

Innovations

Conflict and Resolution Mechanisms in the History of Farmers and Herders Clash in Nigeria: A Systematic Review

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Abstract: Relationships that were historically inter-dependent and mutually beneficial have been altered by factors like environmental degradation, social manipulation of ethno-religious biases, and technological advances. States within Nigeria particularly the Middle Belt have witnessed an increase in casualties as consequences of these fractured relationships. This review examined the major drivers of the conflict, the strategies that have been adopted to manage the conflict thus far, and on the basis of these propose useful recommendations on developing a more sustainable framework for conflict prevention and management. It is evident from the review that the major drivers of the conflict between farmers and pastoralists are competition for common resource, difference in ethnic value and the impact of urbanization. The impact of conflict has been severe in the affected communities as is evident in the significant loss of lives, destruction of crops and livestock and increasing cases of poverty. The review further showed that government and other stakeholders have responded in different ways with the intension of managing the conflict. The intervention strategies have not yielded much results owing to the deficiency observed in the planning and implementation of such strategies. Towards developing a more sustainable approach to mitigating the conflict, it is recommended among other things that a comprehensive and detailed enquiry to ascertain the immediate and remote causes of the conflict should be instituted and community based responses that utilize the approach of negotiation and dialogue with the conflicting parties should be encouraged and sustained as against the huge deployment of security agencies to the affected communities.

Keywords: Systematic, Conflict, Resolution, Mechanisms, Farmers and Herders.

1.0 Introduction

The manifestation of conflicts in different dimensions across the globe is one of the major problems confronting World Peace today. Conflicts are common phenomena

across Europe, America, Africa and Asia (Jeong, 2008). In Africa, Many agrarian countries are experiencing high population growth with an accompanying increased demand for arable cropland. This defined the case of Nigeria with a population of well over 180 million inhabitants and a land area of 923,773 square kilometers (NBS, 2016). The need to provide food of crop and animal origin to meet ever growing demands necessitates opening up of lands hitherto uncultivated including marginal lands (Gefu and Kolawole, 2002).

Tonah (2006) is 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, has been a massive increase of the incidence of farmers-herders' conflict. Cases of farmer-herders conflict abound and are widespread in Nigeria in recent times (Ofuoku and Isife, 2010). According to Aliyu, (2015) Nigeria has experienced and is still experiencing conflicts of grave proportions among several ethnic and religious communities across the states. These conflicts vary significantly in dimension, process and the groups involved. Momale (2003) observed that, while some conflicts arise between same resource user group such as between one farming community and another, others occur between different user groups such as between herders and farmers or between foresters and farmers. Adisa (2012) reported that the farmers-herdsmen conflict has remained the most common resource-use conflict in Nigeria.

Conflict can be within groups or between groups. The most important form of conflict is the "between group" category which often involves people of divergent ethnic background. This is very obvious in the types of conflicts reported between farmers and herders in the different states and locations (Momale, 2003). Farmer-herder differences are not only seen as resource conflict but are also sometimes represented as ethnic conflict involving the two groups. Since herder and farmer groups have very different values, customs, physical and cultural characteristics, disputes between them are frequently characterized as ethnic conflict (Tonah, 2006).

Ukaegbu and Agunwamba (1995) opined that conflict and consensus are the two main patterns of social interactions. Main stream conflict theory view constant antagonism over scarce resources as the fundamental cause of conflict between economic agents (Tonah, 2006). It is generally acceptable that where there are competing uses for a resource, some amount of conflict may be imminent. This is even more so when the resource in question is land which can be put into different productive uses (Fasona and Omojola, 2005). The importance and utility of land to crop and animal farmers necessitates some amount of competition. Competition for such resource is aggravated by growing human and animal populations (Gefu and Kolawole, 2002). According to them, conflict in land resource use can be caused by agricultural intensification where the existing resource is put into more intensive use

by any group of farmer (crop or livestock). Such intensification may be population-driven (more persons to a unit of land resource). In this case, competition/conflict becomes very stiff between different resource users. It could also be market-driven which has to do with the commercial- orientation of the resource user (Okello et al., 2014).

