani’s are considered as settlers by other ethnicities in Nigeria, as they started to move to this region from other parts of Western Africa around fifteenth century. Fulani people founded an Islamic Caliphate in today’s northern Nigeria and after that they became politically more effective in the region. Some Fulani migrated southwards and got mixed with the local Hausa people. Today there are pastoralist and nomadic Fulanis who mainly live in the north. And the urbanized Fulanis (they are called Hausa- Fulani) live more in the south. Both groups speak Fulfude language and are Muslims. They have many commonalities however, urban Fulanis are considered being more politically wise and preeminent than nomadic Fulanis (Maiangwa, 2017). Christianity and Islam almost have the same number of believers in Nigeria. Mostly the people in northern region are Muslims and in the south are Christians. This brings more complexity in the farmers-herders conflict because it is happening mostly in the middle between north and south. The middle region is kind of a transition between

religions, flora and nomadic-sedentary lifestyles (Genyi, 2017).

## II. Theoretical Framework

The study adopted 'Scarce Resources Theory' by Stevan E. Hobfoll in (1989) and modified by Mulder & Krahn, (2005). The theory proposed that resources are scarce and that this situation will result in conflict. A stronger group, organization or country will attempt to control the scarce resources while others will be held under its control. More resourceful groups will also try to influence the controlling group or even attack it in order to have access or control to the resources. In other words there will be constant competition to have control and access to these scarce resources (Mulder & Krahn, 2005). Relating this theory the happenstances in relation to famrers-herders conflict in Nigeria, it is safe to say that scares resources have made herders to move from their region to other regions for food and water for their cattle. This act has caused several conflicts between farmers who own scares farm produce with herders.

## III. Methodology

The study adopted desk research which relied on secondary data. The data was elicited from books, journals, internet and other sources. The secondary data was analyzed with thematic analysis. This means the discussion was arranged in themes as sub-headings.

### Some Reported Cases of Farmers-Herders Conflicts in Nigeria

Through Nigerian and foreign media, below are the lists of some Farmers-Herders attacks and conflicts in Nigeria:

*On 11<sup>th</sup> December 2022, an attack on an Adara settlement named Ungwar Bardi by suspected Fulani gunmen killed 11. Reprisal attack by Adara targeted settlements of the Fulani killing at least 141 people with 65 missing. The attacks took place in Kajuru LGA of Kaduna State. According to a governor the motive was to destroy specific communities. (Premium Times Nigeria, 2022)*

*The Coalition Against Kajuru killings stated on 18 March 2022 that 130 people have been killed in a series of revenge attacks since the massacre announced by El- Rufai.(Tauna, 2022)*

*On January 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of 2020, 32 villagers were murdered in two different attacks by Muslim Fulani herdsmen in Plateau State.( Morning Star News, January 30, 2020)*

*According to the Global Terrorism Index, these conflicts resulted in over 800 deaths by 2019. (Global Terrorism Index 2019)*

*In January 2018 about 10 persons were killed in an attack and reprisal involving herders and local farmers in Numan local council of Adamawa State. (Daily Post Nigeria January 31,2020 & Vanguard News January 23, 2020).*

*In May 2018 over 400 herdsmen attacked four villages of Lamurde, Bang, Bolk, Zumoso and Gon in Numan and Lamurde local councils of Adamawa State killing 15 people. (The Sun Nigeria May 03, 2018).*

*In June 2018, over 200 people were killed and 50 houses were burnt in clashes between farmers and Fulani cattle herders in Plateau State, including one devastating attack from the night of*

the 22nd to the morning of the 23rd which killed 21 villagers in the village of Dowaya, Adamawa state. The casualties were reported to only consist of women and children. (BBC News, June 25, 2018).

In July 2018, a clash erupted between the Fulani settlers and the Yandang community in Lau Local Government Area of Taraba State. About 73 people were killed and 50 villages were razed. (Xinhua / English News.CN)

In October 2018, Fulani herdsmen killed at least 19 people in Bassa. (Xinhua / English News.CN)

On 16 December 2018, militants believed to be Fulani herdsmen attacked a village in Jema'a, killing 15 people and injuring at least 24 others, the attack occurred at a wedding ceremony (Daily Trust, December, 18, 2018 & This Day, December 18, 2018.)

The year 2016 saw further incidents in Agatu, Benue and Nimbo, Enugu State (Star News April 27, 2016)

In April 2018 Fulani gunmen allegedly killed 19 people during an attack on the church; afterwards they burnt dozens of nearby homes (Vanguard News April 25, 2018).

