

International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research Updates

Journal homepage: https://orionjournals.com/ijmru/

ISSN: 2783-0179 (Online)



(RESEARCH ARTICLE)

Check for updates

The herdsmen migration and the growing insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Nigeria

Cletus O. Obasi¹, Rebecca Ginikanwa Nnamani^{2,*} and Jaclyn Odinka³

¹ Department of Religion and Cultural Studies/Social Sciences Unit, School of General Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.

² Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus, Nigeria.
³ Social Sciences Unit, School of General Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.

International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research Updates, 2023, 05(02), 025-033

Publication history: Received on 25 March 2023; revised on 01 May 2023; accepted on 04 May 2023

Article DOI: https://doi.org/10.53430/ijmru.2023.5.2.0055

Abstract

The incessant crises between migrating herdsmen and many farming communities in sub-Sahara Africa have become alarming in recent times. The activities of the migrating Fulani herdsmen and the incessant clashes with farmers give credence to the facts of insecurity. From Mali, Ghana, Senegal and Nigeria, it is the same story of insecurity. Nigeria especially has become the centre of banditry and terrorism. Factors such as unemployment, bad governance, poverty, marginalization and social imbalance each play a role in producing bandits and terrorists. While migration is part of life, the conflict that it creates with locals raises much concern. Its multiplier effects include food insecurity, unemployment, poverty and marginalization. The crises have also scared away foreign investors. Inflation has increased. This paper aims to examine the reasons for herder migration, its attendant conflicts with local communities and the effect of insecurity on the social and economic life of the people. This paper believes that government intervention in the control and management of Fulani herdsmen through the security architecture of Nigeria will minimize the insecurity problem of the country. While the paper sees herding as a private business, it suggests a policy for ranching as an alternative. The paper suggests that through peace education the tide of insecurity in Nigeria will be stemmed.

Keywords: Fulani-herdsmen; Farmers; Insecurity; Migration; Banditry

1. Introduction

Across West Africa, there is an incessant clash between herdsmen and farmers which has led to insecurity. The insecurity has forced many pastoralists to migrate to new communities. Nigeria in particular has experienced an unprecedented explosion of clashes that have led to unwarranted killings in many farming communities. As a result, the Fulani herdsmen migrations towards the South have encountered stiff resistance from local communities. The frequent stealing of herds in the North made it possible for the Southward migration of herders. The land-occupying spirit of the Fulani and the way and manner of killings in the local communities gave rise to the nature of resistance of the herdsmen and their herds. The migrating Fulani herdsmen and the insecurity generated by their migration is the concern of this paper

McGregor (2014) argues that the Fulani originated in Senegambia. Today the Fulani is domicile in 20 states in West Africa and the Sahel belt, ranging from Guinea-Conakry to Sudan. The Fulani herders once existed in a symbiotic relationship with sedentary agriculturalists in this region. The relationship has been disturbed in recent years by environmental changes that have driven the herders further south.

^{*} Corresponding author: Rebecca Ginikanwa Nnamani

Copyright © 2023 Author(s) retain the copyright of this article. This article is published under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Liscense 4.0.

The conflict between the migrating herders and farmers is not solely a Nigerian problem; it is now common across the Sahel. The fact that the Fulani are nearly exclusively Muslim and the agricultural communities are largely Christian in Nigeria adds the disturbing possibility that this bloody conflict could shift into a sectarian conflict. This is the fear and the resultant resistance against the migrating herders. The situation is made worse as the pastoralist-sedentary agriculturalist violence is now common in a growing number of Nigerian states, though Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa, Kaduna and Plateau states remain the most affected. Recently the situation in the South of Nigeria is alarming. The many killings and the serial kidnappings attributed to the Fulani terrorists in Enugu, Ondo, Ogun and across States of the south have received public reactions and condemnations in Nigeria and outside. Reactions include legal frameworks and the formation of vigilante groups to support security agents against mostly, the migrating Fulani, who have turned themselves as bandits and terrorists. The tide of killings and, kidnappings by the bandits and terror herdsmen could be stopped through the government's control of the migrating herdsmen. The business of herding can be managed through the provision of ranching. The ranching policy and management will on the other hand generate ancillary industries, like meat factories and other industrial outlets. This is what this paper is advocating. Insecurity will minimize through the provision of ranching. Making a policy towards ranching will reduce and even stop the rate of kidnapping and killings in the land. The safety of farmers will be guaranteed and at the same time, food security will be assured.

