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CONTENT ANALYSIS ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FARMERS AND HERDSMEN IN BENUE STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This study is on content analysis of the conflict between farmers and herdsmen in Benue State, Nigeria. Qualitative data used for the study were obtained from relevant stakeholders in the three zones of the State. The study specifically assessed the perceived causes and effects of the farmers-herders conflict in the State. The study is hanged on the theoretical assumptions of the tragedy of the commons which posits that, when a resource is collectively owned or used by a group of people (farmers and herders), there is the likelihood that, each will exploit the resource, overuse it, ignoring the group's collective interest, and thus ultimately destroy the resource. It was unanimously agreed by all stakeholders that, the farmers-herders conflict remains a common problem in the State. The agreed causes of the conflict include; crop damage by cattle, drug abuse, intolerance, scarcity of productive resources (fertile land and grazing areas), and associated resultant effects of climate change. Furthermore, tension among occupant of host communities, loss of livestock, crop damage or reduction in yield/output, loss of lives and properties were the perceived effects of the conflicts. The study recommend awareness creation and value orientation among stakeholders for the full implementation of existing policies on cattle grazing.

Keywords: Benue, Conflict, Farmers, Herdsmen, Resources,

INTRODUCTION

Pastoralists own about 90% of the national herd, estimated at 19.5 million cattle, about 975,000 donkeys, 28,000 camels, 72.5 million goat and 41.3 million sheep. Livestock represents between 20 to 30% of total agricultural production and about 6 to 8% of the overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The conflict between farmers and herdsmen has remained the most predominant resource use conflict in Nigeria. For the average herdsman, cattle rearing is a way of living which is reckoned with as a mark of common heritage. In effect, any threat to his herd amounts to a threat not only to his survival but also to his common destiny. Every herdsman believes that nomadic life is worthless without his cattle. Any attempt by farmers to threaten their source of existence is regarded as a call to war. This perhaps explains the reason for the growth of this protracted conflict between the herders and farmers in Nigeria (Ibitoye, 2022).



The war in the central and southern states of Nigeria between herdsmen and farming communities is an old age problem, but it has escalated in the last decades and has assumed a deadly dimension. In nearly every state of the central and southern parts of Nigeria, herdsmen graze where they like, destroy crops, block traffic, rape women, beat up hunters and wage deadly armed attacks on villages where there is slightest resistance to their depredations. The conflicts have serious negative impact on the lives, properties, food security and educational development of affected communities. From 2015 to date, thousands of lives were lost and tens of thousands also have been displaced as a result of the conflict.

The account of the conflicts as availed by the Benue State Emergency Management Agency (2014) indicates that in 1999, men alleged to be cattle herdsmen, or hired militia by the herders launched carnage on some communities in Gwer-West Local Government Area, displacing an entire district. Ten (10) years later, a similar attack was launched in 2009, where the settlement of *On-Mba-Abena* was totally razed down. In February 2011, the same local government area was again attacked and the districts of Tyoughatee, Gbange/Tongov and Sengevwere completely sacked. By 2012, the attacks had spread to Guma, Makurdi, Gwer East and Agatu Local Government Areas of the State. The fright of the conflict lies in the preliminary investigations by the Benue State Emergency Management Agency (2014) which shows that a total of 212, 260 persons were displaced as at 2014 which excludes the over 11, 700 estimated to have lost their lives to the conflicts, and over 36, 500 displaced persons who had been estimated to be finding refuge in Benue State from neighbouring States of Taraba, Nassarwa and Kogi where similar conflicts were on-going. Also an estimated ¥17, 491, 293, 526.00 was said to be the value of household assets lost in the affected local governments. Similarly, an estimated value of foodstuff and economic trees lost in the crises stood at N65, 543,733,259.00 while the total value of livestock lost in the crises was estimated to be \$8, 286,409,973.00. Nevertheless, the total number of houses destroyed during the crises as at 2014 stood at 343,502 which comprised 131,882 thatch-roofed houses and 211,620 zinc-roofed houses.

Also, the Benue State Emergency Management Agency (2014) report indicates that the total number of villages destroyed in Guma, Gwer-west, Katsina-Ala, Kwande, Logo and Makurdi local government areas were: 439, 181, 143, 368, 153 and 312 respectively. The worth of public facilities (schools, health centres and worship centres) destroyed in the affected local governments were valued at $\mathbb{N}6$, 116,579,460.65.