Kwaja and Ademola (2018) observed that violent confrontations between farmers and herders are prevalent and pervasive in Central and West Africa. In Nigeria, climate variability, environmental degradation, and socio-political upheaval have shifted pastoralist migratory patterns and increased tensions between farmers and herders. These changes have increased confrontations between farmers and herders, leading to violent conflict, deaths, forced displacement and migration, erosion of inter-communal relationships, as well as the destruction of agricultural and livestock outputs.

In addition, the increased competition for land and water resources further exacerbates everyday conflicts when they occur. For instance, when cattle destroy the crops of a subsistence farmer, it is a direct loss to the farmer's livelihood, and this may exacerbate pre-existing tensions between ethnic groups if the farmer and herder are of different ethnicities, sparking broader conflict and violence (De Haan, 2002). Similar examples play out for herders when cattle are attacked and killed, often in retaliation to destruction of farmland. In Nigeria, the consequences have been severe. More than 6,000 people have been killed and over 62,000 people have been displaced in the Middle Belt states of Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa, and Plateau alone (Bagu and Smith, 2017).

The increasing number of reports of violence resulting from farmers-pastoralists conflicts has made it a national emergency and addressing it an urgent task. As observed by Aliyu (2015) complex land use system has changed remarkably overtime and has culminated in the present day tension and conflicts between pastoralists and host farming communities. To stem the rising incidence of this conflict, government has experimented different models of conflict resolution with very little success. This condition necessitates a review of responses and strategies employed thus far in addressing the conflict in Nigeria with a view of identifying the effectiveness of each and suggesting areas of improvement. Specifically, the study examined the:

- i. causes of farmers-pastoralists conflict
- ii. socioeconomic effects of farmers – herders conflict
- iii. conflict resolution mechanisms employed thus far with the aim of identifying gaps and suggesting how to fill it.

2.0 Methodology

2.1: The Study Area and Design

The study was conducted in Nigeria, which comprises of 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). Nigeria is located in West Africa. This study adopted descriptive research design with systematic review of literatures in which accessible research results of adequate quality were identified, critically reviewed and integrated, based on obviously defined criteria relating to a particular research question or topic, to the ultimate end of generating fresh synthetic ideas (Lesnikowski et al., 2011).

The method applied in this report, as also used by (Mallett et al., 2012), used the following steps. Initially, important search terms were identified. This is followed by a search strategy that made use of the search terms as well as retrieving information from peer-reviewed journals. Lastly, articles and resources that carried relevant information were compiled and critically assessed. A random google search recognizing the appropriate keywords was used and results gotten from the search were used for the systematic review.

2.2: Data Collection

Secondary data was used in this study. The literature search was conducted on various databases, including Google Scholar, Scopus (Elsevier) and Springer (Nature) and, FAOSTAT. Boolean Search technique was used with OR and AND as connectors, for example, herders AND farmers conflict. Articles considered for inclusion contained essential vital words from the topic such as herders AND farmers conflict, conflict causes and effects. As an exclusion criterion, strong attention was given to articles that reported case in Nigeria. Nevertheless, relevant information from other areas was considered particularly, where it was possible to find literature on Africa. Moreover, where articles appeared as duplicates, preference was given to peer-reviewed articles as they had a higher level of quality owing to the rigour in the peer-review process.

After searching, a total of 18 articles, papers or WebPages were selected, of which fifteen (15) focused solely on Nigeria while three (3) addresses findings from Africa. In terms of research design and methodology used, quantitative methods such as empirical analysis, and qualitative explorative approach (descriptive statistics) such as frequency distribution, mean score seem to be dominant among the literatures. A comprehensive list of the literature reviewed is presented in an appendix. The table shows the list of the literatures reviewed.