In 2016, clashes between cattle herders and farmers in the Agatu local government area of Benue State sparked a communal crisis that claimed lives and led to the burning of property. The herders said they had attacked the community after 10,000 of their cattle were killed by Agatu residents (Vanguard News).

On January 11, 2018, seventy-three men, women and children were buried in mass graves in Benue (pulse.ng/news).

The wave of herdsmen-farmers killings exploded in the first quarter of 2018. Hundreds of people, including soldiers and police officers, were killed in alleged herdsmen attacks most notably in Benue, Taraba, Plateau, Nasarawa, and Adamawa (pulse.ng/news).

With the cattle herding business being closely associated with the Muslim Fulani stock, the killings became tinged with ethno-religious sentiments. In what were considered to be reprisal attacks, Fulani communities were targeted and attacked in Benue, Taraba and Adamawa for much of 2018 (pulse.ng/news).

### **Causes of Farmers-Herders Conflict**

The numbers and statistics shown above do not mean a lot without looking in the changes in daily lives of people. In this theme, some of the causes of herders-farmers conflict in Nigeria are discussed.

### **Climate Change**

On top of the results of ill planned infrastructure building in Nigeria, the climate change is one of the root causes of this conflict. Nigeria's northern regions face desertification problem which affects the livelihoods of many people (Okeke, 2014). The amount of rain decreases every year. In the last 30 years, the rain season decreased from 150 days per year to 120 days. According to United Nations, the area which turned into desert or semi-desert in the past sixty years is around 350,000 square kilometer in Nigeria. The desertification continues towards southern parts of the country with the speed of 600 meters each year (Shehu, 2018). The effects of drought and desertification are vital for the

people who earn their lives from the soil itself. Water resources and grazing lands decreased in northern parts of the country, which drifted the grazing routes of herders into more southern areas. Similarly, the farmers look for new lands to cultivate as they lost some of their because of climate change. Expanding the farming lands in the areas that used to be suitable for grazing means less space for herders' animals (Genyi, 2017).

### **Poor Governance**

The Grazing Reserves Act was enacted in 1964 by Nigerian federal government, in order to determine certain areas to herders to use in grazing. This law was the first official step to encourage sedentarization among pastoralist herders. According to the Act, the government designated 415 specific areas for grazing purposes. However, they were not able to realize what was planned. Only 114 of those were given the grazing land status officially. Even those which were given the status were not properly protected as grazing areas. The ones without an official status mostly ended up as new construction areas, either for business or housing (International Crisis Group, 2017). After the independence with the creation of new administrative counties some of the grazing lands became parts of two different local governments. The Land Use Act which was accepted in 1978 gave the decision-making power about land leasing and renting (Oladotun & Emmanuel, 2019). This law made it easier for the sedentary farmers to get "certificate" for the usage of the lands because they had higher literacy levels than farmers and they could reach state offices more often. Therefore, pastoralist herders were gradually excluded more from the land use. Also the culture of Fulani herders about land ownership prevented them to be enthusiastic about buying the land that they have naturally "owned" for all their lives (Okello, 2014).

### **Cattle Theft**

One of the issues that negatively affect herders-farmers conflict is the cattle theft (or cattle rustling) in the region. In recent years there has been an incredible increase in the numbers of rustling incidents. The terror organization Boko Haram also exists in north east region and one of the most important sources of money for them is cattle theft. Other than Boko Haram there are also several violent bandit groups who threaten the herders' and their animals' security in the northern Nigeria (Shehu, 2018). Circulation of arms amongst non-state groups, the government's inefficiency to control remote areas and forests, and the secret collaborations between some security officers and rustlers are the major causes of the thefts. The so-called "ungoverned places" are the most risky areas for such thefts because the security officers are either impotent or corrupt in these regions (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). The total financial and human lost because of cattle rustling unknown. A report shows that only in 2013 more than 2991 herdsman were killed and around 65000 livestock were stolen in the central-north region. Many incidents occur in rural areas which there are not enough security officers from the state. Some herders' communities have therefore created their own armed groups to protect themselves against thieves. However,



this initiative created other problems such as some vigilante groups started to ask for money from their own people in exchange for the “protection” they provide (International Crisis Group, 2017). Cattle rustling are causing herders big economic losses, which pushes them to try to increase their number of animals to make up for the losses. Therefore, they need to find more grazing areas so their animals can reproduce more (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016).