The scare that comes with the magnitude of the loss in the affected communities has the capacity to reinforce the poverty situation, cause rural-urban dislocation, worsen the crime levels due to loss of livelihood, lack of incentive for farming due to insecurity of lives and property and this has implication for food security and wellbeing of the affected peasants.

This is more so that Mercy Corps (2016) revealed that the enduring bickering flanked by farmers and herdsmen traversing the North-Central aside the unpleasant consequences it has visited on the nation's economic advancement, it is estimated to have robbed Nigeria of food security and a probable income in the neighbourhood of \$14 billion in three years. In furtherance to this, Mercy Corps (2017) avails that Nigeria as nation is prune to lose an amount equivalent to over US \$12 billion every year as a consequence of the farmer-herder conflicts in States of Benue, Kaduna, Nassarawa, and Plateau only especially that a projected 64% boost in affected household income is possible in a near zero conflict scenario.

Thus, the brawls between farmers and herders are not only putting peace out of place, they are also threatening the sustainability of farmer-herder livelihoods hence the need to brace up to the conflicts (Moritz, 2010). A key dimension of this study is the content analysis of both farmers and herders' point of view regarding the causes and effect of the farmers-herders conflict. Existing studies (for example; Idowu, 2017; Adisa and Adekunle, 2010; Husein *et* al., 2009) has some shortcomings in their methodological approach; they adopted only the structured questionnaire limiting respondents' responses to the researcher worldview.

Theoretical Framework

This study relies on the theoretical assumptions of the Tragedy of the Commons as postulated by Hardin (1968). The theory posits that, when a resource is collectively owned or used by a group of people, there is the likelihood that, each will exploit the resource, overuse it, ignoring the group's collective interest, and thus ultimately destroy the resource. He explained the 'tragedy' by using the illustration of a pasture which is open to all to use. This open pasture is used by herdsmen to allow their cattle to graze and each herdsman will continue to add cattle to the pasture so as to expand the amount of proceeds coming from their herd.



The Commons dilemma stands as a model for a great variety of present resource problems such as land use conflicts, freshwater scarcity and pollution, land degradation, and the depletion of non-renewable energy sources. So, in terms of Hardin's theory, the earth's atmosphere is the 'common'. The 'tragedy' is the damage done to the atmosphere that causes global warming, climate change and environmental scarcity shared by all. As the resources become scarcer, competition and conflict over them will increase.

The tragedy of the commons can be considered in relation to environmental issues such as resource conflicts and sustainability hence relevant in the study on conflict, peace-building in Tivland of Benue State, Nigeria. In today's market-oriented environment, there is a growing trend to promote increased agriculture and livestock production through intensification of rangeland. Generally, intensification measures are initiated through changes in tenure arrangements from communal to individual, based on the assumption that pastoral strategies involving the use of grazing commons are inefficient.

Privatization of rangeland has been regarded by George (2011) and Blench (2010), as necessary for the protection of natural resources; and the systems of common and collective pasture ownership are regarded as the primary causes of the degradation of rangelands. Hardin's (1968) "the tragedy of the commons" strongly influenced land tenure policies. Using grazing as an example, Hardin argued for private tenure on the assumption that access to a common resource leads to overexploitation because the livestock owner will view the grazing resource as a free commodity, thus maximizing herd size at the expense of other herders.

Although, this view has been refuted by scholars like Wu and Richard (1999), that, his argument fails to recognize the common property arrangements generally made among herders and in reality reflects a situation of open (or unregulated) access and that, such situation is the exception rather than the rule in pastoral regions of the world. However, Wu and Richard (1999), have failed to see that, when herders and farmers are concerned, the common range grazing cannot come to play. This is due to the differences in their production systems. The herding circle of the herders significantly coincides with the cropping season hence the conflicts thereof.

In Nigeria, when farmers and herders locate on a same piece of land in a bid to practice their livelihood, the conflicts that emanate from the farm encroachment and crop damage leads to armed conflicts.