3.0: Results and Discussion

3.1: Causes of Farmers - Herders Conflict in Nigeria

It is generally acceptable that where there are competing uses for a resource, some amount of conflict may be imminent. The major causes of conflict identified are discussed below with the aid of the graph in figure 2. It is obvious that among these causes identified, resource conflict ranked highest with wider recognition, followed by rapid urbanization/land degradation and ethnicity. Harassment, though constitute cause of conflict was least considered across the articles.

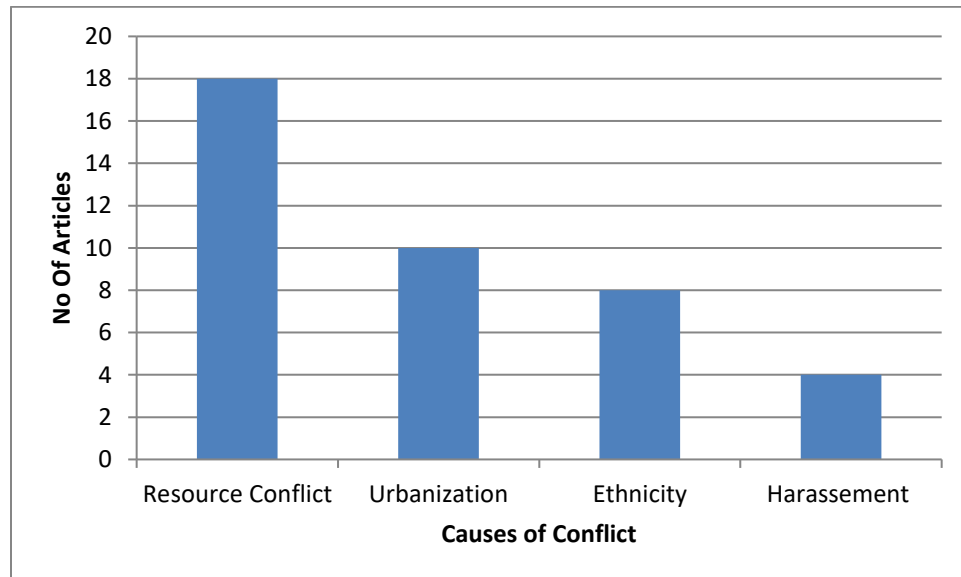


Figure 2: Causes of Farmer Herdsmen Conflict

Source: Author's computation

3.1.1: Resource Conflict: Herder-Farmers crisis in Nigeria occurs as a result of land scarcity; there exists a growing scarcity of arable land and water sources that are equally essential to sustain crop cultivation and cattle herds. This is further exacerbated by the growing population of farmers, herders and their herds, increasing scarcity of arable land due to droughts, impending desertification of the Sahel savannah, land degradation, and cultural differences among ethnic groups that predominantly farm or graze cattle (Fiki and Lee, 2005).

In this vein, Ofuoku and Isife, 2010 reported that destructions of crops by cattle were rated high by both farmers and herdsmen as major cause of conflict. This is congruent with Tonah (2006) who stated that the most frequent cause of such conflict is the destruction of crops by cattle. These cattle enter the farm to feed on the foliage of crop even in the presence of the herdsmen who pretend not to notice such destruction (Ofuoku and Isife, 2010). This is also followed by contamination of stream by the herds of cattle as opined by the farmers and herdsmen. Bush burning which causes destruction to crops on the field was considered as a major source of

conflicts between farmers and herders. Cattle theft or rustling was another major cause of conflicts in the farming communities. Stray cattle which destroy crops on the field also caused conflicts farmers and nomadic herdsman. Farmers in anger slaughter such stray animal.

3.1.2: Urbanization: In addition to the quest for the common property resources, environmental degradation and rapid urbanization also constitute conflict (Fiki and Lee, 2004). Coser (2000) noted that, the inevitability of conflict in the claim for scarce resource is considered as the bane for struggles over the inestimable value for land and its resource, with the claim for ownership and the claim for its position as a common resource. Competition-driven conflicts between arable crop farmers and cattle herdsman have become common occurrences in many parts of Nigeria (Ingawa et al., 1999). The competition between these two agricultural land user-groups has often times turned into serious overt and constitutes hostilities and social friction in many parts of Nigeria (Adisa, 2012). Cases of herders-farmers conflicts are widespread in recent times.

