

FARMERS-HERDERS CONFLICT AND LIVELIHOOD OF AGRARIAN FARMERS IN SOUTH EASTERN NIGERIA

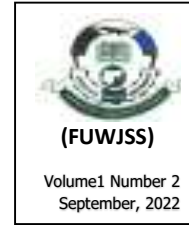
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Abstract

This paper interrogates the implications of farmers-herders' conflict on livelihood of agrarian farmers in south eastern, Nigeria. Cordial relationship had hitherto existed between farmers and herders in Nigeria but the increasing transhumance movement of herders to south eastern and other regions in search of livestock's feed has come with many security challenges that threaten the livelihood of agrarian farmers in south eastern Nigeria. The paper reviewed secondary data and the Marxist political economy theory is used as the theoretical framework. Major findings revealed that conflicts related to farmers and herders in south eastern Nigeria are homegrown as farmers in this region of the country have been experiencing significant crop damage due to incessant encroachment of herders' cattle onto their farms which has affected their livelihood, traditional farming system, low crop yield and consumption pattern. The paper concludes that farmers-herders' conflicts constitute serious threats to national security, development and means of livelihoods for farmers in south eastern Nigeria. Thus, the paper recommends that there is need to re-orientate the herders towards combining their traditional pattern of grazing with mechanized form and revisit establishment of grazing areas which had been neglected and abandoned. Also, alternative dispute resolution effort should be encouraged at community levels in communities of south eastern Nigeria.

Keywords: Farmers, herders, conflict, food insecurity, livelihood

Introduction

Cordial relationship between farmers and herders in Nigeria has been in existence for long, but recent increase in population, as well as

climatic change has led to encroachment into the traditional grazing routes by farmers and destruction of farm crops by herders. This has sparked conflict across many places in the recent times. Nigeria's ongoing herders-farmers conflict has a long and complex historical background. The land disputes among nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers are nothing new. However, it transformed by time and turned into a destructive and violent conflict since the beginning of twenty first century (Egbuta, 2018). Conflicts disrupt and threaten the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic groups and sustainability of agricultural production in Nigeria (Moritz, 2016). Clashes between cattle herders and crop farmers have been a major cause of increasing violence and general insecurity in Nigeria. In most of these encounters, citizens are regularly killed; the destruction or loss of property leaves an already endangered populace even poorer. The clashes, instead of abating, have been on the increase exponentially to the dismay of helpless Nigerians (Imo, 2017; Gadzama, 2018).

According to Suleiman (2015), Climate change, population growth, environmental degradation, government policies and insurgency are some of the major triggers of conflicts and violence between farmers and herders. These has made the pastoralist migrating from their prior grazing grounds in the northern part to other parts of Nigeria including the eastern region. Pastoralists are also pulled to south by adaptive features such as the establishment of social networks, herding contracts, dairy development and cattle cross-breeding programmes (Bassett and Turner 2007).

However, clashes between herders and farmers are often as a result of the destruction of crops in cultivated farmlands by cattle, obstruction of traditional migration routes and livestock theft. There is mutual distrust among the parties and each group blames the state authorities for poor management of the conflict. For example, the plan presented in January 2016 to the Nigerian Governors Forum by the government to map grazing areas in all states as a temporary solution for cattle owners was perceived as lopsided and was vehemently opposed by most central and southern states who viewed it as favoring Fulani herders.

According to International Crisis Group (2017), relations between herders and sedentary farming communities have been harmonious. They lived in a peaceful, symbiotic relationship with herders' cattle fertilizing the farmers' land in exchange for grazing rights. But such