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The conflicts distorts food production and the wellbeing of farmers, create crop damage, leads to displacement of farmers, loss of lives and property and social security and humanitarian concerns are created. Again, the shift in livestock ownership within African pastoral societies resulted in a major redistribution of cattle within pastoral societies and this has created absentee owners who contract hired herders to take care of their animals and has increased the proletarisation of pastoral labour. This is because; the herding contracts reflect a new dimension of the inequality in pastoral societies. Thus, these contracts are exploitative and negatively affect herd and rangeland management leading to the tragedy of the commons.

The shift in livestock ownership signifies that, more and more animals are managed by pastoralists who do not own them. The working conditions of the hired herders as argued by Bassett (1994), are poor and that, low incomes lead to careless herding and more crop damage as a form of protest by hired herders. It therefore, reiterates my earlier claims that, common property rights will create more problems than necessary and so not healthy especially when it involves parties with varying tenure arrangements and production systems. This is attested in the claims of Tsuwa, Kwaghchimin and Iyo (2015), who posits that, prior to the 1980s, Fulani entry into Tiv communities was negotiated through legitimate gatekeepers.

On entry, they resided amidst the Benue People in areas designated as *Lugan* or *angwa-n-Fulani* (Fulani quarters) with their families, in accordance with the laws of the host communities. The Fulani herders enlisted the services of the natives who assisted them with the grazing of their cattle hence the natives knew areas where grazing was better with enough vegetation and away from the farms. When in error, the cattle strayed into farms and destroyed crops; compensation was paid for the damage done by the cattle. It is pertinent to mention here that, the herders at this point were the owners of the herd and because they lived among the farmers, they had knowledge of the fact that, their host community leaders could evict them based on the native land use laws.

However, by the late 1980s-1990s, the initial negotiated entry pattern changed. The Fulani according to Tsuwa, Kwaghchimin and Iyo (2015), breached the negotiated terms of entry with the community gatekeepers. For instance, the negotiated number of herdsmen was no longer adhered to as a number twice the accepted number of herders was littered all over the community and this made the monitoring of grazing activities difficult. Consequently, the farmers complained about this breach of negotiated terms by the Fulani from 1991-1995. This also signified the emergence of absentee ownership of cattle in Nigeria.



According to Tsuwa, Kwaghchimin and Iyo (2015), upon the breach of negotiated entry terms, there was the proliferation of cases of destruction of crops on the farm and in-store while the Fulani herders increasingly became reluctant to pay compensation to the affected farmers based on traditional channels that farmer-herder conflicts were resolved. The traditional channels for resolving farmer-herder conflicts were through the traditional institution and adjudication was based on the negotiated entry terms. Rather, the Fulani opted for the law courts. This jettisoning of the hitherto existing community justice system by the Fulani was evident that the existing justice system lacked the capacity to adjudicate as concerns farmer-herder conflicts probably based on emerging interests.

Also, a closer look at lands on which the herders have grazed their cattle reveals that such lands cannot be cultivated in the nearest future especially with crude implements that most of the peasant farmers employ on their farms. Therefore, the compaction caused by overstocking and over grazing of cattle which has exposed the lands to erosion and denies farmers the use of such lands. Interestingly, under such condition (degradation), herders migrate to yet another land and repeat same invariably denying farmers the right to practice their livelihood. This is because the herders are only concerned with the survival of their cattle and careless about the survival of the farmers.

Consequently, the farmer like the common bears the tragedy of the shift in livestock ownership and the careless herding and more crop damage which is the hired herders' way of protesting not just the poor working conditions but also the exploitation and inequality in the pastoral societies. Furthermore, the absentee owners' sponsorship of sophisticated warfare in farming communities also reflects the tragedy of the commons with the peasant farmers at the receiving end. Thus, the tragedy of the commons by Hardin is suitable for understanding farmer-herder practices and their sustainability in Benue State, Nigeria.

METHODOLOGY

The study area is Benue State, Nigeria with twenty-three (23) Local Government Areas (LGAs). Benue State is bordered by Nasarawa State in the north, Taraba State to the east, Ebonyi and Cross River states to the south and Kogi State to the west. Crops grown include potatoes, cassava, soya bean, guinea corn, flax, yams and beniseed. Administratively, the State comprises three senatorial districts – Benue North East (Zone A), Benue North West (Zone B) and Benue South (Zone C). The State possesses potential for the development of viable forest and wildlife reserves. Proportionate sampling method was used to select sixteen (16) key informants from each zone in the study area. Qualitative data were used in this study and analysed through content analysis.