3.1.3: Ethnicity: Many Nigerians however attributed the violence to ethnic incompatibility. Nigerians have become accustomed to headlines that read, “Fulani herdsman attack farmers here and there in Nigeria e.g (Guma and Logo) and people were killed (Beetseh, Dzever and Terwase, 2018). Also, Ofuoku and Isife, 2010 averred that it is customary for strangers to pay visit to the traditional authority of their host community at the first time of entry to announce their mission and seek their permission to sojourn there especially when the strangers are not the ones that could stay in the habited areas of the community like the nomads. This is done strictly for security and revenue reasons. This, the nomadic herders always fail to do and pay, respectively and lead to ethnic incompatibility.

3.1.4: Harassment: this also constitutes cause of conflict among farmers and herders as pointed out by Ofuoku and Isife, 2010. It could be female harassment by the nomadic herders, especially when cases of rapes were established or harassment of nomadic herders by host youth. Harassment of nomads was rated by both farmers and herders as having caused conflicts. Rape, a major cause of conflict is a taboo to every society in the world and in Africa in particular, it is not taken lightly. The nomads who are singles, in a bid to satisfy their thirst females fall into such temptations.

3.2: Socioeconomic Effects of Conflict

The increasing number of reports of violence makes understanding of herder-farmer conflicts an urgent task as the complex land use system has changed remarkably overtime and has culminated in the present day tension and conflicts between Fulani herdsman and host communities (Aliyu, 2015). The following constitute the various

socioeconomics effects of farmer herdsmen conflict as represented by the graph in figure 3. Loss of lives and properties ranked highest followed by poverty and starvation. Loss of national integrity as an effect has least recognition across the article reviewed.

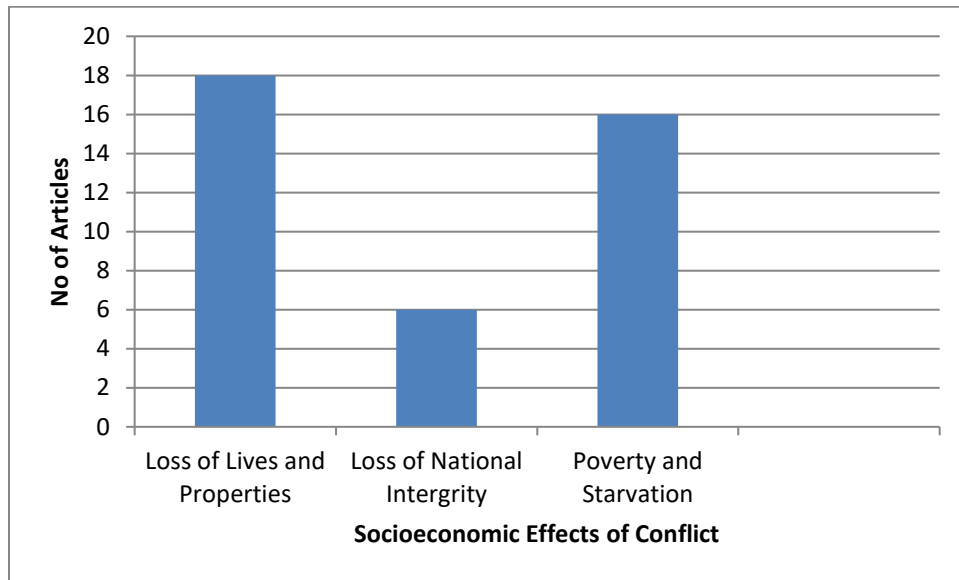


Figure 3: Socioeconomics Effects of Farmer Herdsmen Conflict

Source: Author's computation

3.2.1: Lose of Live and Properties: Most individuals suffered various effects as a result of their mutual conflict. The effects on both sides ranged from physical, economic, to socio-psychological as observed by Adiza (2011). According to him, Conflict outcome experienced was actually determined as the loss of yield, income, household resource, personal or family health, stored products, social support, job status and self esteem. One of the most reported consequences of farmers-herdsmen conflict is the loss of many lives during each violent encounter between the farmer and herder communities. In five years, (between 2010 and 2015) available records have shown that 6,500 Nigerian citizens lose their lives; 62,000 households were internally displaced from their residences and villages, in 850 violent clashes between herdsmen and farmers in the Middle Belt Region (Tonah, 2006)

