

# Herder-Farmer Clashes in Nigeria

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## **Executive Summary**

This report is a comprehensive study of the Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Nigeria covering a number of thirteen (13) states namely Adamawa, Benue, Cross River, Edo, Ekiti, Enugu, Kaduna, Kogi, Nasarawa, Oyo, Plateau, Taraba and Zamfara. The study examined the expanding nature of the conflict from the northern to the southern parts of the country. It historicized the conflict contexts of the individual states while situating it within the present context of the incidents of clashes between pastoralists and farmers. There is a generally overarching theme of divisive ethno-religious hostilities between Herdsmen and Farmers who often belong to different religions. As such, the narratives that accompany the occurrence of this conflict are couched in socio-political and religious terms. The methodology adopted for the study included data gathering through primary sources using key informant interviews, focus group discussions, observation visits to the sites of the crises and community meetings. Written sources were also used by consulting newspaper reports and other relevant secondary literature. The study revealed that the conflicts usually emanates from agrarian communities where there are perceived threats by the farmers on their means of livelihood, usually due to the invasion of the farms by the cattle. The poor management of the initial root causes of the conflicts often lead to retaliatory attacks amongst the warring factions.

In Demsa, Adamawa state for instance, 28 people were killed on December 3, 2017; while about 2,500 farmers were displaced and rendered homeless in a clash between farmers and cattle herders. While different reasons have been put forward for the escalating herder-farmer conflict, the prominent reasons are tied to environmental degradation, competition over land and in some instances, religion. Though the clashes between farmers and herdsman is not peculiar to Nigeria and has a long history, the increase sophistication of attacks has brought in a new dimension looking at the level of carnage that is being perpetrated and fatalities recorded. According to military sources, some of the herdsman use Hilux Jeeps and motorcycles to carry out their attacks. The weapons in use include AK 47, homemade rifles, hand guns and Molotov cocktails.<sup>1</sup> For example, in Gwer West LGA, Benue State, reports indicated that the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsman normally disguised themselves in military uniforms during the attacks and change back into their traditional clothes afterwards.

The impersonation of soldiers by the herdsman could be seen as an adaptation to the militarized government response to the crises which has not been the most effective. For instance, the federal government deployed a special security task force, code named “Operation Harbin Kunnama” (OHK) in Kaduna. Among its objectives, the task force was mandated to enforce law and order and to restore normalcy to the area. This led to an increase in the number of the Nigerian Army personnel, the Police and other security agencies in the area. However, communities remain apprehensive of unforeseen attacks, which have continued to occur despite the beefed-up security as the spate of kidnapping suddenly increased leading to apprehensions in the Communities that the current security strategy is not working. The study therefore recommends that the government should employ all necessary and sincere means to expose the bandits and their sponsors behind these incessant attacks in the states. If possible, the government can seek for international backings and assistance to help address these killings.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview, Security Forces Stationed in Makurdi, Capital of Benue State, 12 September, 2018.

## **Introduction**

The herder-farmer conflict is increasing at an alarming rate. Recently, the conflict has gained momentum largely because the Nigerian Government's attention has been fully focused on averting the menace caused by Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. What seemed to be a mere conflict between two sets of people has increasingly evolved into one of the deadliest conflicts in decades. Historically, relations between herders and farmers have been harmonious. By and large, they lived in a peaceful and symbiotic relationship; herders' cattle would fertilise the farmers' land with their dung in exchange for grazing rights. But tensions have grown over the past decade, with increasingly violent flare-ups spreading throughout central and southern states. Herder-farmer violent conflict has occurred in at least 22 of the country's 36 States.<sup>2</sup> The conflict usually arises when the herdsmen invade community farmlands with their cattle and let them graze unguarded both on cultivated and uncultivated lands, thereby destroying valuable food and cash crops which are the backbone of the host communities. When the communities try to resist, requesting for their exit, the Fulani herdsmen become violent and attack the community. In the absence of effective government response and lasting security mechanisms to tackle the problem, some communities take laws into their hands to carry out reprisal attacks.

Evidence suggests that increase in population, the depletion of environmental resources, and weak cross-border institutions of law and order as well as regional instability have altered the migration patterns, pushing pastoralists to move towards more fertile areas in search of greener pastures.<sup>3</sup> As the State cannot regulate the mutual coexistence of its citizens in the harmonious sharing of the competed resources, the parties may have to resolve to struggle among themselves with no retreat, no surrender and for the survival of the fittest. The failure of the state, for example to resolve the 'settler'/'indigene' identity and the inherent struggles over resources can be adduced to have brought dangerous dimensions of economic and political elements in the herder-farmer conflicts.<sup>4</sup> This situation is further amplified by Nigeria's population growth and the fact that the substantial part of the population depend on agriculture.<sup>5</sup> Small-holders in the country's centre and south harvest most of the country's tuber and vegetable crops while farmers in the north produce most of its grains.<sup>6</sup>

Additionally, over 90 per cent of herders are reportedly Fulani, a large ethnic group straddling several West and Central African countries. herders own approximately 90 per cent of the national herd, estimated at 19.5 million cattle, about 975,000 donkeys, 28,000 camels, 72.5 million goats and 41.3 million sheep. Livestock represents between 20 and 30 per cent of total agricultural production and about 6 to 8 per cent of overall Gross Domestic Production (GDP).<sup>7</sup> About 30 per cent of live animals slaughtered in Nigeria are brought in by herders from other countries.<sup>8</sup> Economically, with

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<sup>2</sup> Crisis Group interview, senior Nigeria Police Force officer, Abuja, 2 June 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Chom Bagu and Katie Smith. "Criminality and Reprisal Attacks in Nigeria's Middle Belt, Search for Common Ground." 2017. <https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/.../Criminality-Reprisal-Attack-dr-2.pdf> (accessed May 2, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Fiki, OC and Lee Bill. "Conflict Management, Local Capacity Governance, and Inclusive Human Security in North East Nigeria:" A case study – Regional Development Dialogue – A journal of UNRISD, Nagoya, Japan. 2005.

<sup>5</sup> As petroleum became Nigeria's major export, agriculture shrank from 60 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the early 1970s to about 23 per cent; it still accounts for 75 per cent of non-oil exports. Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, *The Green Alternative: The Agricultural Promotion Policy 2016-2020*, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Roger, Blench. *Conflict between Pastoralists and Cultivators in Nigeria*. Review paper prepared for the British Government's Department for International Development (DFID), Nigeria, 9 August 2010.

<sup>7</sup> "Keynote address delivered by the Honourable Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Chief Audu Ogbeh, OFR, at retreat on livestock and dairy development in Nigeria, held at Musa Yar'Adua Centre, Abuja, on 7-8 June, 2016", Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Abuja.

<sup>8</sup> FAO Nigeria, *FAO Country Programming Framework (CPF) Federal Republic of Nigeria 2013-2017*, p. 5.

daily consumption of beef by consumers more money is been earned through its sales in the market on a daily basis.

Therefore, the struggle for the use of agricultural land for planting and grazing is becoming fiercer and increasingly widespread in Nigeria, largely due to intensification of production activities that are necessitated by rising human population. The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) recently placed the Nigeria's Fulani herdsman as the world's fourth deadliest militant group for having accounted for about 1, 229 deaths in 2014. While Boko Haram was associated with about 330 casualties in the first quarter of 2016, the Fulani herdsman accounted for nearly 500 deaths and have shown no sign of slowing down. As such, it has been predicted that the Fulani herdsman might well surpass Boko Haram as Nigeria's most dangerous group. The most affected states in recent times have included Benue, Nassarawa, Plateau, Taraba, Kaduna, Adamawa, Zamfara, Oyo, Imo, Enugu and Cross-River.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, these conflicts are gradually creeping to other States across the country.

### **Study Aims and Objectives**

The aim of this research is to underscore the expanding nature of the herder-farmer conflict. It will also provide the recent data on the atrocities that have taken place in the selected states. The study will also make policy recommendations for government interventions, civil society organisations, development partners and other relevant stakeholders. It is also intended to generate data and provide evidence that will be utilized in designing effective responses to the conflict.

- To provide recent empirical data on the number of persons killed, injured, houses and properties destroyed as a result of the farmers-herders' conflicts
- To analyse some of the causes of conflict between herdsman and the indigenous farming communities in the selected states
- To expand the horizon of explanation from simplistic narratives that links the conflict to socio-economic, political and environmental factors.
- To ascertain the economic, political, ideological and religious underpinning of herder-farmer clashes in the selected states
- To recommend policies that will address the root causes of the conflicts and restore sustainable peace to affected communities

### **Methodology**

The research for this study was conducted primarily through the observation of events on the ground through visits to affected communities in the selected states. This was combined with the extraction of information from security reports, official state documents (where possible) and other reports provided by NGOs, civil society groups, religious communities and traditional associations. It included interviews with victims, policy makers, witnesses, community and religious leaders, representatives of traditional communities and security officials. Interviews, especially with victims affected by the violence were conducted and have immensely widened the horizon of understanding the victims' perspective of the conflicts. Visits to the conflict affected areas in the selected states of Adamawa, Benue, Cross River, Edo, Ekiti, Enugu, Kaduna, Kogi, Nasarawa, Oyo, Plateau and Zamfara States were also conducted.