cooperation has broken down in many communities, or is now struggling to address heightened tensions resulting from intensified or new stresses: increasing competition for land and water due to demographic and ecological pressures. From the foregoing, Abugu and Onuba (2015) reiterate that there have been clashes between Fulani herdsmen and the aborigines in several parts of Nigeria for over three decades. The clashes are occasioned by the destruction of agricultural farms of the aborigines by the cattle of the Fulanis. Naturally, Fulanis by their nature are migrants who leave their traditional abode in search of greener pasture for their flocks. Leed (2009) maintained that migration is a normal routine for pastoralists whose movement is determined by season. However, recent clashes between herders and their host communities across the region has resulted to violent conflicts creating distrust and hatred among groups, and having adverse effects on national security. Farmers in the South East and herders considered as Fulani's have lived in harmony for decades but recent killings across the south east region and destruction of properties such as in Ukpabi Nimbo in Enugu, Ogbaru in Anambra, Ezube-Amankpuma in Ebonyi, Ozuitem community, Arochukwu in Abia and Ohaji Egbema Uguta and Orlu in Imo states in last few months without arrest of culprits has generated distrust and feelings of forcefully acquisition of farm lands by the locals (Ayo, 2016). In the words of Okoli and Igata, (2016), these herdsmen carry sophisticated weapons like daggers laced with poison, machetes, AK 47 and pump action double-barreled riffles as well as dangerous charms and are ever ready to attack the farmers at the least provocation as they moved about with their cattle. The geographical spread of these conflicts into eastern states is aggravating the already fragile relations among the country's major regional, ethnic and religious groups. It also affects the livelihood of both groups involved in a conflict and reduce food production as farmers in the region no longer consider their farm lands safe due to incessant attack, killings, raping of women, maiming, kidnapping and abduction. It is against this background that this paper is poised to examine farmers- herders conflict in the south eastern Nigeria by interrogating the implications on food security in the region and livelihood of agrarian farmers.

Overview of Herders Farmers Conflict in Nigeria

The violent conflicts since 2000 caused thousands of deaths; the total number of casualties is unknown as often many bodies were not found in bushes after violent clashes. According to George A. Genyi, Fulani herdsmen started their attacks on villages with weapons in the beginning of 2000s. This is also one of the main reasons that the traditional negotiations mechanism would not work anymore. The armed attacks leave no room for peaceful talks and agreements (Genyi, 2017). Herders-farmers conflict has a long and complex historical background. The herders of Nigeria, otherwise known as pastoralist, cattle-rearers, are mainly Fulani's. The Fula are the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria and majority are Muslims mostly nomadic, moving from town to town in search of greener pastures for their cows while farmers on the other hand, live a sedentary life and are not limited to one ethnic group. The herders have typically had clashes with farmers of all ethnic groups, with Hausa in Katsina state, Yoruba farmers in Ogun and Ekiti states, Igbo farmers in Enugu and several other minority groups in the middle belts of Plateau, Benue, Taraba and Nasarawa states. With the changing character and severity, these two groups has remained the most resource use conflict in Nigeria. Conflict among these groups erupt when livestock is poorly controlled and when herds wander on to cultivated fields. This always occur at critical periods in the annual cycle, particularly during sowing when herds are late in leaving agricultural lands and during harvests, if they return too early. Also, clashes occur when agricultural activities hinder the movement of herds and cutoff their access to water or pastures (Shetuna & Usman, 2008).

While the conflict has underlying economic and environmental reasons, it has also been perceived to have ethnic and religious coloration. The pastoralist herders who mostly live in the north are called "Fulani" people. Fulani people founded an Islamic Caliphate in today's northern Nigeria and after that they became politically more effective in the region. Some Fulani migrated southwards and got mixed with the local Hausa people. Since the return to democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has faced and is still facing widespread violent conflict of horrific proportion among the various groups, communities, religion and political class across the country. Since the conflict began, thousands have lost their lives, many displaced and properties worth of millions destroyed. Food chain supply and livelihood of citizenry greatly affected leading to other various forms

of crime. Sedentary farming in rural communities are often target of attacks due to their vulnerability. These incessant and widespread conflicts significantly differ in dimension, process and the actors involved. Momale (2003) identified conflict between some resource user group such as between one farming community and another, between different user groups such as between herdsman and farmers, between foresters and farmers. However, farmers – herder's conflicts remain the most predominant resource conflict in Nigeria (Adisa, 2012, p.13). This is largely due to the fact that land related issues, especially on grazing fields, account for the highest percentage of the conflicts between the two groups. In other words, struggle over the control of economically viable resources causes more tensions and violent conflicts among, not only farming communities, but also between the herders and crops cultivators. This situation is not a surprise, because, land is one of the most important resources needed by man for his total existence. First, all human livelihoods and activities are directly or indirectly dependent on land at different degrees. Land means different things to the various groups that use land. For example, the meaning and use of land by road Construction Companies cannot be the same for house builders, fishermen, farmers, herders, miners and manufacturers. They all have varying specifications in their demands and the use of land for their respective productive services.