CONTENT ANALYSIS FROM THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

From the information collected during the interview, all the respondents were of the opinion that farmers-herders conflict is common in the state. The advisor to the governor on land and boundary resolution thus reported and recapped the position:

Pastoralists and farmers' cum land disputes in the State of Benue are very rampant. This applies particularly to the Tiv and Idoma speaking areas mainly because the Fulani pastoralists and farmers primarily farmers who rely largely on agriculture. Since I started office, this office has received more than 4000 cases of conflicts not only between the pastoralists and farmers but also community disputes and almost half of those cases come from local administrations like Guma, Katsina-Ala, Vandeikya, Gwer West and Ado. (Interview Respondents).

The causes of the dispute between pastoralists and farmers, gathered by respondents during study, are as follows: it was evident that one of the main causes of conflict between the two groups was the damage caused by pastoralist animals (Fulani) to farmers' crops as all the respondents (100%) attested to this. It was confirmed by an informant that:

Tiv and Idoma are mainly farmers who love and rely heavily on agriculture for their livelihoods. As a result, no intruders trying to invade the land are tolerated, and no Fulani herds are tolerated when they graze their farmed goods. Essentially, the degradation of farmland and livestock crops is the key reason for this crisis (Interview Respondent).

An informant said: "Fulani attacks innocent farmers haven smoked marijuana and drunk to stupor, they attack innocent farmers in their farmlands. (Interviewee)

The opinion of the Fulanis differ from what was identified above as they asserted that:

Farmers usually mocked them (i.e. Fulani) first by saying that they are animal in nature, such as 'bigol.' The Fulani then reacted quickly, because they would not recognize names, by attacking farmers, and not because the twelve of them were not intoxicated or taken over by marijuana (Interview with Fulani Spokesman).

The two parties were further probed on how the conflict was carried out, and they identified the use of Arms, machetes and ammunitions were often used (farmers and pastoralists, FGD).



In another interview, an informant noted:

The little herdsmen still have trouble managing the big livestock in the pasture. And when they're behind, they don't see what the animals are grazing in their foreheads, and it's still hard for them to know what's going on behind them, even though they're in front of them. Furthermore, animals are not human beings, so that weeds and crops cannot be separated from each plant they encounter (Fulani Chief, KII).

The damage was also quickly caused by the response of farmers, whether through lawsuits or open confrontations, by the information collected (59 %). Most confrontations occur during the dry season, which is also the time of cultivation. At that time, Fadama's pasture was the only viable pasture option. Most of the traditional water routes of bovine animals had been invaded and the pastoralists could not have access to water. This is in line with Abdullahi's (2007) assertion that the area of land that should have been used for grassing in the northeast is 430,000 acres, but currently only 100,500 acres. He also points out that 30% had already been planted, while 33% had been partially occupied by farmers, out of the remaining 70%.

Farmers also slowly took over the traditional pastoral areas because of the marketing of agriculture. Thus, one of the reasons for pastoral killings is the poor management of limited resources, mainly land by local government and traditional institutions. They did not seem to be prosecuting farmers who worked in pastures because they knew that their collusion with farmers resulted in a violent dispute between farmers and pastoralists. Traditional rulers sometimes seem powerless when it comes to government officials (Williams, 2008). Furthermore, 80% of the interviewee agreed that the mass exodus of Fulani herdsmen farmers' crisis have led to the conflict between the two groups. One of the interviewed respondents submitted that:

Before you have two groups of Fulani herdsmen coming and going out of the community, they don't stay for long. But later, the number has increased to as many as 10 different herds, and if you ask me now, the number of herds is uncountable. It affects land resources as they compete not only for grazing land with farmers, but also with one another. So, first of all, those who come late are used to pasture their cattle in the farms of people that often lead to conflict when the farmers try to stop them. One of the Fulani spokesperson interviewed also submitted that:

If they claim that their societies have lot of herders compared to ten years ago, they are totally right. But they got wrong, not all of them are Fulanis in their villages, we have many mostly ordinary ethnic groups and pastorists, who typically don't wander deep in the South, but because they are searching for the same thing that the Fulani do. So when farmers see herders trampling with their cattle on the fields, they spread the news rapidly to the towns and villages that Fulani herdsmen damage their plants, which may not actually be Fulani herdsmen.