Nweze (2005) also stated that, many farmers and herders have lost their lives and herds while others have experienced dwindling productivity in their herds. In most of these encounters, citizens are regularly killed and the destruction or loss of property leaves an already endangered populace even poorer. Farmers-herders conflict has resulted in death of more than 6,000 people in the last three years and Adamawa is one of the worst affected states as it has been hit with high number of deaths, after Benue State (Ojekunle, 2018). Also, the Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore has

claimed that, estimated 5,000 cattle herders have been killed in several states in Nigeria in ongoing conflicts between nomadic herders and local farming communities (Bada, 2018).

3.2.2: Loss of National Integration:

The prevalence of crisis in the country has become a major concern for the well meaning Nigerians considering its impacts on the peace, security as well as the economy of the nation. Destruction of lives and properties has almost become an everyday affair. These happenings have created a fearful atmosphere that discourages investors both domestic and foreign. By and large the economy of the nation is threatened and become fragile (Beetseh, Dzever and Terwase, 2018).

Protracted farmer and herder violence has the potential to aggravate preexisting tensions in environments that are already unstable. If the violence is not properly dealt with, farmer and herder conflicts have the potential to undermine community relationships, destabilizing the country and the state (Bagu & Smith, 2017). Moreover, Shehu (2018) opined that farmers-herdsmen conflict leads to mistrust among people who lived together for so many years. These conflicts have now become so threatening on the country's national integration, such that, the hitherto peaceful relationship between farmers and herdsmen across various parts of Nigeria is degenerating to a carnage level (Kolawole, Amoge, & Eunice, 2018).

3.2.3: Poverty and Starvation: Shehu (2018) observed that farmers-herdsmen conflict contributes to the high rate of poverty and starvation and also leads to social disorganization amongst the families. Similarly, Ofuoku and Isife, 2010 reported that a lot of farmers lost part or the whole of their crops due to reduction in output and income of crop farmers as a result of destruction of crops by cattle and indiscriminate bush burning. This spelt reduced yield which translated into low income on the part of the farmers who take farming as major occupation. This tends to negatively affect their savings, credit repayment ability, food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers that depend on these farmers for food supply. This is very discouraging to the farmers and rural/agricultural development.

Displacement of farmers could also lead to poverty and starvation as such displaced farmers become a source of liability to other farmers they have to beg for food for themselves and their families. This has trickled down to the vicious cycle of poverty in such communities.

3.3: Resolution Mechanisms for Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in Nigeria

The strategies of conflict resolution can be alternative dispute resolution, security and judicial action, and other developmental policies (Salihu, 2019). The rate of the incessant conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers made the Nigeria

government to employ different mechanisms in order to end the menace. Based on the extent these mechanisms were identified and discussed across the articles, the use of dialogue and negotiation is the most mechanism employed to resolve conflict among farmers and herdsman followed closely by the use of security and legal actions. Next to them is the developmental plans and establishment of grazing reserve as both works hand in hand. This is represented in figure 3.