This paper employs a descriptive and qualitative research design in the analysis of the data collected. This method enabled the researcher to make valid deductions from the secondary data while the descriptive data helped the researcher to make a more objective analysis of both secondary and primary data sources as they relate the attitude of herdsmen towards the farmers and farming communities as they were allowed free space to air their mind without hindrance. Generally, the causes and the insecurity implications of herdsmen and farmer conflict were identified and analyzed. Suggestions were therefore made for a better relationship between the herders and farmers and the security and peace of the citizens.

1.1 Historical background

The Fulani are the nomadic tribe in Northern Nigeria. They were initially said to come from Egypt. Ibrahim (1966) quoted Lady Lugard, who likened the origin of the Fulani to Hyksos. She believed that the Fulani language resembles the language of the Wahuma of Eastern Africa and the Fulani of Western Sudan. According to Ibrahim, Lady Lugard believed the Fulani to be an alien tribe, whose grazing habits present serious problems to the country's agricultural and forestry practices. They are nomads who, in endeavoring to secure fresh grazing ground, became invaders and conquerors. Lady Flora Shaw was married to Lord Lugard in 1902. Lord Lugard amalgamated Nigeria in 1914. Fulani's beginnings could be traced to the Senegambia area according to Ibrahim (Ibrahim, 1966).

According to Salamone (1985), it seems reasonable to estimate 7 to 8 million nomadic Fulani and 16 million settled Fulani in all the countries they spread. They are in all West African countries except Liberia. They are also found in Chad, Cameroun, Kenya, and as far as Ethiopia. The number of Fulani has grown tremendously in Nigeria since 2015. Their nomadic life made them the most dispersed and culturally diverse people in Africa.

Fulani has affiliation with cattle, land and vegetation. They possess a strong cattle-herding tradition that antedates their Islamic allegiance. It is their culture and their life. In Nigeria, they constitute only 7% to 10% of the 200 million-strong Nigerian population yet they wield and control more power and authority than any other tribe or ethnic nationality in the country (Fani-Kayode, 2019). The minority herdsmen in Nigeria operate at will and with sophisticated weapons. The Central ruling government (who are Fulani) in the midst of insecurity treats them with gloved hands. Nigeria of today is insecure. They attack, kill and destroy at will without much effort at arrest and prosecution.

1.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

The motive for people's migration is very complex. It is often a mixture of economic, political and environmental reasons. These have the basis of the theories of migration. The Macro theories of migration, according to Christina (2002) emphasize the structural objective conditions, which act as "push" and "pull" factors for migration. The push factors of economic migration Christina (2002) argues would typically include economic conditions such as unemployment, low salaries or low per capita income relative to the country of destination. The Pull factors would include migration legislation and the labor market situation in receiving countries.

Involuntary displacement would be explained through factors such as state repression or fear of generalized violence or civil war. These economic theories fit into this paper. The herdsmen pulled out from the original base to come down to Nigeria for economic advantages and the acquisition of land for their herds. The theories however can't fully explain such factors as the persistence of voluntary migration despite changes in economic conditions or legislation in receiving countries. Nor can they explain why so much migration occurs from relatively few places (Christina, (2002). The other

theory is the Meso. Christina, (2002) went on to explain that Meso theories disagree with the Macro theories on the push and pull factors. Instead, Meso theories locate migration flows within a complex system of linkages between states and countries linked by economic, political and cultural ties as well as migration flows.

Meso theories are best at explaining the persistence of voluntary migration, and why it occurs in some areas and not others. They can also help explain the choice of destination for both voluntary migration and forced displacement. Finally, micro theories can help show how these macro and meso factors are translated into individual decisions to move.

The New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants (September 19, 2016): (https://undocs.org/a/res/71/1) differentiates refugees and migrants. A Migrant is someone who chooses to move across the international border to join family members who are already abroad, searching for a livelihood, escaping a natural disaster, or for a range of other purposes.

The adoption of the New York Declaration implies that member States have accepted the Global compact on safe, orderly and regular Migration. The *Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migrants (GCM)* was adopted on December 19, 2018. It is not legally binding. However, it is aimed to improve the international cooperation for international Migration.

Migrating is a fundamental right. It is a sign of development too. The reasons for migration are many.