### **Armed Groups and Attacks**

One of the reasons for the transformation and escalation of this conflict is the armament of non-state groups or individuals. Since the beginning of 2000s, the news come from many central and North West regions of Nigeria that Fulani herders attack villages with weapons and kill farmers. There is no proof or official announcement that shows where these people get their guns from. Instead of negotiating with the farmers, armed herder groups (allegedly Fulanis) attack them, bum down their houses and villages, rape women, steal goods etc. (Okeke, 2014). Some attackers are not Nigerian Fulanis. According to International Crisis Group, some gunmen attacked farmers in Nigeria, but these men were from neighboring countries such as Niger and Cameroon. The illegal armament in the region and lose border control between Nigeria and its neighbors are just some other escalating factors in this conflict (International Crisis Group, 2017). The armed herders or bandit groups do not threaten local people only for certain period. Some of them do not return to where they came from, instead, they occupy the lands of the farmers they attacked and killed. This situation causes bigger problems in society, since people know that they are murderers nearby and themselves might eb the next target of the attackers. It destroys the secure atmosphere in rural areas and creates mistrust amongst people (Okeke, 2014). In some states, the local governments encouraged farmers to create vigilante groups and defend themselves against attacks from Fulani herdsmen (International Crisis Group, 2017). However, there are many armed vigilante groups appeared throughout the conflict regions, not all of them are official. Some of these unofficial self-defenders have engaged in criminal activities while they were “catching and judging” the attackers themselves. The state security and justice mechanisms are unable to control these activities and therefore occur impunity in many occasions. The farmers who are not capable of protecting themselves and their lands against attackers feel the necessity to cooperate with vigilante groups, however, sometimes they find themselves in even harder situations because vigilante groups start to ask for money in exchange for their “security services” (Genyi, 2017).

### **Land Conflicts**

Conflicts between farmers and herders can be understood as a problem of access to land. The beginning of the 21st century witnessed an expansion of agriculturist population and cultivated land at the expense of pasturelands in the Middle Belt. And in an already politically unstable region, it has never been always possible to ascertain a legal title to land for every farmer and herder. As a result, transhumance routes of herders were no longer

available, especially in the context of global warming as this has caused a continuous movement of herdsmen southwards in search of land or pasture for their animals. This has pitched them against farmers, eventually leading to crisis and destruction. For example, farming along the Benue River, accounts for over 20,000 tons of grain annually. This same area is also fertile ground for herdsmen to feed their cattle. Thus, farmlands within the river bank areas are the mostly affected by the movement of the herders resulting in a number of clashes (Egbuta, 2018).

### **Population Growth**

Population growth has worsened this conflict. It has pitted many southern communities and farmers against the Fulani. One cause is the growing population of Nigeria's cattle population to 25 million cows in Nigeria, and the number of cattle is expected to increase to 60 million by 2050 (Fabiya and Otunuga, 2016). A large amount of food and water is required to satisfy massive numbers of animals when they are traveling over farmers' lands. Farmers accused the Fulani herdsmen of failing to control their cattle and allowing them to damage farmers' crops. However, the Fulani herdsmen have also accused farmers of stealing their cattle and sheep (Fabiya and Otunuga, 2016).

### **Effects of Farmers-Herders Conflict**

The effects of farmers-herders conflict cannot be overemphasized. Under this theme, some of such effects are discussed.

### **Degrading Agricultural Production**

The protracted conflict in Nigeria has caused and still causing several socio-economic problems for its people. One of the effects of the conflict is on agriculture, which supposed to be improving constantly to be able to sustain the basic nutritional needs of rapidly grown population. The agriculture does not improve fast enough as the state and local governments do not invest in farming technologies and infrastructure as they do in other sectors such as oil production. As a result of not having enough food production, farmers try to increase their agricultural lands which causes conflicts between them and the herdsmen. The crops also get damaged during the encounter with animals, as they just eat what they find and sometimes the herdsmen are not able to control their animals and sometimes they intentionally let them graze in the growing farms. The negative effects of the conflict in agriculture create a vicious circle of bigger problems, which the citizens are not able to get rid of by themselves (Ofioku & Isife, 2010).

### **Internal Displacement and Poverty**

People from both communities face internal displacement and poverty as some farmers lose their lands for good and some nomadic herdsmen are forced to migrate other regions because of local hostilities in their own communities. Some displaced farmers live in temporary camps and some live with host farmer communities, which put a strain on host

communities' pockets. Farmers who seek refuge in other regions usually get very poor as they have no income to sustain themselves and their families (International Crisis Group, 2017). There are no proper Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps for the people who had to leave their villages because of farmer-herder conflict. The so-called "camps" that some people could find shelter are usually some churches or school buildings, which also negatively affect the daily life and education opportunities of host communities (Genyi, 2017).