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<sup>9</sup> Durojaiye, Rotimi. "Challenge of Fulani Herdsman," Editorial, *Daily Independence*. Print. July 18, 2014. Vol. 2.

### **Research Challenges**

One of the major limitations of the research was the religious undercurrents of the farmer-herder clashes in the affected communities and this impeded the details of information that the interviewees were ready to offer. Also, data on violence are controversial; indicators are sometimes contested; and there is a risk of devising categories that do not reflect the real situation. In a sense, statistics are too selective and largely inadequate in accounting for all acts of herder-farmer violence. However, samples of events over a long period of time can facilitate trend analysis and historical studies of violence as was done in this study. Access to reliable data remains a major obstacle in Nigeria. Security agencies have proven ineffective in providing credible statistics that can be relied upon for serious decision making at official level. This is not to say that it is a perfect option. But it offers a systematic and credible means of providing scarce data and analyzing trends of violence to answer four critical questions: Where and when is violence taking place? Is violence increasing or decreasing? What are the main causes of violence? What is the security risk at certain locations?

The conflicts, particularly the herder attacks on farming communities have spawned dangerous political conspiracy theories. One is that the attacks are part of a longer term of Fulani plot to displace indigenous population and to seize their land. Among communities this is widely seen as a form of jihad. This ethnically aligned political conspiracy makes it difficult to easily win the trust of members in gathering neutral data. One of the limitations of this research is that it relies, in part, on newspaper reports, and television news reports, key information and facts are very limited, knowing fully well that journalistic reportage about the attacks by Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen are dramatically controlled and sometimes underreported by the Press. The unwillingness of the very few informants to express and relate certain important information was a challenge that occurred during the research in various states.

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**Brief Background and Conflict Data on Selected States**

The states selected for this study are drawn from the northern and southern parts of the country. These include: Adamawa, Benue, Nassarawa, Plateau, Taraba, Kaduna, Adamawa, Zamfara, Oyo, Enugu, Edo, Ekiti and Cross-River. The selection of these states is informed by the depth of the atrocities and the expanding nature of the conflict.



**Adamawa State:** Adamawa state was created out of Gongola State on 27th August 1991 as one of the nine new states created by the Federal Military Government of General Ibrahim Babangida. Prior to its creation in 1991, it was part of the North Eastern State from 1967 to February 1976 and Gongola State 1976 - 1991. The State shares border with Gombe State to the North, and Borno State to the North East, while to the West, it is bordered with Taraba State as well as the Republic of Cameroon to the East. There have been reports concerning the herdsman attacks on farmers. For example, in early 2018, reports indicated that herdsman allegedly attacked and razed down Suwa and Burukutu villages in Lamurde LGA. This attack as reported was carried out by well-armed Fulani herdsman for a period of four hours without the intervention of the State police. About 500 residents were displaced. Similarly, in Dowaya, Demsa LGA, armed herdsman were reported to have killed 21 people in an overnight attack on 9<sup>th</sup> July 2018. According to reports by residents of the village community, the attack lasted from hours without the intervention of the military or the Nigerian police.

Votapwa Fwa, a resident, said that more than 21 bodies were recovered and over 2000 residents were displaced<sup>10</sup> from their homes, whereas the press under-reported the number of casualties and those displaced. Also, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 2018, 15 persons were confirmed dead in four communities of Numan LGA. Property worth millions of Naira were reported to have been lost in the attack.<sup>11</sup> On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of the same month, at least 18 people were killed, and several others injured when Dowayan village in Demsa came under attack. The assailants struck the village around 8am, leaving a number of houses burnt which led to the displacement of the residents. According to Hama Batta (traditional Ruler of Demsa), the attacks by armed Fulani herdsman have resulted in the abandonment of farming, this may lead to famine soon. In Mararaban Kola, Guyuk LGA, 5 persons (four men and a woman) were also confirmed dead. These number of attacks in Adamawa State explains the increasing momentum of the herdsman attack in the state. Sodomti Tayedi, a member representing Numan in Adamawa State House of Assembly laments on this issue thus:

Our people are farmers, but my community is now living in fear since these attacks started in November last year and has persisted up till date. We are hopeless and helpless, economic activities here have stopped. This is a farming season and if we cannot go to the farm, then poverty and starvation is what is left<sup>12</sup>.

Galille Ishake, a resident and survivor of the herdsman attack in Sabon Layi describes the nature of how they were attacked. He says thus: *Those who attacked us were Fulani as they came when we were in the market because it was market day.*<sup>13</sup> With the intervention of troops of 101 Special Force Battalion deployed to Numan LGA, a prompt response to the distress call of the residence yielded to the capture of some Fulani militia. 6 herdsman were attacked by the troop at Garigiji village and items recovered were; AK47 rifle, 41 rounds of 7.62 mm special, one local rifle with 25 cartridges, one cutlass, looted clothes and a motorcycle. The farmers-herders clash in the Adamawa state is

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<sup>10</sup> Taiwo, Ojoye. (2018) "21 feared killed in Adamawa communities" <https://www.google.com/channelstv.com/2018/07/09/suspected-herdsman-attack-five-communities-in-adamawa-taraba/amp/>

<sup>11</sup> Ameh, Godwin. (2018) "15 killed, four villages burnt down as herdsman attack Adamawa communities" Daily Post. <https://www.google.com/amp/dailypost.ng/2018/05/03/15-killed-four-villages-burnt-herdsman-attack-adamawa-communities/amp>

<sup>12</sup> Abdulfatai, Ayobami Ibrahim."50 feared killed in Adamawa, Taraba attacks" Punch Newspaper. <https://www.google.com/amps/punchng.com/50-feared-killed-in-adamawa-taraba-attacks/amp/>

<sup>13</sup> Wale, Odunsi. "Troops Kill 10 herdsman after attack on Adamawa village, arrest 6" <https://www.google.com/amp/dailyposting/2018/02/27/troops-kill-10-herdsman-attack-adamawa-village-arrest-6-photos/amp/>

evidently a microcosm of the nature of the herdsman attack on various states in the country. The efforts of the Police to curb and contend the crisis is insignificant as the conflict continue to evolve on daily basis.

**Presentation of Data on Adamawa State**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>Communities</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>No. of Injured</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>May 16, 2017</b>	Yola South	Demsare, Wunamokoh and Taboungo	20	100	Christians	Herdsman
October 3, 2017	Demsa	Kodomun	15	No injury but 1000	Christians	Herdsman on motorcycles
<b>21 Nove. 2017</b>	Numan	Kikam, Shawal, Kadamti, Shafaran	45	No injury but over 1000 displaced	Christians	Herdsman
<b>Jan. 21, 2018</b>	Numan	Kikon, Mbang & Baga	3	Nil.	Christians	Herdsman
<b>Jan. 21</b>	Numan	Numan	6	Nil	Fulani	Bachama militia in reprisal attack <sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Reprisal attack leaves 6 dead in Juman, Adamawa (Source <http://saharareporters.com/2018/01/23/herdsman-attack-reprisal-claims-six-lives-adamawa> ...)

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<b>Jan. 22, 2018,</b>	Yola South	Sangere University Community	2	-	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>July 10</b>	Numan	Gojefa, Bujum Kasuwa, Bujum Yashi, Bujum Waya, Sabonlayi	50	No injury but over 2000 displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>Feb. 2, 2018</b>	Song	Song	2	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>15</sup>
<b>Feb. 2, 2018</b>	Song	Song (outskirts)	10	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>16</sup>
<b>Feb. 8, 2018</b>	Shelleng	Shelleng	6	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>17</sup>
<b>Feb. 27, 2018</b>	Demsa	Demsa	20	65	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>18</sup>
<b>March 3, 2018</b>	Numan	Gworong	5	Nil	Christians	Herdsme

<sup>15</sup> 2 KILLED in Song, Adamawa (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/2-killed-village-razed-in-herdsmen-farmers-clash-in-adamawa/>)

<sup>16</sup> 10 KILLED in Song, Adamawa (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/herders-farmers-clash-10-feared-killed-fresh-attack-yungur-song-adamawa/>)

<sup>17</sup> Communal clash leaves 6 DEAD in Shellen, Adamawa (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/258145-several-feared-dead-adamawa-communal-clash.html> ...)

<sup>18</sup> , 20 KILLED in Demsa, Adamawa (source <http://sunnewsonline.com/herdsmen-20-killed-23-injured-in-adamawa/> ...)