There are *economic migrants* (people in search of livelihood) and there are *climate migrants* (people in search of survival because of climate change). Many West African citizens have migrated to Europe and America in search of these two reasons (economic and climate). There are many reasons for their emigration. They include poverty, corruption, war, weak governance, desertification, persecution, Human Rights violations, unemployment and ethnic and religious conflicts. The migrating herdsmen and farmer clashes are explained not because of migration itself, but the conflict can best be described with the use of social conflict theory. The theory sees social life as a competition and focuses on the distribution of resources and power, which are not evenly distributed by nature. Scholars of this theory such as Karl Marx, (and quoted in Egbuta), see society as a gathering of people of diverse needs and interests pursuing limited resources to meet their needs. This creates inequality as a result, which at the same time generates social conflict and social change (Egbuta, 2018).

Egbuta, (2018) argues that social conflict theory looks at the struggles for power and control in society as a major factor of conflict. Conflict comes from the Latin word, *confligere*, which means to strike. It is a competitive struggle over scarce commodities. In the quest for dominance and power, the competition results in a conflict where the contending issues are not addressed. This is what is happening between the herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. The herdsmen want the possession of the land. They destroy the farm produce, kill and drive the farmers away. The governments at all levels in Nigeria have not resolved the problems.

2. Material and method

This paper employs both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include oral interviews that were collected through face-to-face interaction with the interviewees, aimed at getting firsthand information on the subject matter. Those interviewed have full knowledge of the issues at stake, and, or are victims of herder-farmer conflicts. They are farmers, herdsmen, teachers, skilled workers indigenes and settlers.

From secondary sources, the relevant books, documentation, journals, periodical and internet sources were explored. Findings indicate that herdsmen-farmer conflicts have affected the life of Nigerians and have crippled the development efforts of the nation. Findings too, give the clue of intimidation by the herdsmen referred to as terrorists. Victims lamented the inability of governments to assist them to stop the killings.

3. Result and discussion

A sample of 40 people was interviewed on the conflict. The people were men and women of different ages, between 20 and 65. They came from different cultural backgrounds as traders, farmers, teachers, housewives, professionals and the jobless. The interviewees accepted knowing the Fulani as herders. The farmers and Fulani herders can be conceptualized as cultural neighbors. According to Bukari, Sow, and Scheffran, (2018) cultural neighborhood describes two groups that are ethnically and culturally different from living in the same community and geographical place and interact with others through activities such as trade.

It is averred from the interviewees that the interest of the farmers is their farm and farm produce while for the herders, the interest is the gracing land. Polarization of interest contributes to conflict escalation and division of communities.

The findings from the interviewees affirm the escalations of conflict between the farmers and herders and the huge killings. Victims alleged forceful lake over of ancestral land, and Islamization as the driving force of the Fulani herders who see themselves as owners of the land, whose interest is to destroy and occupy ancestral lands. Fulani travels hundreds of miles in search of gracing land. Very often, their herds are attacked and stolen by follow herders; one of the reasons they carry weapons. This is what has pitched the farmers and herders and led to the many killings.

A report on the Pastoralists by Amnesty International (2018) said that approximately 90 per cent of the national herd estimated at 19.5 million cattle, about 975,000 donkeys, 28,000 camels, 72.5 million goats and 41.3 million sheep belong to the Fulani herders in West Africa. Livestock represents between 20 and 30 per cent of total agricultural production and about 6 to 8 per cent of overall Gross Domestic Production (GDP). Herders or Pastoralists, as they are called bring in about 30 per cent of live animals slaughtered in Nigeria from other countries. Since September 2017, at least 1,500 people have been killed; over 1,300 of them from January to June 2018, roughly six times the number of civilians killed by Boko Haram over the same period. The first half of 2018 has seen more than 100 incidents of violence and more fatalities than any previous period since the conflict started worsening in 2014. The surge of violence before concentrated in Plateau, Benue and Nasarawa states in the North Central geopolitical zone and the adjoining Adamawa and Taraba states in the North East zone but has now spread all over Nigeria.

Findings show that Plateau state, which had been relatively peaceful for about two years, has witnessed renewed confrontations, with herders and farmers trading blame as to who triggered the resurgence. It was reported that at least 75 people were killed, some 13,726 displaced and 489 houses burned down, largely in Bassa local government area, from 8 September to 17 October 2017. The violence has continued to date.

Findings show that relations between herders and sedentary farming communities were relatively harmonious; they lived in a peaceful, symbiotic relationship: herders' cattle would fertilize the farmers' land in exchange for grazing rights.