### **Loss of People and Hostilities**

After several killings of farmers by nomadic herders in the beginning of 2000s, reprisal attacks and armament of farmer communities started in Nigeria. Also, sometimes pastoralists' cattle were killed as a response to herdsman. The communities experience great hostility against each other, although in the beginning it was just a conflict about scarce resources and how to share them; constant attacks, killings, burning villages, rape etc. factors added more and more tension in between nomadic and sedentary groups (Ofioku & Isife, 2010). In order to feel more secure and try to create defend mechanisms the collective identities of the groups got stronger. For example, religion and ethnicities started to play bigger role in the conflict because people need strong ties to get together and defend their communities against attackers (Genyi, 2017).

### **Rape and Women Victimization/Molestation**

Hundreds of women have also been victims of rape as a result of these conflicts in communities across the country many of which go unreported to security agencies (Genyi, 2017). These are people's wives, mothers, sisters and daughters citizens of the country whose right to personal safety and gender dignity has been grossly abused and violated. Many of these incidents occurred in the bushes and farms where they have gone to eke out a living; some were violated at home after their husbands have been gruesomely killed or stabbed to death and in some cases, in presence of their children. There is no grievance redress mechanism or active platform for seeking justice for these crimes available to the victims. This is part of the challenges that sustains the conflict as no one is addressing the crimes leaving people to resort to self-help. This corroborated cattle breeders who had publicly admitted that the killings in Agatu and in some other places were as a result of unaddressed grievances ranging from cattle theft and death of their people previously (Genyi, 2017).

### **Steps by Government to End the Farmers-Herders Conflicts**

In 2019, the Buhari-led federal government announced the implementation of Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) settlements, the latest in a line of interventions billed to put an end to the recurring conflict between nomadic herders and farmers. The plan, which aimed to create settlements for the nomadic pastoralists and try to help them adopt sedentary lifestyle, also prevent them from open grazing. The settlements would be called "Ruga",



which is an old name for premises. However, the plan faced lots of criticism especially from the opposition. They claim that the government did not inform them about the plan, not even the people who live in the areas of potential Ruga settlements. Therefore communities felt excluded and theories have been made that there might be an “Islamization attempt” by simply settling Fulanis down in the areas which Christian population is higher (Gansler, 2019). Some people from the south oppose the plan because they argue that there are already existing settlements for Fulanis in the north but are not used or recently abandoned. Many in the south see the plan as an attempt to steal their land and they do not want to agree on it. The plan is called off for the time being and will be discussed with the affected parties (Obiezu, 2019).

### **Solutions to Farmers-Herders Conflicts**

#### **Negotiations between Stakeholders**

The government should be able to bring conflicting parties together, especially in local levels. Direct dialogue between farmer and herder communities may help both sides to understand each other better and reduce the hostilities (Li, 2018). There are some negotiation attempts going on in the region but most of them are either local initiatives or international NGOs’ (non-governmental organization) efforts (Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, n.d.). To be able to run sustainable and fruitful talks between the groups it should be funded and observed by federal and local state mechanisms. Local community leaders, religious leaders and local NGOs should actively take part in the talks and represent their communities’ interests (International Crisis Group, 2017).

#### **Security**

Security is overall an enormous problem in Nigeria. The police and military forces are not equally spread over the land and especially in rural areas. The federal government and security forces should make sure that the distribution of their forces around the country is not sparse but instead available for all regions and rural areas. Other than that, there is a need for better training of soldiers and police officers. They should be trained about effective policing and considering the application of human rights standards while on duty (Amnesty International, 2018). Preventing measures are needed to deal with the attackers effectively and stop the killings, burning down of villages and destruction of the farms. People should be protected better from other types of criminal activities such as cattle rustling, kidnapping and pillage. Improving the intelligence activities and working together with local authorities should give the federal state offices more information in time and chance to interfere before violence takes place. Also following the illegal armament and trying to bring an end to the inflow of the arms would be one of the most important steps. (Li, 2018)

#### **Impunity**

The attackers get courageous and communities get more frightened, lose their trust

of state offices: the reason is widespread impunity in Nigeria. After all those attacks in the last twenty years, many perpetrators just got on with it and they were not even arrested. According to Amnesty's report (between 2016 and 2018) only five people were arrested after an attack in a local community in Enugu state, and they were judged afterwards. Those five attackers were charged with murder of 12 people. However, this is the only result that Amnesty's experts could find about the prosecution of violent attacks and murders in villages in recent years (Amnesty International, 2018). Herders and farmers both complain about the security forces that they always come after the attack and they fail to arrest the perpetrators. According to International Crisis Group, the authorities treat these incidences as political events rather than criminal; because they claim that arresting and prosecuting the attackers might negatively affect the situation and cause more clashes. Because of this perspective of officers, also because of the reluctance of the government, even sometimes an investigation would start; usually it does not come to an end (International Crisis Group, 2017).