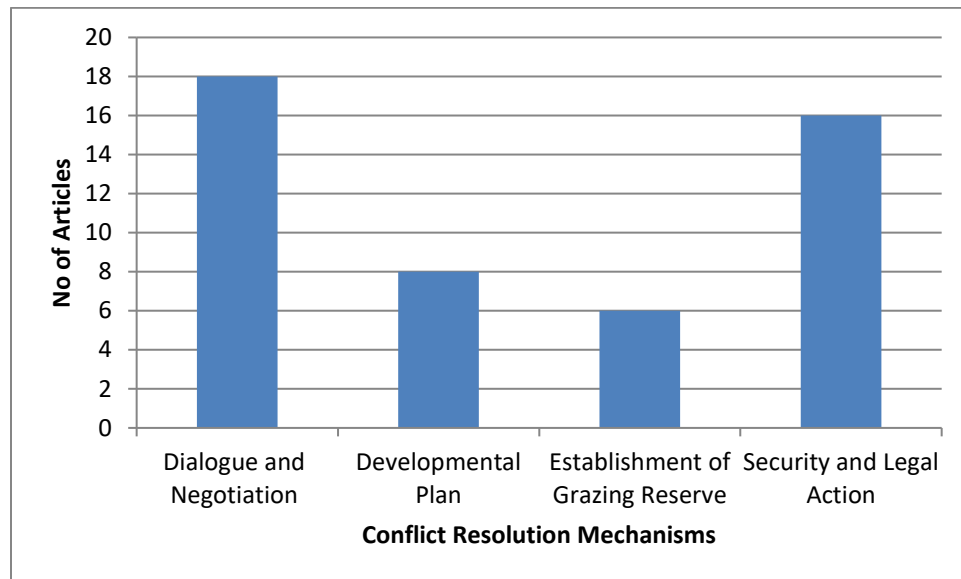


Figure 3: Farmer Herdsmen Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Source: Author's computation

3.3.1: Dialogue and Negotiations

Gefu and Kolawole, (2002) reported that different mechanisms were used in resolving conflict depending on the nature and magnitude of the conflict. According to them, interpersonal agreement may be reached where conflict has been occasioned by crop destruction and the offending herdsman admits guilt. Depending on the extent of the damage, compensation which varies in amounts is often demanded and paid. Also, warning not to allow a repeat performance will be given where minimal crops have been destroyed and the herdsman showed some concern. This occurs in a situation where pastoralists and farmers have co-habited for a long time with an enhanced social integration and good neighborliness.

Instances where farmer and pastoralist interpersonal relationship is not very cordial, Conflicts in such situation are not usually resolved by personal intervention. The village head and the head of the herdsmen (Ardos) are usually involved in settling disputes. This is the most frequent form of settling disputes, because the farmer whose crops have been destroyed usually asks for outrageous and unrealistic compensation. The herdsman, on the other hand is not prepared to give in to the demands of the aggrieved farmer. A combined effort of the village/district head and

the Ardos is often used to arrive at a reasonable compromise (Gefu and Kolawole, 2002)

Traditional and community leaders have been major influencers in conflict management and resolution for localized conflicts between farmers and herders. Many victims perceive formal courts to be corrupt or a waste of time, based on their low adjudication rate. This constitutes Community-Level Conflict Management and Resolution: in contexts where the state has not been able to effectively respond to localized conflicts, traditional and community leaders have been important bridges within this governance and security vacuum (Lawry, 1990).

3.3.2: Development Programmes

Marietu & Olarewaju, 2009 observed that agricultural development agencies like River Basins, Agricultural Development Projects (ADP), Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), National Agricultural Land Development Agencies (NALDA) etc. were introduced as panacea for improved agricultural projects. This will help to correct the anomaly associated with land tenure and ensure effective utilization of arable land for both farmers and herders in Nigeria. This development created peasants' revolts in the different parts of Nigeria by stressing the activities of the upper class in the society who have taken advantage of the flaw in the 1976 Land Use Decree to appropriate large parcels of land to themselves (Salihu, 2019).

Also, the federal government established the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) in 1989 through Decree 41 which is called Nomadic Education Act. The main goal of the program was to economically and socially integrate nomadic pastoralists into the national life, through the provision of relevant, functional, and mobile basic education and livelihoods skills provision. It was also designed to help the pastoralists modernize their techniques of rearing cattle to maximize their economic potential, including dairy processing and marketing, animal vaccinations, and modern herding techniques.