But tensions grew over the past decade, with increasingly violent flare-ups spreading throughout central and southern states; incidents have occurred in at least 22 of the country's 36 States. The Fulani herdsmen who are religiously motivated, kidnap and receive ransom for kidnapping. They have killed many people since 2015 as table 1 below shows:

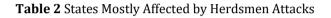
S/N	Year of attack	States attacked	Casualties
1	2015	Benue, Kaduna, Zamfara, Nasarawa, Taraba,	800 deaths
2	2016	Agatu, Benue, Nimbo, Enugu	In April 26, 40 people were killed in Nimbo, Enugu while 2 Catholic and 17 members of the Church were mascred in Benue in March of 2016.
3	2017	Benue, Plateau, Kogi	50 people killed in March in Zaki-biam, houses destroyed, and many people displaced. During the period President Buhari was on sick leave, the bandits and terrorists "ceased" fire of banditry.
4	2018	Kaduna, Benue,	Over 2000 killed. The Coalition on Conflict Resolution and Human Rights in Nigeria reported that the figure was derived from its tracking of loss of lives, properties and other consequences of the clashes between herdsmen and farmers in the Middle belt.
5	Up till June 2019	Kaduna, Katsina, Taraba, Benue, Enugu, Ogun, Ondo	Over 700 people have been killed between January and June 2019. In may alone, the following figures were recorded by Punch newspaper: Zamfara, 67, Katsina 51, Taraba 29, Plateau 12, Jigawa 26, Edo 12, Lagos, Delta, Kogi and Ebonyi recorded one person each.

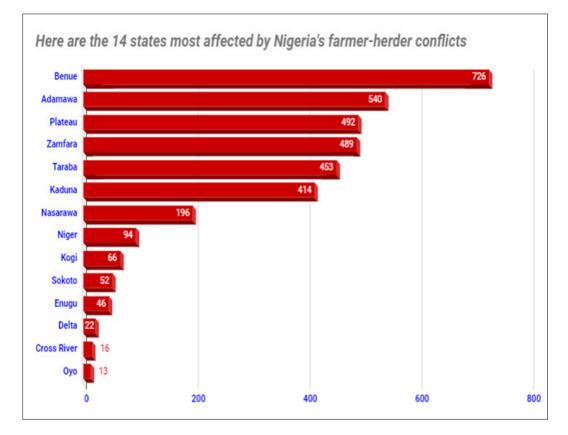
Table 1 Statistics of Herdsmen attacks from 2015-2019

Source: https://www.revolvy.com/page/Herder%E2%80%93farmer-conflicts-in-Nigeria?cr=1 retrieved 30 August 2019; See also https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/10/20 .; retrieved 30 August 2019;

Following the attack on the farming community in Ukpabi Nimbo, Enugu state and the killings on April 2016, after widespread condemnation of an attack the President, General Mohammed Buhari ordered the police and military to "take all necessary action to stop the carnage", pledging that stopping herder attacks had become a priority. Since then hundreds have died in more clashes. On 15 July 2016, the chief of defense staff, General Gabriel Olonisakin, announced "Operation Accord" to stop the violence. Nothing more was heard of that campaign. Following clashes in southern Kaduna in late 2016, which killed between 200 to 800 people, the army deployed troops to the area. Still, attacks have continued.

According to Amnesty International (2018), between January 2016 and October 2018, the Fulani-herders conflicts claimed the lives of 3641 in Nigeria and 726 people in Benue state alone. In its new report, "*Harvest of Death: Three Years of Bloody Clashes Between Farmers and Herders*", the International Human Rights organization claimed that the escalation of the bloody clashes between pastoral farmers and herders in the country was fuelled by the government's inability to investigate the matter and bring perpetrators to book. Table 2 shows the herdsmen-farmer most affected States in Nigeria. They are 14 in number.





Source: Amnesty International, Dec. 2018 available at https://www.pulse.ng/bi/politics/here-are-the-14-states-most-affected-by-nigerias-farmerherder-conflicts/3cz15p8

According to the report, 2075 recorded deaths occurred in 2018, representing 57% of the total deaths in the last three years. Other states affected include Edo (9), Ebonyi (4), Rivers (2), Abuja (2), Ondo (2), Anambra (1), Abia (1) and Ekiti (1).