The argument above resonated previous studies that have documented that herdsmen in Nigeria is not limited to Fulani extractions because there are more than 12 other ethnic groups such as the Kanuri, Arab, Shuwa, Manga, Kanembu that are predominantly pastoralist, although, the Fulani are more visible due to their large population in Nigeria (Blench 2010). The account of the anonymous respondent from the government herders/farmers reconciliatory committee also corroborated by a member of the government Herders/Farmers Conflict Resolution Committee. He elucidated further that the problem of climate change cannot be ignore as one of the major reasons that there is increase in conflict. He opined that harsh weather in the Sahel as forced many nomadic tribes that are not Nigerians to enter the Nigeria territory looking for pasture. The member maintained that;

We also have pastoralists most especially Fulani's that are not from Nigeria, that are also trying to escape the harsh conditions from Niger, Chad, Mali, Northern Cameroon that the farmers mistook as Fulani herdsmen. Although, we have not been able to arrest any of them here in Enugu but in neighbouring state of Kogi, some of them have been arrested. These groups of herders don't have understanding of the Nigeria terrain, they enter into people's farm and graze on it and left so when the farmers now see innocent Fulani herdsmen they attacked them thinking that they were responsible to the damages to their farms. Trust me no amount of explanation can convince the farmers that the Nigerian Fulani herdsmen are not responsible for the damage to their farms.

The impact of climate change did not only affect the Fulani herdsmen or other nomadic groups' migration to the south permanently in the attempt to escape the massive land degradation that is ongoing in the north. It also affect farmer's food production. From the interaction with a non-indigene farmer it was discovered that the climate change have forced many farmers to go deeply into the forest or near the river banks far from the town to start



a new farm. From his response he maintained that the only way to reduce the clash between herdsmen and farmers is to teach the farmers climate change resilience. According to him;

Let me be frank with you, the conflict will continue if the government do not do anything to ensure that they reduce soil erosion and irresponsible farm practices like bush burning that affect the soil fertility. If I take you to some people farms you will wonder what they are doing in such thick forest that over the years the Fulani used to graze their cattle. But again, you can't blame them, they have to find another land when the one they are using is no longer productive" (Anonymous, 55 years old, Non-Indigene Farmer).

The argument above is in tandem with George (2011) who reported that due to climate change and shortage in rainfall, it is a habitual practices for farmers to move away from inland region where rain can no longer guarantee the sustainability of agricultural production to the river banks which will give them the opportunity to irrigate their crops conveniently. This kind of moves by the farmers typically are met with resistance from the Fulani herdsmen that have considered such grazing spots that the farmers are moving to as a result of climate change as their right because they have for many years traditionally grazed and watered their cattle on the contested grazing spots (Clark, 2018). Without a doubt, the effect of climate change that made farmers to move from inland to river banks and consequently encroaching on the grazing routes and the Fulani herdsmen permanent migration to the south which increase their population is a recipe for escalation of conflict (Muhammed *et al.*, 2015).

Probing further, an Agatu Local Government Community Leader said that the Fulani people destroy our farm lands, our cassava, maize and yams. Sometimes they pull out our cassava for their cattle to eat. The Fulani people feels they can have access to some specific lands both to reside and feed their cattle without renting or buying those land space. And because of this crisis, our wife's and children can't go to the market as frequent as possible because of fear of attack thereby causing scarcity of food in the market. This has serious effect; our youths are becoming idle because they cannot go to the farm or do their business as usual. The revenue we collect from traders has reduced seriously Government is trying to reduce the conflict but the security agents cannot work 24hrs. Government security agent cannot be trusted sometimes, they take sides. The leaders of the Fulani and Idoma people should be transparent in their judgment they should not be biased.



Another respondents from Adakole Agbenu Agatu Local Government in Obagaji Town who is a Farmer/Trader was of the opinion *that:*

scarcity of land, stubbornness of the Fulani people who cannot control their cattle which they allow them eat our plants. The problem continues because the Fulani leaders are supporting their people in destroying our lands and crops. There is tension everywhere, we cannot go to our farms anymore without fear, also our roads are not safe anymore as the Fulani people are kidnapping our people for ransom.