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<b>April 6, 2018</b>	Numan	Bare	15	Nil but over 1000 displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>April 7, 2018</b>	Numan	Bolki	1	23 injured and 800 displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>June 3, 2018</b>	Numan	Sabon Layi	3	60	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>June 7, 2018</b>	Demsa	Dowaya	20	50 injured	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>July 9, 2018</b>	Numan	Kikang	7	100	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>July 10, 2018</b>	Numan	Kwanan Waya	4	200	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>July 23, 2018</b>	Numan	Suwa and Bulkutu	100	1500 displaced and no injuries	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>August 11, 2018</b>	Numan	Sabon Layi	7	230 and 1000 displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>Sept. 2, 2018</b>	Demsa	Demsa	21	2000 Displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
<b>Sept. 18, 2018</b>	Demsa	Bekilewa	4	No injury but over 500	Christians	Herdsmen

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October 3,	Demsa	Lawuru	9	Approximately 1000	Christians	Herdsmen
October 4, 2018	2018	Shafuron	50	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>19</sup>

The data presented above does not exhaustively capture the number of casualties of the clash between the Fulani herdsmen and members of the indigenous communities in Adamawa State. As represented in the data, a total number of 341 people have been killed. The data collected were based on the interviews with a limited number of persons while the conflict is still ongoing. However, the data above aside these limitations, is an expression and an evidence to which the level of the conflict as attained.

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<sup>19</sup> Most of the data was collected from the Archives of Bwatiye Development Association, a Cultural Association for Numan Federation.

**Benue State:** Benue became part of the Northern Province in the 3-region structure of 1954. After the civil war that lasted from 1967-1970,<sup>20</sup> the administration of General Yakubu Gowon dismantled the 3 regions established by the colonial administration and created 12 states of the 3 regions, one of which was the Benue-Plateau State. As an administrative unit, Benue State was created on 3 February 1976. It was one of the seven states created by the military administration of late General Murtala Mohammed, which increased the number of states in the country from 13 to 19. Today, Benue State is made up of a total of 23 Local Government Areas (LGAs) as indicated in the table below. In recent years, the herder-farmer conflict in Benue state has been rampant in Alagbe in Agatu, Agasha in Guma, Yogbo in Makurdi and Agagbe in Gwer-west LGAs. Below is a tabulation of some of the conflicts.

**Data Presentation on Benue State**

Date	LGA	Communities	No. Killed	No. of Injured	Religion	Attackers
Jan. 24, 2017	Ohimini	Ipiga	15	230	Christians	Herdsmen
March 2, 2017	Gwer West	Mbahimin	10	34	Christians	Herdsmen
March 11, 2017	Buruku	Mkgovur	7	105	Christians	Herdsmen
May 8, 2017	Logo	Tse-Akaa	3	231	Christians	Herdsmen
May 13, 2017	Logo	Tse-Akaa	8	17	Christians	Herdsmen
Jan. 1, 2018	Logo	Logo	50	222	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>21</sup>
Jan. 6, 2018	Logo	Tse-Akaa	16 including village head	34	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>22</sup>
Jan. 13, 2018	Makurdi	Makurdi	3	46	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Nnoli, Okwudiba: *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria*, 1995, p. 131.

<sup>21</sup> January 1 2018, 50 Benue indigenes killed, 30 injured in Logo Benue (source; <http://punchng.com/herdsmen-kill-20-injure-30-in-benue-ortom/>)

<sup>22</sup> January 6 2018, Village head and 15 others ATTACKED AND KILLED in Logo, Benue. (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/village-head-15-others-killed-fresh-herdsmen-attack-benue-communities/> ...)

<sup>23</sup> January 13 2018, 1 person KILLED in violent clash in Makurdi, Benue (<http://sunnewsonline.com/makurdi-1-feared-dead-in-violent-clashes/>)

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Feb. 5, 2018	Makurdi	Government Hosue	2	Nil	CHristians	Herdsmen <sup>24</sup>
Feb. 10, 2018	Makurdi	Makurdi	2	28	Christians	Herdsmen
Feb. 12, 2018	Guma	Guma	2	16	CHristians	Herdsmen
March 5, 2018	Okpokwu	Okpokwu	24	28	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>25</sup>
March 13, 2018	Guma	Guma	7	247	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>26</sup>
April 4, 2018	Gwer West	Mbahimin	10	53	Christians	Herdsmen
April 5,	Gwer West	Mbahimin	30	75	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>27</sup>
April 7,	Agatu	Agatu	2 (father and son)	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>28</sup>
April 9, 2018	Guma	Guma	1, a soldier	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>29</sup>
April 10, 2018	Ukum	Gbeji	10	75	Christians	Herdsmen (dressed in Army uniform <sup>30</sup> )
April 12, 2018	Makurdi	Makurdi	2	20	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Herdsmen attack Gov Ortom Farmhouse and KILL 2 (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/herdsmen-attack-sack-gov-ortoms-farmhouse>)

<sup>25</sup> 24 killed in Okpokwu, Benue (<http://punchng.com/updated-benue-herdsmen-attack-death-toll-now-24/> ...)

<sup>26</sup> 2 brothers killed in Guma, Benue (source <http://saharareporters.com/2018/03/14/herdsmen-kills-two-brothers-benue>; 5 KILLED in Guma, benue (Source <http://saharareporters.com/2018/03/14/herdsmen-kill-traders-benue>)

<sup>27</sup> 30 Killed in Gwer, West, Benue (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/death-toll-rises-30-benue/> ...)

<sup>28</sup> Father and son Killed in Agatu, Benue (Source <http://punchng.com/herdsmen-attack-benue-community-kill-father-son/>)

<sup>29</sup> Soldier killed in Guma, Benue (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/soldier-killed-herdsmen-invade-another-benue-community/> ...)

<sup>30</sup> Attackers in ARMY UNIFORM KILL 10 (Source <https://www.premiumpages.com/news/headlines/264741-attackers-in-army-uniform-overrun-benue-villages-kill-10.html> ...)

<sup>31</sup> Gunmen kill 2 in markudi, Benue (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/gunmen-kill-two-restive-central-nigeria-police/>)

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April 14, 2018	Logo	Logo	4 Policemen	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>32</sup>
	Gwer West	Tse-Akaa	1	Nil	Christian	Soldiers <sup>33</sup>
April 20, 2018	Guma	Guma	31	200	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>34</sup>
April 25, 2018	Gwer West		19, including 2 Catholic Priests	55	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>35</sup>
April 25, 2018	Guma	Guma	39	200	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>36</sup>
May 26, 2018	Logo	Anyiin	3	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
May 26, 2018	Guma	Tse Shitenger	2	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
May 31,	Logo	Mbazar	2	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
June 3, 2018	Kwande	Yaav	8	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
June 6, 2018	Logo & Kwande		15	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
June 8, 2018	Guma	Yandev	1	200 injured	Christians	Herdsmen
June 11-13, 2018	Logo	Tombo	5	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Herdsmen killed 4 policemen in Logo, Benue (Source <http://www.punchng.com/breaking-four-policemen-killed-in-benue/> ...)

<sup>33</sup> Soldiers kill 1 in Gwer West, Benue (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/265547-rampaging-soldiers-set-benue-community-on-fire.html> ...)

<sup>34</sup> April 20 2018, Herdsmen KILL 31 in Guma, Benue (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/another-31-killed-benue/>)

<sup>35</sup> Herdsmen raid and kill 2 priest and 17 others, Gwer East, Benue (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/fresh-bloodbath-benue-2-catholic-priests-17-others-killed-herdsmen/> ...)

<sup>36</sup> Marauders kill 39 people in Guma, Benue (Source <http://vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsm>)

<sup>37</sup> The killings from May - June, 2018 in Benue State have been carried by several newspapers. Most of the figures were also obtained from the Benue State Emergency Management Agency. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/06/benue-timeline-latest-killings-launch-last-military-operation/>



**Cross River State:** Cross River is a coastal state in South Eastern Nigeria, named after the Cross River, which passes through the state. It has an estimated population of about 2.89 million people (2006) who have a rich and unique cultural heritage. Ejagham and Efik are major languages of this State, but the Igbo tribe and language are also present in its western land borders. Forty percent of the estimated population constitutes the active population that is engaged in various economic activities; ranging from subsistence agriculture to urban commerce and transport business. Cross River State is made up of 18 local governments and segmented into three senatorial districts namely; Cross River North comprising of Bekwarra, Obanliku, Obudu, Ogoja and Yala; Cross River Central comprising of Abi, Boki, Etung, Ikom, Obubra and Yarkurr and Cross River South comprising of Calabar Municipality, Calabar South, Akamkpa, Akpabuyo, Bakassi, Biase and Odukpani.<sup>38</sup> The fish farming activities spread to the three districts of the State thereby serving as a source of income and livelihood for residents within the State. Major livestock in the State are cattle, goats and sheep. Rearing activities are mainly undertaken by local farmers and nomadic Fulani, except in Obanliku at the Obudu Cattle Ranch where organised cattle ranching takes place.<sup>39</sup>