The rate of killings by the herdsmen against the farmers and their communities raised a lot of dust nationally and internationally. The acrimony grew between the Fulani herdsmen and the mainly Christian farmers. The issue was made worse when it was realized that the government at the centre has failed to secure the life and properties of the farming communities. The attacks spawned dangerous political and religious conspiracy theories. The terrorist attacks of the Boko Haram who wants to Islamize Nigeria and the Fulani herdsmen attacks made many Nigerians, especially Christians believe that the attacks are Islamic, and aimed at Islamization of the country. The nature of their attack and killings gave the room that it not only the Islamization of Nigeria but also a jihad and invasion and occupation of the land. In March

2016, the prelate of the Methodist Church of Nigeria, Dr Samuel Uche, said: "We are aware there is a game plan to Islamize Nigeria, and they are using the Fulani herdsmen to initiate it".

Many of the interviewees believed that Nigerians is experiencing jihad (Michael Alor and Goodness interviewed 10/8/2019; Rev. Henry Idodo, interviewed 11/8/2019). Alor did not doubt at all that it is the Islamization plan going with the style of the bandits to kill, destroy and burn down the villages of Christians. Dr Izu Obi (interviewed 13/8/19), narrated the history of efforts by Muslims to Islamize Nigeria. He alleged that the sitting of the All Progressive Congress (APC) is encouraging the move but was quick to say, that all Christians will resist it. The trauma experienced by the victims of herdsmen killings and destructions, he believed is best explained when anyone enters any Internally Displaced People's (IDPs) camps. The pains of and the regrets of herdsmen–farmer conflicts are bitter on some of the interviewees. Jude Iwu (interviewed 11/8/2019) explained the untold hardships the conflict has brought as trading on cows has slowed down; the legal restrictions on the movement of cows and sheep in certain places and some Christians have stopped buying cows for their celebrations. Jude's regrets collaborate with the lamentation of farmers who no longer go to their farms and who have been dislocated from their farm zones. Michael Alor and Victor Joseph (interviewed, 10/8/2019) pleaded with the government to resolve the issues. Bar. Ken

Igwe in the interview held on 13/8/2019 doubted the ability of the sitting President to tackle the issue as he is alleged to be the life patron of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN).

3.1 Reasons for herdsmen-farmer Conflicts

There are many reasons for the herdsmen and farmers' conflict. Bagu and Smith (2017), argue that political and agricultural advancements are part of the causes of herdsmen and farmer conflict in sub-Sahara West Africa. According to the authors, the ramifications of identity politics and struggles for resource control (both political and economic) in urban areas have influenced the interactions of farming and herding communities throughout the Middle Belt. Furthermore, environmental degradation, security challenges, and rural banditry of the Sahel and Northwest Nigeria have increased organized cattle rustling and forced new waves of migration deeper and deeper southward.

Climate change and environmental degradation have led to the conflict between herdsmen and farmers. Desertification in the North has pushed the herders to migrate southwards for grazing. Otunuga (2016), affirm that Nigerian rivers are at their lowest levels and Northern communities are dealing with droughts. This affects the pastoralists and their herd.

The poverty level in our country Nigeria is unprecedented. Over 70% of Nigerians are poor according to World Facebook (2010). Poverty leads people to migrate to find a greener pasture. This issue according to Ndubuisi, (2018), affects the herdsmen. They migrate to the south with their herds.

The search for land and resources for the herdsmen becomes the source of conflict. During drought raging in the north, there is always competition over the scarce resources between the framers and herdsmen. Mohammed (2016), argues that disagreement over the use of and allocation of food and resources such as grazing areas become intense. Competition for the land is one of the major drivers of conflict and insecurity. The Fulani see themselves as the owners of the land while the farming communities see them as strangers and land occupiers (Clark, 2018).

The fear of the alleged Islamization of Christians is another driving force for the herdsmen and farmers' crisis. The Islamic religion is the connecting identity of the Fulani herdsmen and the Boko Haram terrorists. They are united in their faith and their goal is to create emirates in every part of Nigeria and use Sha'ria's legal system for the administration of the country. This fear and suspicion became the reason why the East, West, South-South and Middle Belt regions of Nigeria rejected the federal government's Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) policy. The implementation of the policy received stiff opposition, even when the government said the reason behind the policy is to put an end to the reoccurring conflict between nomadic herders and farmers.