Theoretical Framework

Marxist Political Economy Theory

Marxist political economy theory was derived from the ideas of Karl Marx (1818:1883). The great German theorist and political activist believed that society is a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change driven by conflict. Marxist political economy, in contrast, starts from relations between people and classes, and tries to understand the economy not as a perfect clockwork mechanism but as a dynamic system full of contradictions and doomed to be replaced. Political economy is not about the relationship between commodities, prices, supply and demand: it is first and foremost about people and the social relationships between them – about the owners of wealth and how they use it to exploit others; about what is produced and how. In that sense economics is both political and social and historical. Marxists do not agree with these artificial divisions in the academic

world which tend to obscure how things are really interconnected together. According to Marx, men are always in the social production of their will, namely; relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production, the totality of which constitutes the economic structure of society.

According to the Marxist political economy perspectives society is constantly in conflict over resources, and that conflict drives social change. For example, political economy theorists might explain the civil rights movements of the 1960s by studying how activists challenged the racially unequal distribution of political power and economic resources. As in this example, conflict theorists generally see social change as abrupt, even revolutionary, rather than movement. In this perspective, change comes about through conflict between competing interests, not consensus or adaptation. Marxist political economy perspectives, gives sociologists a framework for explaining social change. All conflicts share common qualities. The first is that there is a kind of contact between the parties that are involved. Secondly, the parties in conflict perceive conflicting views and finally, one of the parties always wants to redress existing contradictions (Ofuoko&Isife, 2009).

Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationships. Conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria is exacerbated by some notable factors such as climate change, demographic forces, environmental degradation, ecological pressures, insurgency and many others. These factors pushed the pastoralist in search for land and water in other region to feed their livestock and to ensure their livelihood and economic sustenance. These sudden changes caused by natural or artificial forces which affected their mode of production led to what affects the economic production of other group (farmers) thereby causing serious effect on their source of livelihood and long-term practice of farming which thereby resulted to struggle and conflict. Farmers crops were destroyed thereby leading to poor yield, low productivity and food insecurity. Herder's cows are rustled or killed as a pay back. The struggle for control and ownership of land by farmers and inability of the herders to discontinue their pastoral activities on lands which are sometimes claimed by them as grazing route has breeds form of conflict. This has led to destruction of properties and losses of lives where this form of conflict is

predominantly found like in the south east and other parts of the country.

Subsume within the discourse of this article, according to Aristotle in one of his greatest aphorisms, in Obi, et al (2018) he said; “Man by nature is a political animal”. This assertion is hunched on two factors: (i) there is a scarce resource in the society (ii) many people subscribe to this scarce resource, and in the process of allocating or distributing this resource, conflict becomes inevitable in the society because man as a pleasure seeker and pain avoider tend to encroach the fundamental human rights of others which in turn translate to conflict. That is, resource use constitutes the breeding factor of conflict between man and his fellow man. Conflict between farmers and herders, which evolved over time is in accordance with changes in society's means of meeting its material needs, i.e., changes in society's mode of production.

Critics to this theory such as Dahrendorf conclude that society can be characterized correctly in terms of conflict between competing interest groups. In the light of this argument, Dahrendorf point out what he considers the weaknesses of Marx’s theories. For him, the basic weakness of Marx’s approach is that the way he ties power - economic and social, political to the ownership of the means of production. Dahrendorf argues that most people in society are unlikely to be engaged in one mighty political-economic-social-industrial conflict, which is generated from one structural source, property relationships. Instead, changes in social structures create the social structural basis for a plurality of interest groups and hence a plurality of bases for conflict (Dahrendorf, 1959). In other words, Marxist political economy perspectives have been criticized for its focus on change and neglect of social stability. Some critics acknowledge that societies are in a constant state of change, but point out that much of the change is minor or incremental, not revolutionary. For example, many modern capitalist states have avoided a communist revolution, and have instead instituted elaborate social service programs. Although conflict theorists often focus on social change, they have, in fact, also developed a theory to explain social stability. According to the Marxist political economy perspectives, inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups who benefits from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. For example, the wealthy may fight to maintain their privileged access to

higher education by opposing measures that would broaden access, such as affirmative action or public funding. This is applicable to herders who will struggle to resist any measure that will affect their traditional mode of grazing along with their livestock's, likewise farmers to give out their farm land without resistance which is their traditional mode of practice.