Contestation for land remains the central issue in most of the communal conflicts in Cross River State.<sup>40</sup> For instance, in March 2017, 10 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in ObioUsiere community of Odukpani local government area of Cross River State. Based on reports and antecedents of the conflict, Fulani herdsmen usually come during the dry season to feed their cattle in their community.<sup>41</sup> The same incident which occurred in 2015 had left two people shot dead by the Fulani pastoralists. The attack launched by the Fulani herdsmen rendered 3,500 people homeless. No one could enter the community for fear of being killed. Women were helplessly afraid of going to their farms either for fear of being raped or being killed. In the same vein, in November 2017, a Fulani herdsman was beheaded during a clash with farmers in Ugala, Yala Local Government Area of Cross River State, 5 persons were killed and over 150 residents fled their homes. Some indigenes of Igbo Ekureku, Adadama and Itigidi in Abi Local Government have repeatedly complained about the destruction of their crops by some Fulani herdsmen.<sup>42</sup>

Additionally, on the January 21, 2018 hundreds of youths in Okuku, in Yala Local Government Area of Cross River State repelled attack by armed men suspected to be Fulani herdsmen on their communities.<sup>43</sup> The incessant attacks on communities sharing boundary with Benue State led to the organisation of a peaceful resolution led by Governor Ben Ayade on the 3rd of January 2018. This peaceful dialogue and resolution were held between two parties: the aggrieved Ugaga community, in Yala LGA of Cross River State and Fulani Herdsmen over the conflict between the parties that took place last year. The meeting was represented by their various lawyers; Barrister Godwin Offiono, Esq. the legal counsel for the Ugaga community and Barrister Garus Gololo counsel for cattle traders association of Nigeria respectively.<sup>44</sup> There has been a long time history that has bounded the stay of

<sup>38</sup>[https://ng.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/03/super\\_highway\\_fact\\_sheet\\_01june.pdf](https://ng.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/03/super_highway_fact_sheet_01june.pdf). [accessed 24 June 2018]

<sup>39</sup> Nigeria Galleria 2017. [https://www.nigeriagalleria.com/Nigeria/States\\_Nigeria/Cross-River/Brief-History-of-Cross-River-State.html](https://www.nigeriagalleria.com/Nigeria/States_Nigeria/Cross-River/Brief-History-of-Cross-River-State.html) [accessed 24 June 2018]

<sup>40</sup> 2016 Strategic Conflict Assessment of Nigeria: Consolidated and Zonal Reports. *Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Abuja*. Pages 268-391. [www.ng.undp.org>nigeria>docs>gov](http://www.ng.undp.org>nigeria>docs>gov) [accessed 27 Oct. 2018]

<sup>41</sup> Nicholas, Kalu. "Fulani herdsmen kill 10 in Cross River." *TheNation*. Online. April 1, 2017 <http://thenationonlineng.net/fulani-herdsmen-kill-10-cross-river/> [accessed 5 July 2018]

<sup>42</sup> EvalRexson. "The Journey of Fulani herdsmen from Benue into Cross River." *Calabar Reporters*. Online. January 11, 2018 <https://calabarreporters.com/31398/fulani-herdsmen-benue-crs> [accessed 5 July 2018]

<sup>43</sup> Edem, Edem. "Fulani killings: How Cross River youths repelled alleged attack by herdsmen." *Daily Post*. Online. January 22, 2018 <http://dailypost.ng/2018/01/22/fulani-killings-cross-river-youths-repelled-alleged-attack-herdsmen/> [accessed 5 July 2018]

<sup>44</sup> Staff Writer. "Cross River Community, Fulani Herdsmen holds peaceful resolution." *Calabar Reporters*. Online. January 4, 2018. <https://calabarreporters.com/31270/crs-community-fulani-herdsmen> [accessed 5 July 2018]

Fulani's in Ugaga land without chaos except for in recent times when complains of having insufficient space for grazing their cattle cropped up. Afterwards, a peace bond was written and signed by both parties' legal representatives with various witnesses which was then copied to the appropriate government authorities. Also, in February 12, 2018 in Itigidi community of Abi local government area of Cross River State, there was a clash between the Fulani herdsmen and residents of the community which led to the death of a mortician and an All Progressives Congress, APC Councillorship aspirant. The reason for the clash was that some cows belonging to Fulani herdsmen were killed.<sup>45</sup> This clearly distinguishes the level of priority attached to the life of a cow over humans

### **Presentation of Data on Cross River**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LG</b>	<b>Communit y</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>Injured/di splaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
April 2, 2017	Odukpani	Obio Usiere, Eniong Abatim	10	3, 500 Displaced	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>46</sup>
Nov. 8, 2017	Yala	Ugala	1	Nil	Islam - a Muslim herder was beheaded	Christian youths <sup>47</sup>
Dec. 7, 2017	Odukpani	Ito South	Nil	200 families displaced	Christians	Herdsmen invaded the community with cows <sup>48</sup>
Jan. 20, 2018	Yala	Okuku	Nil	Nil	Christians were targets but community youths repelled attack	Herdsmen <sup>49</sup>
Feb. 13, 2018	Abi	Itigidi	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Staff Writer. "Fulani Herdsmen clash with Cross River community, allegedly kill APC Councillorship aspirant." *Calabar Reporters*. February 13, 2018. <https://calabarreporters.com/31943/herdsmen-kills-apc-aspirant> [accessed 5 July 2018]

<sup>46</sup> Anietie Akpan, 2018. Herdsmen attack Leaves 10 dead, 3500 homeless in Cross River, April 2, 2018

<sup>47</sup> Punch News, 2017. Herdsmen demand head, body parts of Slain Colleague, November 8, 2017.

<sup>48</sup> Ike Uchechukwu, 2017. Herdsmen Sack 200 families in Cross river, Punch News, December 7, 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Daily post, 2018. Fulani killings: How Cross River youths repelled alleged attack by herdsmen, January 22, 2018.

<sup>50</sup> Calabar Reporters, 2018. Fulani Herdsmen clash with Cross River community, allegedly kill APC Councillorship aspirant, February 13, 2018.

**Edo State:** Edo state is made up of four major ethnic groups; namely Edo (Binis), Esan, Owan and Etsako, with a population of almost 8 Million people. However, it has a high presence of residents from across the country and the world because of its cosmopolitan nature and tenancies. Benin City, the capital has a history of being one of the foremost destinations of Europeans during their exploration of the African continent many centuries ago. Some of the flash points have remained enviable tourists' attractions for the state. The Mid-Western Region was a division of Nigeria from 1963 to 1991, formally known as Bendel state from 1976. It was formed in June 1963 from Benin and Delta provinces of the Western Region, and its capital was Benin City. It was renamed a province in 1966, and in 1967 when the other provinces were split up into several states, it remained territorially intact, becoming a state. From the foregoing historical purview of Edo state, it can be deduced that farmers-herders conflict is spurred basically because of the richness in land and favorable weather conditions as compared to the North from which the Fulanis come from. Thus, the data below shows the expansion of the conflict in the state where 36 people, as shown in the table were reported to have been killed.

### **Overview of Herder-Farmer Conflict in Edo State**

The types of conflicts prominent in Edo state are mainly not attributed to farmer-herder causes. The very few cases have been recorded within the span of 2 years (2016-2018). It is evident from the 'religion column' that is presented below that majority of the people killed were Christians. Furthermore, there is likelihood that the religion of the people who remained unidentified could also be Christians since the state under investigation is a Christian dominated state. However, this research is concentrated on herder-farmer conflict mainly.

It is important to point out that this research is both quantitative and qualitative. Through methodologies such as personal interviews, telephone interviews, group discussions, online news, journals, statistical analysis and representations in newspapers and on documentaries, data was collected. The research dwells on certain specific objectives such as the number of deaths recorded with respect to the exact or near exact statistics, degree of casualty and properties destroyed.

### **Data Presentation on Edo State**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>Communities</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>Injury/Displaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>March 17, 2017</b>	Iguevbihobo	Benin Auchu	1	<b>15 people were kidnapped</b>	Christian	Herdsman <sup>51</sup>
<b>Sept. 2, 2017</b>	Orhionmwon	Efosa Omoregie, in Oben community,	1	nil	CHRISTIAN	Herdsman <sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> <https://ateutyoshin.wordpress.com/2017/03/17/herdsmen-kill-ex-edo-lg-boss-kidnap-15-travellers-in-edo/>

<sup>52</sup> Punch News, 2017. Suspected Herdsmen killed father of 12 in Edo, September 2, 2017.