Terve (interviewed 30 July 2019), said grazing is a private business just like other private businesses in Nigeria. He questioned the reason why the federal government is making a national policy to compulsorily acquire land and compel every State of the federation to key into it. He queried too, why the RUGA policy was stopped even when 11 Northern States showed interest in its implementation in their states. The States he mentioned are Sokoto, Adamawa, Nasarawa, Kaduna, Kogi, Taraba, Katsina, Plateau, Kebbi, Zamfara and Niger. Terve in the interview praised the States in the South for resisting the RUGA policy. He tagged it an Islamization policy that would have triggered war if implemented. Taiwo (interviewed 30/7/2019) accepted the conspiracy theory of Islamization and land occupation as the reason for herdsmen's migration.

3.2 Herders and Farmers conflict: Its security implication for Nigeria

Security is important for the protection of life and property of individuals and communities of nations. It is the reason governments and people spend money to protect themselves and their properties. Human security is as important as the protection of animals. Nigerians are however afraid of seeing the image of Fulani young herders carrying A-k 47 rifles and other dangerous weapons while herding other than the traditional long sticks they carry. Isola (2018) affirms that this has reinforced a public image of the Fulani as violent perpetrators in farming communities. They are regarded now as dangerous cattlemen.

Some of the interviewees such as Terve (interviewed on 30 July 2019), argues that the conflict between herdsmen and farmers has political implications. It is the politics of the central government in promoting a minority ethno religious group against the interest of the many ethnic groups of the country. He imagined that this could spark off hatred, division and war. He imagined too, why the government has not stopped the carnage, rape, kidnapping and banditry committed by the herdsmen every day as it is creating enabling policies to quicken the Fulani spread. He averred that the government should have made policies to control the movement of the herders, establish ranches and help the herders to manage the Ranches. He accused the government that has rather taken side with the herdsmen as when Dan-Ali, former Minister for Defense blamed people for blocking grazing routes, which gave rise to conflict with him.

Economically the conflict has created an unpleasant situation for Nigeria. According to Okigbo, (2019) the country has lost an estimate of over \$13.7 billion aside from the killings and the destruction of farmlands. The diary production, including milk, has gone low. Most Farmers are no longer farming for fear of insecurity while herdsmen are now restricting their grazing areas.

Another reason is that the Nigerian future farming is unpredictable and cannot be relied upon for the sustainable supply of any food commodity. Sobowale (2019) added other factors, such as globalization, and seasonal cropping to worsen food insecurity and a worsening economy. The rate of unemployment will widen, thus creating social problems for the country.

Herder and farmer conflict has created social problems in relationship. The conflict has created acrimony between herders and the Christian farming communities. There is that suspicion of each other. Muslim groups are in support of the herders, while Christians are against them. Hate speeches against each religion are rife on social media. Government policies and programmes are checked with the eye of suspicion. Global attention is on Nigeria as the conflict escalates.

4. Suggestions

- This paper suggests following the findings, a holistic education system that will enlighten the parties in conflict to know the rights and responsibilities of the citizens. Peace education is very essential in building peace and good relationship. Peace education concerns itself with human and social dimensions of peace and introduces the concept of human dignity and human rights standards. It invests in the younger generations and affirms in the education of the young in the virtues and skills of conflict analysis, management and resources for peaceful future. It is required in Nigerian situation. It will help in the stoppage of herder-farmer crisis.
- The government at all levels should be more responsive to the security of life and properties of its citizens.
- The security forces should not be biased or take sides against the other.
- The government should make sure that arms at the hands of herdsmen are retrieved from them and at the same time be serious in borders control.
- Those involved in the conflict should be arrested and prosecuted. Justice must be seen to be done.
- While grazing is a private business, herders should be encouraged to do their business without molestation. Farmers too should be protected and encouraged to be more productive.
- Ranching should be encouraged to protect both farmers and herdsmen in their businesses. Good management of ranching will generate ancillary industries that will create employment for many unemployed youths.
- Policies that will not endure the test of time should not be pursued. Government is a continuum.
- Politicians and elites should refrain from fanning the embers of hatred and support of the insurgency.
- Peace dialogue at all levels should be encouraged.

5. Conclusion

This paper believes that peace is a process. It takes time and efforts. Resolving the conflict between the herders and farmers will involve both the governments, communities, religious leaders and individuals. In situating and analyzing

the conflict between herders and farmers, we found out that the relationship between the groups has been broken. The shrinking relationship could be made worse if the open hostilities are not stopped and the narrative of violence changed constructively. While everyone is free to migrate anywhere for business and other needs, migrants must respect the custom and rules of their host communities. Mutual respect should accompany any migration. Mutuality obscures any hiding agenda or power struggle. It guides against violent conflicts and builds a firm relationship. Herders and farmers are business partners and must justify this partnership through constant dialogue that builds mutual trust, peace and justice. Government's policy at ranching should be immediate, while adequate compensation is made to victims of the farmer-herder crisis.