Identified factors for Trans-Human movement of the Herders to South East and attack on Agrarian farmers

Conflict between herders and farmers in the south east is a spillover of series of conflicts witnessed across the region. However, there are quite a number of factors that contributed to the escalation such as depleting arable land for farming, environmental degradation and climate change, inability of the government to manage the diversity, cattle rustling and killing of herders, and lack of political will by government to tackle the challenge. Among others, the following reasons have been advanced by the International Crisis Group (2017):

- i. Scarcity: Scarcity here is expressed in terms of desertification and drought. As the arid and sometimes semi-arid northern Nigerian begins to experience shortage of rainfall, especially between the months of June and September, herders begin to move southward in search of productive grazing land space for the survival of their flocks and sustain their own livelihood. The geographical migration often engenders clashes between the nomadic herders and more sedentary crops farmers who feel insecure as cattle invade their farms. In most cases, this feeling of insecurity result into violent killings, destruction of property and farm produces.
- ii. Changing practices between farmers and pastoralists: It has been opined that unlike the past, the increasing involvement of uncivilized young people who are either inexperienced in communal interrelationship or dispute management due to the withdrawal of the old one, increases the chances of violence between herders and farmers.
- iii. Cattle rustling and rural banditry: Herders are tensely pressed to move towards south as the incidence of the emergence of bandit groups and theft of cattle increases. This, in part, can be seen in the case of the activities of the indigenes-settlers' crises in the north-central and the insurgences in the north-central that trouble

both the northern hemisphere and the entire country in recent times.

- iv. Conflict escalation: This occurs when crises of conflicts produce multiplier or ripple effects as a result of different factors like increasing rate of poverty, hostility, proliferation of small arms, resistance, invasion, and various forms of losses, among others. There is growing conscious awareness of pastoralists that they are becoming unwanted by farmers who see them as a threat. Thus, the suspicion between the two groups makes for strained relationship and possibility of insecurity as each group seeks to protect its means of livelihood.

Effect of the Conflict on the relationship of Farmers-Herders in the South East

The conflict between herdsmen and farmers killed more people than the attacks of the terrorist group Boko Haram in recent years (International Crisis Group, 2017). %57 of people 15 died in year 2018 in clashes between January 2016 and October 2018, %21 in 2017 and %22 in 2016 (Amnesty International, 2018). But the expansion of farming activities invariably led to demand for farmlands, drastically reduced supply of grazing land, encroachment of flocks of cattle frequently on cultivated fields constitute major sources of unending friction between the two groups (Olaniyan et al., 2015; Olayoku, 2014; Okeke, 2014). It is worthy to note that in the past, agricultural farmers and the pastoralist groups had a cordial and stable relationship that enables the people to work side by side for decades. This interdependent relationship on each other is evident that both groups depend on each other for survival, and it formed the benchmark for exchange and which brought about even development (Shettima and Tar, 2008: 163). The agricultural farmers and the pastoralist have a long heritage and economic relationship, though there were sources of disagreement existing between both groups that were resolved by both groups peacefully.

However, the recent intensification of livestock migration eastwards in search of grazing resources has reorganized regional land use and opened a new settlement border for foreign herdsmen. This migration has exacerbated the current problematic coexistence of mobile herdsmen and local farmers and raised new concerns regarding the landscape's protected areas system (Luizza, 2017). The pattern

and scale of farmer- herder's conflicts vary across Nigeria, and in some places the two groups do still accommodate each other. But in many states, clashes have intensified killing and destruction have reached unprecedented levels in major flashpoint centers in northern and central Nigeria, and tensions have extended to the south east region.

Suffice it to say however, that eastern Nigeria has much less land than northern Nigeria and that its population density is much higher than the north 's. It is likely that, once entrenched on reserves, the Fulani herders would seek to acquire more and, contrary to the express purpose of Nigeria grazing bill, will get into more conflicts with non-Fulani owners of the lands. In nearly every state in the region, herders graze where they like with their animals, destroy crops, block traffic, rape women, beat up hunters, and, not too infrequently, wage deadly armed attacks on villages where there is the slightest resistance to their depredations. However, cattle rustling, poisoning of their animals, killing of herders that are deviants are considered to be some factors that could lead to reprisal of attack by herders. Like in central Nigeria, the herdsmen have become a dreaded group of minorities that intimidates the majority: a minority that the majority is organizationally powerless to confront.