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Jan. 11, 2018.	Akoko Edo	Ojah	Nil	1 injured (his hand cut off)	Christian	Herdsmen
Jan. 17, 2018	Akoko Edo	Igarra	Nil	3 miners kidpanned	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>53</sup>
Jan. 24, 2018	Okada - Benin	Okada	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>54</sup>
Jan. 29, 2018	Akoko Edo	Igarra	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen
	Orhionmwe	Oben	1		Christians	Herdsmen
Feb. 12, 2018.	Ovia South West	Ofunwengbe	Nil	1 woman was injured with machetes	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>55</sup>
March 17, 2018	Ugboha	Esan south	5	12	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>56</sup>
August 1, 2018	Ubuneke-Ivbiaro	Owan	Nil	1 Injured	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Funali Herdsmen Kidnapped 3 miners attacked other persons in Edo, <https://tracereport.com.ng/2018/01/17/edo-fulani-herdsmen-kidnapped-3-miners-attacked-other-persons-in-akoko-edo-lga/>

<sup>54</sup> 34-yr-old Doctor Killed by Fulani Herdsmen in Okada-benin, <http://www.naijaloaded.com.ng/news/34-yr-old-doctor-killed-fulani-herdsmen-okada-benin-photo>

<sup>55</sup> Fulani Herdsmen attack a Christian Woman on her farm in Edo. <https://www.lindaikejisblog.com/2018/2/fulani-herdsmen-attack-a-woman-and-her-daughter-on-her-farm-in-edo-state-graphic-photos.html>.

<sup>56</sup> Daily Post, AAU student, four others killed as herdsmen attack Edo community, March 17, 2018.

<sup>57</sup> Sunnews 2018. Suspected Herdsmen Attack Farmer in Edo. <http://sunnewsonline.com/suspected-herdsmen-attack-farmer-in-edo/>

**Ekiti State:** Ekiti is a state in western Nigeria, declared a state on 1st of October 1996 alongside five other states in the country by the military under the dictatorship of General Sani Abacha. As one of the newest states of the Nigerian federation, it was carved out of the territory of old Ondo State, and covers the former 12 local government areas that made up the Ekiti Zone of old Ondo State. On creation, it had 16 Local Government Areas (LGAs), namely: Ado- Ekiti, Ikere, Oye, Aiyekere, Efon, Ekiti East, Ekiti South West, Ekiti West, Emure, Odo-Osi, Ijero, Ikole, Ilejemeje, Irepodun/Ifelodun, Ise/Orun and Moba. Having had an additional four carved out of the old ones,<sup>58</sup> Ekiti State is one of the 36 states that constitute Nigeria and is reputed to have produced the highest number of professors in the country. With a single town in Ekiti State, Okemesi, reputed to have over 30 professors, several pioneer academics also hail from the state, including Adegoke Olubummo (one of the first Nigerian professors in the field of mathematics) and Ekundayo Adeyinka Adeyemi (first Professor of Architecture in Africa, south of the Sahara). Other professors from the state include J. F. Ade Ajayi, Niyi Osundare, Sam Aluko and Prof A. A. Agboola.

Historically, the Ekitis are among the aboriginal elements of the Nigeria absorbed by the invaders from the East (Yoruba people from Ile Ife). The term *Ekiti* denotes a "Mound" and is derived from the rugged mountainous feature of that part of the country. It is an extensive province and well watered, including several tribes and families right on to the border of Niger State, eastward. They hold themselves quite distinct from the Ijesas, especially in political affair. It is believed that the ancestors of Ekiti people who came to combine with the aboriginal people on the land migrated from Ile Ife, the spiritual home of the Yoruba people. According to oral and contemporary written sources of Yoruba history, Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yoruba traveled to Ife [Ife Ooyelagbo] where he met people who were already settled there. Among the elders he met in the town were Agbonniregun [Stetillu, Obatala, Orelure, Obameri, Elesije, Obamirin, Obalejugbe just to mention a few. It is known that descendants of Agbonniregun [Baba Ifa] settled in Ekiti, examples being the Alara and Ajero who are sons of Ifa. Orunmila (Agbonniregun) himself spent a greater part of his life at Ado. Due to this, we have the saying 'Ado ni ile Ifa' (Ado is the home of Ifa). The Ekiti have ever since settled in their present location. The early Ekiti is divided into 16 districts.

The State is mainly an upland zone, rising over 250 meters above sea level. It lies on an area underlain by metamorphic rock. It is generally an undulating part of the country with a characteristic landscape that consists of old plains broken by step-sided out-crops that may occur singularly or in groups or ridges. Such rocks out-crops exist mainly at Aramoko, Efon-Alaiye, Ikere-Ekiti, Igbara-odo- ekiti and Okemesi-Ekiti. The State is dotted with rugged hills, notable ones being Ikere-Ekiti Hills in the south, Efon-Alaiye Hills on the western boundary and Ado-Ekiti Hills in the centre. There are two major schools of thought regarding Ekiti History.

Ekiti was an independent state prior to the British conquest. It was one of the many Yoruba states in what is today Nigeria. The Ekiti people as a nation and districts of Yoruba race trace some of her progeny to Oduduwa, the father and progenitor of Yoruba race even though good reason appear to establish the existence of aboriginal people in Ekiti region prior to influx of royalty from present day Ile Ife as that kingdom grew and abound. With the historical, political, educational and

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<sup>58</sup>History of Ekiti State: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ekiti\\_State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ekiti_State) Retrieved on July, 2018

economic over view of Ekiti state, the nature of the conflict could be analyzed from the economic, climatic, geographic as well as religious point of view. While the conflict is open to so many interpretations, the spread of the conflict to states like Ekiti and other southern states is an indication of the spread of the conflict.

### **Overview of Herder-Farmer Conflict in Ekiti State**

The nature of the farmer-herders conflict in over the years has been a problem the state government continues to grapple with. Generally, some scholars attribute the conflict in Ekiti state as a problem of land encroachment by the Fulani hersmen on the natives of the state. This could be true in one hand as the Fulani herdsmen are pastoralist, travelling from place to place in search of food for their cattle. On the other hand, some political analysts tie the conflict as politically motivated as Fulani herdsmen are seen to be holding sophisticated weapons. However, as this conflict is an emerging conflict in the state, there are concerns that indeed this attacks politically motivated. The conflict, the term suggests appears not to be a conflict in real sense, because most often, Fulani herders attack indigenes in their homes at night, while asleep.

On the issue of the role of the social media, Governor Ayodele Fayose of Ekiti state laments on how the attacks by herdsmen in Ekiti are underreported. He further perceives that although there are economic, social and political dimensions, the religious dimension seems to be more pivotal to the herdsmen in their attacks. He calls for the federal government intervention thus: “I’m calling on the federal government to be firm, when actions are taken against these mindless individuals, this killing will stop. It is because they are taking it like family affairs; this is not in the interest of Nigeria. Ordinary Nigerians can’t carry AK47 or pump action”<sup>59</sup> The data below could be viewed in two perspectives: One, that the herdsmen-farmers conflict in Ekiti state is not well pronounced because it appears to be in its emerging state. Second, that the lamentation of under-reported cases of the conflict appears to be true as there is limited information to the casualties as well as the narrative of the conflict.

### **Presentation of Data**

Date	LGA	Communi ty	No. Killed	Injured/Di splaced	Religion	Attackers
Feb. 11, 2017	Oye	Orisunmiba re	1	Nil	Muslim	Yoruba militia <sup>60</sup>
Jan. 17, 2018	Ikole	Oke Ako	1	Nil	Muslim	Yoruba Militia (Christians) <sup>61</sup>
Feb. 12, 2018	Ikole	Ipao Ekiti	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>62</sup>
Jan. 18, 2018	Ido/Oso	Orin	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Josiah Oluwole, 2018. ‘Fayose asks Ekiti herdsmen to register with N5,000’. Premium Times.

<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/256254-fayose-asks-ekiti-herdsmen-register-n5000.html>

<sup>60</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/02/tension-ekiti-community-herdsman-beheaded/>

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/255904-herdsman-killed-ekiti-fayose-summons-peace-meeting.html>

<sup>62</sup> Josiah Oluwole, 2018. Suspected armed herdsmen murder Ekiti farmer, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/258311-suspected-armed-herdsmen-murder-ekiti-farmer.html>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/suspected-herdsmen-strike-ekiti-kill-pregnant-woman/>

**Enugu State:** Enugu State, also called the Coal-City State or Wawa State, was created vide a military decree on the 27th of August 1991. The creation of the State by the then military Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida, was as a result of years of agitation, as well as complaints of injustice and marginalization by the Wawa leaders and people. However, the transformation of Enugu State and Wawa people did not stop here, as Ebonyi State was later carved out of the State in 1996.<sup>64</sup> The name of the state derives from its capital city, Enugu. The word ‘Enugu’ (from *Enu Ugwu*) means ‘the top of the hill’. The first European settlers arrived in the area in 1909, led by a British mining engineer named Albert Kitson. In his quest for silver, he discovered coal in the Udi Ridge. The Colonial Governor of Nigeria Frederick Lugard took a keen interest in the discovery, and by 1914 the first shipment of coal was made to Britain. As mining activities increased in the area, a permanent cosmopolitan settlement emerged, supported by a railway system. Enugu acquired township status in 1917 and became strategic to British interests. Foreign businesses began to move into Enugu, the most notable of which were John Holt, Kingsway Stores, the British Bank of West Africa and the United Africa Company.<sup>65</sup>

Enugu State has a good soil-land and climatic condition all year round which highly supports farming and other agricultural activities. Economically, Enugu is predominantly agrarian. In other words, most of the population in the state is engaged in farming with little trading and civil service activities. In urban centres like Enugu city and Nsukka, trading is the dominant occupation, followed by civil service. In Oji, Enugu city, Ohebedim and Nsukka, manufacturing activities are proportionally practiced. The grain market located in OrieOrba in the state which draws and plays host to most farmers from Kogi, Nassarawa, and some Northern states such as Plateau. This shows the richness in agricultural practices of Enugu state.