Compliance with ethical standards

Acknowledgments

The authors acknowledge the assistance of their colleagues in the School of General Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Disclosure of conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interests in respect of the authorship and publication of this article.

Statement of informed consent

This study does not involve human subjects.

References

- [1] Amnesty Report (December 17, 2018): 'Farmer-herder clashes kill 3,641 in Nigeria' Available online https://www.pulse.ng/bi/politics/amnesty-says-3641-killed-in-nigeria-farmer-herder-crisis/gntlc1js;
- [2] https://www.pulse.ng/bi/politics/here-are-the-14-states-most-affected-by-nigerias-farmer-herde accessed 11/9/2019
- [3] Bukari, K. N, Sow, P., & Scheffran, J. (2018), 'Cooperation and Co-Existence between Farmers and Herders in the Midst of Violent Farmer-Herder Conflict in Ghana', African Studies Review, Vol. 61, No 2.
- [4] Christina B. (2002) 'Addressing the causes of migratory and refugee movements: the role of the European Union' NEW ISSUES IN REFUGEE RESEARCH Working Paper No. 73 Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Switzerland.
- [5] Clark, H. (2018), 'Over 6,000 Nigerians in Christian- identified Communities Murdered or maimed by Fulani Muslims in 2018' available at https://christiannews.net/2018/07/11/0ver-6000-nigerian-in -christianidentified-communities-murdered-by-fulani-muslims-in-2018/. accessed 28 September 2019
- [6] Egbuta, U. (2018) 'Understanding the Herder-farmer Conflict in Nigeria', in Accord: The African: Center for Constructive Resolution of Disputes, December 2018.
- [7] Ibrahim, M. B. (1966), 'The Fulani A Nomadic Tribe in Northern Nigeria' in African Affairs Vol. 65, No. 259, pp. 170-176
- [8] Ibrahim, M. B. (1966), 'The Fulani A Nomadic Tribe in Northern Nigeria' available online African Affairs Vol. 65, No. 259, pp. 170-176
- [9] Isola, O. (2018), Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria: A Threat to Peacebuilding and Human Security in West Africa' Southern Vioces, Wednesday March 21. Available on https://africaupclose.wilsoncenter.org/herdsmen-and-farmers-conflict-in-nigeria-a-threat-to-peacebuilding-and-human-security-in-west-africa/ accessed 20 September 2019.
- [10] Fani-Kayode F. (2019) The Fulani of Nigeria Daily Post article available online https://dailypost.ng/2019/08/26/femi-fani-kayode-fulani-nigeria/ accessed 7/9/2019
- [11] McGregor, A. (2014), 'Alleged Connection between Boko Haram and Nigeria's Fulani Herdsmen Could Spark a Nigerian Civil War', in Terrorism Monitor Volume: 12 Issue: 10, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/537dda124.html accessed 6 August 2019

- [12] Mohammed, S. A. (2016), 'Farmer Pastoralist Conflict in Nigeria: Case Studies of Damsadua.
- [13] Ndubuisi, C. I. (2018), 'A Critical Analysis of Conflicts between Herdsmen and Farmers in Nigeria: Causes and Socioreligious and Political effects on National Development', HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies 74, (1), a5065, available https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i1.5065 accessed 12 September 2019
- [14] Obi, O. (2019), 'Uncertainty trails National Livestock Transformation Plan', The Sun, 30 September, 2019.
- [15] Otunuga, A. (2016), 'Why the Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers fight: How Climate Change and the Boko Haram Crisis Created the Crisis', available at http://www.saharareporter.com/2016/06/03/why -fulani-herdsmen-farmers-fight-how-climate-change-Boko-haram-crisis-created-crisis-and. accessed 12 September, 2019.
- [16] Salamone, Frank A. (1985). "Colonialism and the Emergence of Fulani Ethnicity." Journal of Asian and African Studies 20: 170-201.
- [17] Sobowale, D. (2019), 'Recession is here: Will depression follow?' Vanguard newspaper, September 30, 2019 available at: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/09/nigeria-recession-is-here-will-depression-follow-2-2/ accessed 30 September 2019