Outside the government programs to respond to the crisis of pastoralism that was linked to emerging conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria, Civil Society Organizations like the Mercy Corps in 2012 launched a program on Community-Based Conflict Management and Cooperative Use of Resources (CONCUR), in four states of the Middle Belt – Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa, and Plateau. The intervention focused on working with local actors such as the Pastoralist Resolve (PARE) and the All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN) (Mercy Corps, 2017).

3.3.3: Establishment of Grazing Reserve

According to Salihu, 2019, The Northern Region Grazing Reserves Law of 1965 was created in respond to the crisis of pastoralism that was linked to emerging conflicts

between farmers and herders in the country and made provision for the passage of migrating livestock and 415 grazing reserves throughout the country. The reserves were envisioned to section off large swathes of land to be exclusively used by herders to graze their livestock. It was initially considered a legislative solution but population growth, urbanization, and migration encroached on these designated areas, reducing herders' access and usage of the reserves.

In addition, herders were often unable to find sufficient pasture and water within the confines of the reserves due to climate changes and poor maintenance. Keeping livestock in one place increases the animals' vulnerability to disease and banditry, which caused herders to keep their herds moving outside the boundaries of the reserves (Salihu, 2019, The Peace and Security Forum, 2017).

In this regards, Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehen, (2018) observed that the federal and state governments neglected the upkeep of these reserves to meet these concerns of farmers and herders without concrete response plan to label and enforce the law on cattle routes, existing reserves are being distorted. This also was responsible for the nonexistence of the delineated grazing route.

3.3.4: Security and Legal Actions

The deployment of security agencies has been a dominant feature of the Federal Government's response to farmer-herder conflict. Special Task Force – Operation Safe Haven (STF-OSH) – has been deployed since 2001 to restore law and order. The Task Force is composed of officers and infantry of the armed forces, including the police, with the mandate to restore order and stability. The federal government has deployed additional police and army units, and launched two military operations to curb violence in six states though the deployment did not stop the killing. The government has also stepped up its security response. It has deployed more police and military units to the troubled states.

The most hated mode of conflict resolution is the police/court, and it is rarely used as observed by Gefu and Kolawole, (2002). The herdsmen tend to believe that the police often find a way to exploit the Fulani herdsman in the event of a reported conflict and often brutalize Fulani in order to extort them. Pastoralists do not always like to be dragged to court or police stations, because they alleged they end up paying more in both legitimate and unofficial fees and fines.

Also, in response to the lingering conflict between farmers and herders, the Government enacted the Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law, 2017.

4.0 Conclusion

Conflict bearing various forms has existed between farmers and pastoralists in communities across the country with the North-Central region recording the highest cases. Every incidence of the conflict has resulted in significant loss of lives and destruction of properties on both sides. This challenge has remained in spite of government efforts at addressing the remote and immediate causes of conflict. Review of the strategies employed to address these challenges shows that lack of planning, implementation, and monitoring of the various programmes targeted at conflict management. Most programmes resulting from the strategies have been poorly planned with little or no input from the actors involved in the conflict. The result is the open rejection of such programmes by both parties – as evident in the case of Miyetti Allah Cattle Association and Farmer's Associations openly voicing their criticism of the proposed RUGA programme.

In addition, most of the strategies adopted thus far are reactionary and often comes after the incidence. This negates a precautionary strategy that would have helped nip the conflict in the bud. This review has also highlighted that the strategy of employing security agent to manage conflict which is well used by the government has exploited the victims of the conflict more than they have restore genuine peace. This explains why victims have openly rejected the development of security personnel to conflict affected communities.