This unimaginable consequence has assumed disastrous dimensions and this has led to a decline in the continued peaceful co-existence in the country. The hostility in north central states (middle belt) has extended to other geo-political zones across Nigeria (Nweze, 2005). However, the herdsmen contribute to environmental sustenance, food security, economic stability properly harnessed as aid to security agencies in their surveillance duties due to the porosity of our borders. The destruction of farmland and crops by livestock encroachment will always generate altercation between the two agricultural occupational groups. In eastern Nigeria, there is hardly any community where Fulani herdsmen are not found. In Abia state, clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and local farmers have become a huge threat to human security, hence in Abia communities of Uzuakoli in Bende Local Government, Ehem and Akanu in Ohafia and Umuechieze in Umunneochi, there have been cases of deadly clashes between rural farmers and these cattle breeders (Nwaopara&Okoli, 2015). Essentially, conflicts between cattle herders and farmers have existed since the beginning of agriculture

and increased or decreased in intensity and frequency depending on economic, environmental and other factors.

Consequentially, this debilitates the once mutually existing farmer-pastoralist relationships. This situation becomes worst, especially when either the farmer or the pastoralist is categorized with religion and tribal undertone. Abbass (2012) reveals that disharmony among pastoralist enhance sedentarisation and expose pastoralists to constant conflicts in the agrarian society. Some farmers practicing mixed farming attest that their animals have in one way or another affected other farmers (Nformi, 2014). Thus, the issue of farmer-pastoralist conflict is more or less a shared problem.

Implications of the farmer-herder feud on Livelihood of Agrarian Farmers in the South East

Conflict between farmers and herdsmen has continued to assume a threatening dimension to human survival and economic livelihood. The incidence of serious resource conflicts for survival between the two groups have led to the loss of lives, and herds, while others have experienced dwindling productivity in their crops and herds. In most of these encounters, citizens are regularly killed and the destruction or loss of property leaves an already endangered populace even poorer. The frequency and scale of these conflicts have not only become alarming but have also produced adverse consequences in the destruction of villages, settlements, crops, irrigation facilities, human and animal lives. If the conflict is allowed to escalate further, the impacts will be on food and animal products because of the grave loss of animals, crops and valuable properties (Ikezue and Ezeah 2017).

These conflicts have direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those involved. They also disrupt and threaten the sustainability of pastoral production and agriculture in West Africa (Moritz, 2010). In the same vein, Ukamaka et al (2017), maintained that the conflicts do not only have direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those involved, but they also disrupt and threaten the sustainability of agricultural and pastoral production and invariably the sustainability of livelihoods of rural communities. This is typically seen in the lives of agrarian farmers in the south east where conflict between the two groups has affected their livelihood who solely depends on their farm produce for survival. The implication to this is that they are faced with challenges of widespread hunger, malnutrition, poor yield and food

production, displacement, disability and deterioration in their health condition. These conflicts also reinforce circles of extreme poverty and hunger, and destroy social status, food security and affect the most marginalized groups that include women and children. (Ikezue and Ezeah, 2017). More so, it affects education of children leading to obstacles in their development and mass displacement. For example, within the states and communities in the south east where conflict has persistently occurred, people are forced out from their original place of abode to IDP camps causing social dislocation, and critical infrastructure to total collapse. Fear and anxiety for not being killed has affected the mental psyche of the inhabitants both parents and children, and their cognitive knowledge for learning is affected due to wide spread killings and burning of educational facilities which is a lead way to development. However, in the words of the catholic Bishop of Awka diocese in Anambra state, Most Rev. Paulinus Ezeokafor, the activities of herdsmen whose cattle destroy farm lands were undermining food production in the country, describing the killer herders as a big threat capable of increasing hunger in the country. (Vanguard, July 2021).