The description of Enugu state shows how agriculturally, economically, and educationally buoyant it is. This perhaps gives reasons to why Fulani migration to the state is on the rise. Therefore, the issues of migration, the quest to extend Hausa-Fulani dominance to the east, as well as the search for greener pasture by Fulani pastoralist are prominent among other factors leading to the conflict in the state.

### **Presentation of Data on Enugu**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>Injury/Displaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>April 4, 2018</b>	Aninri	1	Nil	<b>Christian</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>66</sup></b>
<b>April 7, 2018</b>	Nkaun East	Nil	<b>1 Herdsman arrested with AK 47 planning an attack</b>	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Herdsmen</b>

<sup>64</sup> History of Ekiti State [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enugu\\_State](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enugu_State) Retrieved on July, 2018

<sup>65</sup><https://www.enugustate.gov.ng/index.php/elements-devices/> Retrieved on July, 2018

<sup>66</sup> Herdsmen Attack Guard in Enugu. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsmen-attack-guard-enugu/>

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<b>April 26, 2018</b>	<b>Uzo-Uwani</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen.<sup>67</sup></b>
<b>August 27, 2018</b>	<b>Nkanu West</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>CHristians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>68</sup></b>
<b>August 28, 2018</b>	<b>Uzo-Uwani</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>69</sup></b>
<b>Sept. 14, 2018</b>	<b>Ogbunka, Orumba South</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>Attack - a family of more than 9 seriously injured</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>70</sup></b>

<sup>67</sup> Fulani Herdsmen kill 20, raze Church in Enugu Community, <https://punchng.com/fulani-herdsmen-kill-20-raze-church-in-enugu-community/>

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Contact in Atakwu, a Christian Community in Enugu State, August 30, 2018.

<sup>69</sup> 48 Villagers feared Dead as Herdsmen invade Enugu Community, <https://www.nationalnetworkonline.com/vol13no17/48Villagers.html>

<sup>70</sup> Suspected Fulani Herdsmen Storm Enugu, Attack Family, Kidnap Daughter, <https://www.nigerianbulletin.com/threads/suspected-fulani-herdsmen-storm-enugu-attack-family-kidnap-daughter-oriental-daily-news.342596/>



**Kaduna:** Kaduna State is located at the northern part of Nigeria's high plains. The history of Kaduna dates back to the period before 1912 when Lord Frederick Lugard selected it as the capital of the Northern Protectorate. The journey to Kaduna becoming the capital started in 1900 when Lugard was appointed the High Commissioner of the Northern Protectorate. At the time, Lokoja, a town at the confluence of the Rivers Niger and Benue, was the center of British missionary activities and trade. It also served as the headquarters of the British military expeditions in the North. The British colonial authority led by Lugard first settled in Lokoja as the regional capital from where to continue the conquest of the region<sup>71</sup>.

By 1902, just 2 years on, Lugard moved the capital to Jebba, located farther upstream of the River Niger. After a few months, the capital was again moved a little farther upstream, to Zungeru with the desire that it would become the permanent capital of the Northern Protectorate. After some time, Lugard began to doubt the wisdom in the choice of Zungeru as the capital given the vastness of the Northern Protectorate which had just been pacified into accepting colonial rule in 1906. As such, he began the search for a more centralized and accessible location within the region as Zungeru was becoming increasingly unsuitable in administrative and logistic terms. The search came to an end at a place on the Zaria plains, close to the historic city of Zaria and approximately in the center of the Northern Region. Kaduna was preferred as the ultimate capital not only because of its centrality and greater accessibility to the rest of the region, but also because the Zaria plains on which it is located happen to be well served by River Kaduna, from which the city derived its name and River Gurara, both major tributaries of the mighty River Niger. The name River Kaduna is derived from "Kadduna", the plural for crocodile in the local Hausa language<sup>72</sup>. The river was so called because it had a large population of crocodiles back then. Aside having a central location within the region, good access and abundant water supply, the location chosen for the establishment of the new capital also possessed a clement environment.

Kaduna State is divided into 23 local government areas and they are: Birnin Gwari, Chikun, Giwa, Igabi, Ikala, Jaba, Jema'a, Kachia, Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Kagarko, Kajuru, Kaura, Kauru, Kubau, Kudan, Lere, Makarfi, Sabon Gari, Sanga, Soba, Zangon Kataf, Zaria. In addition, Kaduna State is a multi-cultural and multi ethnic state populated by over 60 different ethnic groups with Hausa/Fulani and Gbagyi as the dominant ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups include: Adara (dubbed Kadara), Akurmi (labelled Kurama by the Hausa), Anghan, Amo, Aruruma (named Ruruma by the Hausa), Atachaat (dubbed Kachechere), Atuku, Atyab (dubbed Kataf by the Hausa), Ayu, Bajju, Bakulu (Ikulu by the Hausa), Bazar (named Koro), Bur (Sanga), Binawa, Dingi, Fantswan, Fulfulde, Gbagyi (Gwari in Hausa), Gure, Gwandara, Gwong, (Kagoma in Hausa), Ham (dubbed Jaba in Hausa), Hausa, Jangi (Gwari), Kaibi, Kahugu, Kanufi, Kigono, Kinugu, Kitimi, Kiwafa, Kiwollo, Kono, Kuvori (Sarubu), Kuturmi, Lemoro, Mada (Mardan), Nandu, Nduyah, Numana, Nindem, Ningeshe, Ninkyop, Ninzo, Nyenkpa, Oegworok, Pikal, Pitti, Ribang, Rishuwa, Rumada, Ruruma, Rumayya, Shemawa, Shilio (dubbed Marwa), Siyawa, Takad, Tarri, Tsam (Chawai), Tuku.<sup>73</sup>

Specifically, Southern Kaduna has been the most susceptible area that has suffered both ethno-religious and Herdsmen/Farmers conflicts claiming thousands of lives and properties. The term

<sup>71</sup> Falola, Toyin, & Matthew Heaton. *A History of Nigeria*. Cambridge University Press (2008).

<sup>72</sup> Haruna, Musa. *A brief history of Kaduna: The city of crocodiles. People and Politics* (2012). <http://www.gamji.com/haruna/haruna251.htm>  
Retrieved 26 October 2018

<sup>73</sup> [creativearts.kdsg.gov.ng/brief-history-of-kaduna-state/](http://creativearts.kdsg.gov.ng/brief-history-of-kaduna-state/)

“Southern Kaduna” emerged as a socio-political identity capturing the struggle against the Muslim Hausa-Fulani dominion, particularly in reference to religion, politics and culture. The geographical entity and region of Southern Kaduna is considered to be unique, large with fertile environment and conducive for arable and livestock farming. Hence, the natural resources available in this region is said to be the major cause for its contestation till date.

### **Overview of Conflicts in Kaduna State**

Kaduna State has experienced various forms of conflicts since the early 1970s. However, Southern Kaduna has become the threshold for violent, hideous attacks and massive killings perpetrated especially in the years 1987, 1992, 2000, 2011, 2016, 2017 and 2018. The most recent conflict in Southern Kaduna occurred in May 2016 where indigenous farmers were attacked by Fulani herdsmen. The resultant effect of this attack led to the loss of both lives and properties as well as the displacement of affected victims. From 2016 till date, some parts of Southern Kaduna still suffers major and hideous attacks on local farmers and the loss of lives and properties remains on the increase. Reportedly, on 29<sup>th</sup> May 2018, suspected cattle rustlers killed 8 villagers and carted away over 80 cows in Kurega village of Chikun local government area of Southern Kaduna. This community shares boundary with Birnin Gwari local government area. An incidence that took place around 2pm captures the cattle rustlers shooting sporadically at his victims. Additionally, 31 persons were kidnapped on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2018 in Birnin Gwari local government area of Kaduna State.<sup>74</sup>

Recently, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 2018 there was an ethno-religious conflict in Kasuwan Magani community of Chikun LGA where over 56 people were reported to have been killed. This conflict ignited a reprisal attack in Sabo, Narayi and other parts of Kaduna metropolis. As a result, 3 youths of Narayi were killed on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 2018 by armed gun men dressed in military uniforms while they were watch-guarding their community (Narayi) in the night during the 24hours curfew imposed by the State Government. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 2018, early hours of the morning, the lifeless body of the Royal Father of Agom Adara Chiefdom Dr. Maiwada Galadima was discovered along the major road of the community after he was kidnapped and killed by his captors.