A crop farmer from Guma L.G.A in Gyushage Town opined that

the Fulani people allow their animals to drink water from the same stream where we fetch our drinking water from, destruction our farm lands, our cassava, maize and yams. Sometimes they pull out our cassava for their cows to eat. The Fulani people don't have regards for rules and regulation, they are arrogant. Fear, tension and insecurity everywhere in our villages in Benue state. Businesses in our communities are on low key because everyone is scared of death. There is low money in circulation around our communities unlike before because of low farming and lack of business transaction.

A Police Officer in Guma Local Government in Ortserga Town argued that that the major causes of the conflict are

the pollution of water by the Fulani people, destruction farm lands, plants like cassava, maize and yams. Sometimes they pull out cassava for their cows to eat, indiscriminate bush burning. Lack of adherence to rules and regulations by both the Fulani herdsmen and the Benue farmers contributes greatly to these crisis and has resulted in low income, low crop production and food shortage, tension and fear around the community also farm lands have been deserted, Internally generated revenue has been reduced to seriously. The interviewee posit that one of the challenges in curbing this conflict is inadequate funding of security agencies by the federal and state government. There is need for adequate funding of security agencies and proper supervision, cooperation between leaders of both parties and their members for these crisis to be suppressed.



One of the respondents from Guma Local Government area in Yagbo Town Fulani community positioned that

the Tiv people have been spraying chemicals on grasses that are harmful to our cattle, they claim they are the owners of the land and that we should go back to our state, they kill our cows and rams at every little provocation. Hatred from the Tiv people have been a major cause, we don't have enough land space to feed our cattle, even the land space meant for grazing is taking over and used for farming by the Idoma people. There was a time that the Benue people instructed their people not to buy our cow meat and during that period we had low sales that lead to low income and all these contributes to the crisis.

On the relationship level, the Fulani respondent further posits that, they had business relationship before but the Benue people has not been cordial anymore and this has reduced the revenue accrued to the government when we do business with each other. Investors who want to come to Benue state for business investment can no longer come for fear of their investment been affected negatively. The respondent revealed that there are efforts by the government to curb the fight but they need to put in more efforts and the challenge is that some security personnel are biased and give side to either parties of group. The Community leaders that are biased and take sides with their own people, tribalism, religion and sectionalism are also some of the reasons why the security agencies cannot completely stop the fight. Cooperation between leaders of both parties, will go a long way to solving the problem.

A respondent from Gwer East Local Govt in Njiriv Town Cattle Rearer who happened to be a victim of the Benue crisis exclaimed that

the Indigenes claims they own the land of Benue state and that we should go back to our state, they kill our cows and rams at every little provocation. We lack enough land space to feed our cows, even the land space meant for grazing was taken over and used for farming by the Benue people. There is serious loss of life and property and scarcity of food stuff in the market but government is not doing enough to protect us as herdsmen by implementing the grazing bill, that is why we do all we can to protect our self and cows from attacks from the farmers.



CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study is on qualitative assessment of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Benue State, Nigeria. Outcome from the content analysis revealed different perspectives to the causes of this conflict. Summarily, search for source of livelihood and scarcity of resources resulted in farmer-herders conflict. The analysis further confirms the theory of the tragedy of the commons. For the sustainability of peace in conflict zones, the study proposed the following recommendations:

- 1. The Benue State government should formulate policies that will reclaim the encroached cattle routes and create more. In addition, water points for the cattle should be separated from that of farmers so as to avoid friction.
- 2. Laws in the conflicting areas, are not adhered to, therefore, government should intervene through the Agro pastoral Commissions, which would be charged with the distribution of land and resolution of conflicts.
- 3. Loss of properties and lives were revealed as the highest consequences of herders-farmers' conflict in Benue State. The study recommends that the religious leaders, traditional leaders, farmers/cattle herders' associations should make more efforts in preaching the implications of the conflict on the people and the community in general. The Herders should adopt a cattle ranching in Benue State in order to cope with the rapid demographic pressure on the grass fields in Benue state. They should embark on fodder production such as growing of Guatemala and Bracharia to feed the cattle in times of scarcity during the dry season.
- 4. Miyeti Allah association of cattle herders in Nigeria and traditional leaders of host communities need to go back to the drawing board and come to terms of modality of operation within the area, there should be capital punishment of life imprisonment for defaulters of the law and proper monitoring of dispatched security personnel should be carried out by security chiefs.

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