5.0: Recommendations

Moving forward, a change of approach and tactics is recommended to reduce the incidence of the conflict and restore lasting peace. To achieve this, a framework for conflict resolution that is sustainable, proactive and involve all stakeholders is required. In this regards, the following recommendations should be considered:

- i. A comprehensive and detailed enquiry to ascertain the immediate and remote causes of the conflict should be instituted. This will provide useful insight in developing a sustainable framework for permanently addressing the conflict
- ii. Existing programmes aimed at enhancing the welfare of the pastoralists and their families especially as it relates to nomadic education and access to basic infrastructural facilities should be reviewed with the aim of determining its efficiency on the basis of number of targets reached.
- iii. Community based responses that utilize the approach of negotiation and dialogue with the conflicting parties should be encouraged and sustained as against the huge deployment of security agencies to the affected communities
- iv. The various initiative targeting peacemaking should by adequately funded by government and development partners with an expanded mandate to include affected and vulnerable States.
- v. Government should embark on a comprehensive programme aimed at mopping up Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) in use by unauthorized

persons. This is to discourage the use of such weapons during conflicts. A promise of an amnesty and re-integration into the society will encourage the voluntary submission of such arms.

- vi. Government should support Community protection structures (such as vigilante and neighborhood watch) which will enable rural communities collaborate with security agents in crime prevention and conflict management

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Appendix 1: List of Literature Reviewed In the Paper

S/N O	Authors	Title	Year
1	Ningxin Li	Nigeria's Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict And Peace Building	2018
2	Adelakun O.E. Adurogbangba, B., Akinbile, L.A.	Socioeconomic Effects of Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict on Agricultural Extension Service Delivery in Oyo State, Nigeria	2015
3	Mustapha Salihu	The Effectiveness of Government Strategies in Resolving Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in Adamawa State	2019
4	A. U. Ofuoku and B. I. Isife	Causes, effects and resolution of farmers-nomadic cattle herders conflict in Delta state, Nigeria	2009
5	Abdu Sada ALIYU	causes and resolution of conflict between cattle herders	2015

		and crop farmers in katsina state	
6	IBRAHIM A. GAMBARI,	violent conflicts, conflict resolution and peacebuilding: global best practices and new perspectives on farmers/herders clashes in Nigeria	2018
7	Jerome O. Gefu AND Are Kolawole	conflict in common property resource use: experiences from an irrigation project	2002
8	Rashid Solagberu Adisa	Land Use Conflict Between Farmers and Herdsmen – Implications for Agricultural and Rural Development in Nigeria	2011
9	Kwaja, C. M. A. and B. I. Ademola- Adelehim	Response to Conflicts between Farmers and Headers in the Middle belt of Nigeria: Mapping Past Efforts and Opportunities for Violence Prevention. Search for common ground	2018
10	Mark Moritz	Understanding Herder-Farmer Conflicts in West Africa: Outline of a Processual Approach	2010
11	Okoli, A.l. Chukwuma and Atelhe George Atelhe	Nomads against Natives: A Political Ecology of Herder/Farmer Conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria	2014
12	Ajibo, Henry T.; Onuoha, Emmanuel Chima; Obi- Keguna, Christy N.; Okafor, Agnes E. and Oluwole, Israel Oluwasanmi	Dynamics of Farmers and Herdsmen Conflict in Nigeria: The Implication to Social Work Policy Intervention	2018
13	Tor A Benjaminsen And Boubacar BA	Farmer–herder conflicts, pastoral marginalisation and corruption: a case study from the inland Niger delta of Mali	2009
14	Beetseh Kwaghga, Dzever Samuel Tion and	Herdsmen/farmers crises in Nigeria: The role of Librarians in Resolving Crises	2018

	Terwase Victoria M		
15	Karim Hussein, James Sumberg and David Seddon	Increasing Violent Conflict between Herders and Farmers in Africa: Claims and Evidence	1999
16	Ofuoku A.U. and Isife B.I.	Causes, effects and resolution of farmers-nomadic cattle Herders conflict in Delta State, Nigeria	2010
17	Fiki, C. and B. Lee	“Conflict Generation, Conflict Management and Self-organizing Capabilities in Drought-prone Rural Communities in North-eastern Nigeria: “A case study”.	2004
18	Kolawole, A. M., Amoge, I. H. and Eunice, A. A.	Assessment of the Effect of Farmers-Herdsman Conflicts on National Integration in Nigeria	2018