### **Presentation of Data on Kaduna State**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>Communit y</b>	<b>No. Kille d</b>	<b>Injured/Displace d</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>Jan. 13, 2018</b>	<b>Birnin Gwari</b>	<b>Birnin Gwari</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>75</sup></b>

<sup>74</sup> Nurudeen, Lawal. “Suspected Cattle Rustlers reportedly kill 8 Villagers in Kaduna.” *Naija News*. 29 May 2018. Online. <https://www.naija.ng/1172306-suspected-cattle-rustlers-reportedly-kill-8-villagers-kaduna.html#1172306>

<sup>75</sup> 10 locals attacked and killed in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/255436-many-killed-fresh-attacks-kaduna-communities.html>)

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Jan. 31, 2018		Jema'a	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsman <sup>76</sup>
Jan. 31, 2018	Birnin Gwari	Birnin Gwari	9	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>77</sup>
Feb. 11, 2018		Jema'a	4	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>78</sup>
Feb. 26, 2018	Kajuru	Kajuru	12	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>79</sup>
March 20, 2018	Birnin Gwari	Birnin Gwari	11	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen/Bandits <sup>80</sup>
March 30, 2018		Jema'a	6	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>81</sup>
April 4, 2018		Chikun	6	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>82</sup>
April 12, 2018	Birnin Gwari	Birnin Gwari	2	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>83</sup>
May 29, 2018	Chikun	Kurega	8	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>84</sup>
May 21- 22, 2018		Birnin Gwari		31 Kidnapped	Christian s	Herdsmen

<sup>76</sup> Gunmen assassinate a politician in Jema'a, Kaduna <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/gunmen-assassinate-kaduna-politician/>

<sup>77</sup> Herdsmen KILL 9 in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna (Source; <http://saharareporters.com/2018/02/01/suspected-fulani-herdsmen-kill-9-kaduna>)

<sup>78</sup> 4 killed in Jema'a, Kaduna (Source <http://punchng.com/suspected-fulani-herdsmen-kill-four-in-kaduna-village/>)

<sup>79</sup> Worship center torched and 12 killed in Kajuru, Kaduna (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/nwest/260055-kaduna-violence-death-toll-12-police.html> ...)

<sup>80</sup> 11 soldiers killed in Birnin Gwari (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/262528-11-soldiers-feared-killed-as-bandits-attack-nigerian-military-base.html>)

<sup>81</sup> Gunmen in army uniform KILL 6 in Jema'a, Kaduna (source <http://punchng.com/gunmen-in-army-uniforms-kill-six-injure-four-in-kaduna/>)

<sup>82</sup> Attack on Chikun, Kaduna. 6 killed. (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/264136-breaking-village-head-five-others-killed-as-armed-persons-attack-kaduna-community.html>)

<sup>83</sup> Gunmen KILL 2 policemen in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/264853-armed-men-kill-police-officer-kidnap-transporters-in-kaduna.html>)

<sup>84</sup> Interview in Kurega, Chikun LGA, May 30, 2018.

*Herder-Farmer Clashes in Nigeria, Report 2018*

October 18, 2018	Chikun	Kasuwan Magani	56	2000 displaced	Christians	Herdsmen
October 21, 2018	Narayai	Chikun	3	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
October 26	Kaduna -Abuja Road	Chikun	1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen/Bandits

**Kogi State:** Kogi is a state in the central region of Nigeria. It is popularly called the Confluence State because the confluence of River Niger and River Benue is at its capital, Lokoja, which is the first administrative capital of modern-day Nigeria. Agriculture is a main part of the economy, and the state also has coal, steel and other mineral industries. The main ethnic groups are Igala, Ebira, and Okun. It is one of the states located in the central region of Nigeria, created in 1991 from parts of Kwara and Benue states. The state is popularly known as the Confluence State (because the confluence of rivers Niger and Benue is at Lokoja its capital). The state has 21 local governments among which are Adavi, Ijumu, Kabba, Ofu Okehi Lokoja to mention a few. With a population of 186,939,800 (projected population 2015), agriculture is the mainstay of the state's economy where cash and food crops such as coffee, cocoa, palm oil, groundnuts, maize, cassava, yam etc are cultivated. The climate in the state as well as the confluence in Lokoja state capital plays a vital role in boasting agriculture. Mineral resources such as coal, limestone, iron and tin are also found in the state. There are basically three main ethnic groups in the state: Igala, Ebira and Okun with other ethnic groups such as Bassa-Nge Magongo, Ogori, Oworo and Idoma. It is a historical record that there was a major ethnic clash in the 19<sup>th</sup> century between the Okun and the Nupe.

There are three main ethnic groups and languages in Kogi: Igala, Ebira, and Okun (a Yoruba Group) with other such as Bassa-Nge, a people of Nupe extraction in Lokoja and Bassa Local Government Area, Bassa-Komo of Bassa Local Government Area, Gwari, Kakanda, Oworo people (A Yoruba Group), Ogori, Magongo, Idoma and the Eggan community under Lokoja Local Government. The state comprise of 21 local governments areas namely: Adavi, Ajaokuta, Ankpa, Bassa, Dekina, Ibaji, Idah, Igalamela-Odolu, IjumuKabba/Bunu, Koton Karfe, Lokoja, Mopa-Muro, OfuOgori/Magongo, Okehi, Okene, Olamaboro, Omala, Yagba East and Yagba West.

### **Overview of the Conflict in Kogi State**

As suggested by critical opinion, one agenda of the Fulani conflict is the attempt for land grappling. Because the weather and the rich water bodies in the state are favorable for pastoral farming, the Fulani in an attempt to contest over these lands recourse to violent reaction. Other tie the conflict to the search for favorable weather condition and greener pasture, thus the conflict in Kogi state is as a result of climate change. This narrative all points to the fact that the herdsman-farmers conflict is becoming widespread. Furthermore, it was reported on the 12<sup>th</sup> November 2015 that no fewer than 22 persons (with scores missing), including women and children were feared killed when suspected Fulani herdsman attacked nine communities (Agojeju, Ikpoba, Ojeh, Ajomojayi, Idochi, Ojiyanawo, Ulaja and Oganigu communities) in Dekina Local Government Area of Kogi State<sup>85</sup>. There is a similar unfortunate story in Share, the headquarters of Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara, where suspected gunmen believed to be herdsman have killed five farmers (men) from Tsharagi.<sup>86</sup> Reports have shown that there is yet identification of what led to the attack; however, the cause of the attack was attributed to contestation of land.

The attack by Fulani herdsman in Oke-Ako community in Ikole Local Government Area on May 22, 2016 that left two persons dead<sup>87</sup> further reveals the speculation that perhaps there is a terrorist

<sup>85</sup> Adamu Abuh, 2015 'Suspected Fulani Herdsman Kill 22, Sack Kogi Community', The Guardian News <http://www.guardain.ng/news/suspected-fulani-herdsmen-kill-22-sack-kogi-communities/> accessed 22 November 2017.

<sup>86</sup> 'Suspected Herdsman Kill Five in Share, Kwara State' 2016. Channels Television News. <http://www.channelstv.com/2016/08/030/suspected-herdsmen-kill-five-in-share-kwara-state/>

<sup>87</sup> Odunayo Ogunmola, 2016 'Two killed as Herdsman attack Ekiti Community' The Nation Online News. <http://www.thenationonlineng.net/Fulani-herdsmen-kill-two-ekiti-community> accessed November 22, 2017

group like Boko Haram hiding under the guise of Fulani herders. As reported, a resident of the community anonymously comments “We have been co-habiting peacefully with Fulani herdsmen for long. We didn’t know when things went awry”. In the light of this, Dimelu (2017) corroborates that it is widespread in the country and has been on the increase in recent times. The spread of the herdsmen attacks is implicitly expressed with the occasion several violent activities carried of Kogi state.