### **Land Distribution**

With the rapid population growth, Nigeria's population exceeded 190 million in 2018, it was only 45 million in 1960 (The World Bank, 2019). The infrastructure, agricultural production, stockbreeding techniques, security and public facilities have not been developing fast enough to meet its people's needs. The federal government should find a sustainable way to settle the disputes between nomadic and sedentary groups (Yakubu & Akanegbu, 2015). Most of the grazing routes once demarcated by the Nigerian government in 1964 are not used for this purpose anymore; some of them are occupied by settlements, public buildings, roads etc. The government either needs to determine new grazing areas for nomadic herders or regulate the existing ones; check their current situations and protect them from encroachment of farmers or occupation of industries (Shehu, 2018). This is one way of addressing the problem; on the other hand the climate change threatens the existing grazing areas as well. Therefore, the government should also try to help some nomadic people to adopt sedentary lifestyle, support them to be able to do stockbreeding in designated areas, provide loans for water supplies and animal food so the herders can create their own ranches (International Crisis Group, 2017). In 2017, The Federal Agriculture Ministry organized a conference with the support of United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and they suggested a plan in the end for gradual transition of nomadic herders into sedentary life and creation of ranches. The so-called National Ranch Development Plan (NRLP) is a ten-year plan which aims creating ranches for herders and supporting them financially. At the same time the plan will support improving the grazing reserves (Onochie, 2018). The plan is approved by the parliament in February 2019 to be implemented immediately in pilot states (Agrospan, 2019).

### **Fighting Climate Change**

Desertification, directly or indirectly, threatens the lives of everyone in Nigeria. The desert grows southwards each year around 600 meters. This means if it won't be stopped, soon the peoples of Nigeria will face bigger environmental and economic problems (Shehu, 2018). The government should work on the re-forestation, preventing the pollution of environment, encouraging the usage of organic pesticides etc. If they can achieve to restore the lost land for agriculture, that will help both farmers and the herders (Abbass, 2012). The Economic Committee of West African States (ECOWAS) and Nigerian government should work together; include neighboring countries in the fight against climate change and desertification (International Crisis Group, 2017). Also, the neighboring countries and Nigeria should strengthen the borders to stop illegal crossings (Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016).

#### IV. Conclusion and Recommendations

The protracted conflict between pastoralist herdsmen and sedentary farmers in Nigeria cost the country thousands of lives and incredible economic losses. The clashes between the groups do not stop, since the root causes are still there. The climate change which affects the whole world affects Nigerian people badly as well and exacerbates the conflict. The different governance systems, which remained from colonial times, in the north and south started to create difficulties for the Nigerian state right after the independence. Political powers of local community leaders, religious leaders and power inequalities between northern and southern counties paved the way for an unstable and fragile state structure. An already existing problem, disagreements on sharing the land, got bigger by time under that ineffective state authority.

The population growth, climate change, desertification, oil boom, industrialization, illegal armament of non-state groups, ineffective security personnel, impunity etc. are some of the most important reasons of the ongoing clashes. Country's middle belt, a transition region between north and south, faces the disputes mostly because of its natural, ethnic and religious features. This region is a transition area between the arid north and the humid south; it is possible to see a middle climate there. Also, most of the people in the north are Muslims and the south are Christians, which created the religious dimension of the conflict as north and south started to attack each other. What triggered religion and ethnicity to become important aspects of this conflict were the identities of clashing groups, although the clashes did not start because of religion or ethnicity; therefore, the study recommended the following:

*Illegal armament and impunity should come to an end in order to stop indiscriminating killings.*

*Security personnel should be trained better and respect internationally recognized human rights.*

*The government must immediately implement the development plans, such as creating ranches and improving grazing reserves in order to get to the roots of the problem.*

*Ranching method of cattle rearing should be properly and unanimously adopted at rearing location across the states of the country while the herdsmen should be given needed training*

for effective and efficient management of the ranching.

Farmers and herders should learn to leave in harmony.

Also, negotiations between the groups in local levels are very important, to include all stakeholders to work the problem together. In this way everybody would feel included and accept the outcomes of negotiations.

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