Recently, there have been a lot of concerns expressed over the looming danger of food crisis in many nations, including Nigeria. The main goal of food security, is for individuals to obtain adequate food needed at all time, and to be able to utilize the food to meet the body needs. The World Bank identified four pillars underpinning food security, as food availability, food accessibility, food utilization and food stability (FAO, 2015). In recent years, Nigeria have witnessed series of violent communal clashes arising from the activities of the herders who move about on a daily basis with their cattle in search of water and green pastures (Suleiman, 2015). Consequently, many farmers and herders have lost their lives, while others have experienced declining production in their crops and herds (Suleiman, 2015).

The recurrent conflict between herdsmen and farmers has posed grave implications on human safety and security especially as it affects farmers in the South-East of Nigeria, Okeke (2014) aptly noted that in nearly every state in the region, herdsmen graze where they like, destroy crops, block traffic, rape women, beat up hunters, and not too infrequently wage deadly armed attacks on villages where there is the slightest resistance to their depredations. In the same vein, Abugu

and Onuba (2015) reported that in Enugu state in 2009, suspected herdsmen attacked Ezeagu communities in the state and killed at least two women in their farm. They further revealed that in Anambra state especially in the Aguleri/ Umuleri axis, Fulani herdsmen have been banned from entering the areas since 2012. Similarly, the damage caused by herdsmen also led to their expulsion from places like Umuahia and Isuochi precisely as they have all witnessed orgy of violence and crisis of greater magnitude caused by herdsmen. Nwosu (2017) aptly captures that on 25 April, 2016, suspected herdsmen invaders attacked Ukpabi-Nimbo, a town in Enugu state, killing about 40 indigenes. Below is a table showing series of attacks by herdsmen in the south east

States	Communities	Attacks & Location	Casualties
Anambra	Herdsmen attacked farmers' settlement in Anambra West Council of Anambra State	On April 6, 2019 herdsmen set farm houses ablaze and killed men and raped the women.	Scores of farmers sustain life threatening injuries. Crops worth thousands of naira were also destroyed.
Enugu	Agbani-Ugbawka road in Nkanu East council area.	On June 14, 2019, the same herdsmen attacked a commercial bus carrying traders, mainly women returning from the market along Agbani-Ugbawka road in Nkanu East council area.	They abducted three young women after they had robbed the traders.
Ebonyi	Amankpuma village in Okawu community/Onicha community	On 30 th May, 2021 Herder's attack members of Ezube-Amankpuma who are farmers	30 indigenes of Ebonyi were killed.
Enugu	Ukpabi-Nimbo /Ugbene Ajima community in Uzo-Uwani Local Government.	Attack took place in Obie Aku farm camp. On 14 th June, herders attacked commercial bus carrying mainly women returning from market along Agbani-Ugbawka in Nkanu East	40 farmers killed and many injured Abducted three young women after they had been robbed.
Imo	Umuawaibu community in Okigwe area council /Umuekpu in Agwa community Ohaji egbema Oguta, Ozoemena Iriaka, Umuekpu in Agwa	Attack took place in in Agwa community in Oguta council/Orlu on the 1 st February, 2017.	3 farmers died, while farmlands were destroyed.

	community in Oguta council/Orlu.		
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Source: Culled from ACLED Data Base 2022

Conclusion

This paper affirms that farmers-herders' conflicts have constituted serious threats to national security, development and means of livelihoods of the citizenry of Nigerian state. Both groups have mutually coexisted for a long time but in recent times ecological and environmental related issues, paucity of land for grazing became a competitive issue that exacerbates conflict between farmers-herders', thus, the conflict has led to killings and destruction of farmlands and properties. This has great implication to source of livelihood of both parties thereby reducing food productivity and creating vicious circle of poverty. The seasonal rainfall and prolonged dry season bring about dynamics in the ecosystem and sour relationships resulting in a sharp division between the sedimentary farmers and the nomadic pastoralists. South ward movements of herders in search of grazing land always pitch herders against farmers and the host community whose crops are regularly invaded and destroyed by the cattle during the seasonal movement. Informed by this act it is pertinent to note that alternative dispute resolution effort and government political will and sincerity would go a long way to stem the tide of this form of conflict in the region and Nigeria as a whole. Collaborative efforts involving stake holders at levels devoid of religion and tribal affiliation are needed for speedy resolution of farmers-herders conflict which has continued unabated.

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