### **Presentation of Data on Kogi State**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>Community</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>Injured/Displaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>Dec. 10, 2017</b>	<b>Omala</b>	<b>Figi East and West</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>88</sup></b>
<b>March 16, 2018</b>	<b>Dekina &amp; Omala</b>		<b>32</b>	<b>20 houses burnt</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>89</sup></b>
<b>March 19, 2018</b>	<b>Omala</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>Nil</b>	<b>Christians (however, the traditional ruler is Christian)</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>90</sup></b>
<b>March 19, 2018</b>	<b>Omala</b>	<b>Agbenema</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30 houses burnt</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>91</sup></b>
<b>May 15, 2018</b>	<b>Ijumu</b>	<b>Ido-Gbede</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>nil</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>Herdsmen<sup>92</sup></b>

<sup>88</sup> Herdsmen invade Kogi Community Kill 10 farmers. <https://punchng.com/herdsmen-invade-kogi-community-kill-10-farmers/>

<sup>89</sup> **Fulani herdsmen kill 32 in Kogi State attack | The Guardian Nigeria ...**  
<https://guardian.ng/news/fulani-herdsmen-kill-32-in-kogi-state-attack/>

<sup>90</sup> Breaking: Herdsmen Renew Attack in Kogi, Kill traditional rulers and 9 others. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/breaking-herdsmen-renew-attack-kogi-kill-traditional-rulers-9-others/>

<sup>91</sup> Scores killed, houses burnt as herdsmen attack Kogi community, <http://dailypost.ng/2018/03/19/scores-killed-houses-burnt-herdsmen-attack-kogi-community/>

<sup>92</sup> 10 Killed as Suspected Herdsmen Attack Two Communities in Kogi, <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/05/15/10-killed-as-suspected-herdsmen-attack-two-communities-in-kogi/>

**Nasarawa State:** Before independence, Nasarawa was part of the Northern Region in the three-region structure of 1954. After independence in 1960, the military coups of January and July 1966<sup>93</sup> ushered in the administration of Yakubu Gowon, a native of the Middle Belt region whose authority was rejected by General Odimegwu Ojukwu, the then governor of the Eastern Region, on the grounds of seniority.<sup>94</sup> However, ethnic sentiments coupled with other factors plunged Nigeria into civil war.<sup>95</sup> Gowon, a young general, barely 34 years of age and from a minority Christian tribe in Plateau State, dismantled the three regions established by the colonial administration in 1967. He created twelve states of the three regions, one of which was the Benue-Plateau state, reducing the influence of the Hausa-Fulani Muslim hegemony over indigenous tribal communities in the Middle Belt region. The 1976 military government of General Murtala Muhammed created 19 states out of the existing 12 federal states and the Nasarawa region became part of Plateau State, a predominantly Christian state.<sup>96</sup> In 1996, intense military politics led to the creation of more states by General Sani Abacha, and Nasarawa State was carved out of the present Plateau State.

Nasarawa State is made up of 13 Local Government Areas (LGAs): Akwanga, Awe, Doma, Karu, Keana, Keffi, Kokona, Lafia, Nasarawa, Nasarawa-Eggon, Obi, Toto and Wamba. By 2003 Governor Abdullahi Adamu created 16 Development Areas (DAs) related to the local government system. The development areas created were: Agidi, Agwada, Akun, Akwanga West, Azara, Ekye, Farin-Ruwa, Gadabuke, Giza, Jenkwe, Karshi, Lafia-East, Lafia-North, Loko, Panda and Udege. Tanko Al-Makura, the current governor, created 2 more DAs, Daddere and Umaisha in 2014.

### **Overview of the Herder-Farmer Conflict in Nasarawa State**

In Nasarawa State, the violent conflict is between non-state actors, aided by government policy of deliberately targeting one community based on ethno religious considerations. In this context therefore, the sources of persecution refer to the factors that influence the persecution and discrimination against other groups. Based on data collected in this study, the dominant factor for the persecution of Christians in Nasarawa State is religion as linked to Islamic supremacy. This is reflected in other areas including socioeconomic policies, inequality within traditional institutions and marginalization in the distribution of political power and privileges. There are several instances where indigenes of Nasarawa states are being attacked by herdsmen at their residence. This has raised a lot of questions concerning the nature of the conflict. For example, on April 16, 2018, a group of people expected to be Fulani herdsmen launched an attack on southern senatorial district of the state. This attack saw to the simultaneous attacks on some communities notably, Keana, Awe and Doma, living about 32 persons dead and 19 others injured. To this effect, many view the existing conflict in the state beyond clash as a result of land encroachment by the Fulani. This is in the sense that Fulani herdsmen are seen to be the ones attacking the host communities at their resistances<sup>97</sup>. While some scholars directly link the conflict in Nasarawa State to the population explosion, economic pressure and contestation over economic opportunities, some, using the 1997-1998 conflict in Toto LGA, argue that conflicts in Nasarawa State are related to ethnic identity and the desire to preserve the ethnic homeland and heritage.

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<sup>93</sup> Nnoli, Okwudiba, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria*, 1995, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, p. 131.

<sup>94</sup> Luckman, R., *The Nigerian Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority and Revolt, 1960-1967*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 269-270. <sup>11</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Nnoli, 1995:131.

<sup>96</sup> Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Report on Revenues, Deductions, and Analysis of Disbursement and Utilization of Funds of Selected State Governments 2007 - 2011 - Nasarawa State, p.3.

<sup>97</sup> <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/fresh-herdsmen-attack-claims-32-lives-nasarawa/>

**Presentation of Data on Nasarawa State**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>No. killed</b>	<b>Injured/Displaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attacker</b>
Jan. 1, 2018	Awe	2	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>98</sup>
Jan. 1, 2018	Keana	25	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>99</sup>
Jan. 29, 2018	Keana	7	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>100</sup>
Feb. 6, 2018	Obi	6	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>101</sup>
March 18 - 24, 2018	Doma	126	100	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>102</sup>
April 8, 2018	Obi	5	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>103</sup>
April 8, 2018	Keana	4	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>104</sup>
April 14, 2018	Obi	78	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>105</sup>
April 25, 2018	Awe	7	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen. <sup>106</sup>
May 16, 2018	Jenkwe	145	Nil	Christians	Suspected Herdsmen <sup>107</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Two Nasarawa farmers killed in Awe, Nasarawa. <http://punchng.com/fleeing-herdsmen-allegedly-kill-nasarawa-farmers/>

<sup>99</sup> 25 Nasarawa farmers killed in Keana, Nasarawa. (source; <http://punchng.com/death-toll-hits-25-in-nasarawas-herdsmen-farmers-crisis/>)

<sup>100</sup> 7 killed in Keana, Nasarawa <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/257082-seven-killed-night-attack-nasarawa-village.html>

<sup>101</sup> Attack on village kills 8 in Obi, Nasarawa, <http://punchng.com/eight-feared-dead-in-nasarawa-village-attack/>

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Contact in Doma, Nasarawa State, April 23, 2018.

<sup>103</sup> 5 killed in Obi, Nasarawa <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/264696-gunmen-attack-nasarawa-community-kill-five.html>

<sup>104</sup> 4 KILLED in Keana, Nasarawa (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/herdsmen-farmers-crisis-gunmen-kill-four-persons-in-reprisal-attack-in-nasarawa/> ...)

<sup>105</sup> 78 killed in Obi, Nasarawa <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsmen-attacks-death-toll-risen-78-nasarawa/>

<sup>106</sup> Herdsmen attack and KILL 7 in Awe, Nasarawa (Source <http://www.punchng.com/suspected-herdsmen-kill-seven-in-nasarawa-communal-clash-death-toll-hits-30/> ...)

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Contact in Jenkwe, Nasarawa State, May 30, 2018.



**Oyo State:** Oyo State, popularly referred to as the “Pace Setter” is one of the 36 States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with over 3 million populations. It was formed in 1976 from the former Western State, and originally included Osun State, which was split off in 1991. The State is homogenous, mainly inhabited by the Yoruba ethnic group who are primarily agrarian but have a predilection for living in high density urban centers. The indigenes mainly comprise the Oyo, the Oke-Oguns, the Ibadans and the Ibarapas, all belonging to the Yoruba family and peoples of Africa indigenous city in Africa, south of the Sahara. Ibadan had been the center of administration of the old Western Region in Nigeria since the days of the British colonial rule. Other notable cities and towns in Oyo State include *Ogbomáśá, Isáyin, kishi, Okeho, Saki, Eruwa, Lanlate, Sepeteri, Ilorá, Awe, Ilero, Igbe and Igbo Era.*

The climate in the state favours the cultivation of crops like maize, yam, cassava, millet, rice, plantain, cacao tree, palm tree and cashew. There are a number of government farm settlements in Ipapo, Ilorá, Sepeteri, Eruwa, Ogbomosho, Iresaadu, Ijaiye, Akufo and Lalupon. There is abundance of clay, kaolin and aquamarine. There are also vast cattle ranches at Saki, Fasola, Moniya and Ibadan.<sup>108</sup> Oyo State covers approximately an area of 28,454 square kilometers and is ranked 14th by size. The landscape consists of old hard rocks and dome shaped hills, which rise gently from about 500 meters in the southern part and reaching a height of about 1,219 metre above sea level in the northern part. Some principal rivers such as Ogun river, Oba, Oyan, Otin, Ofiki, Sasa, Oni, Erinle and Osun river take their sources from this highland. Oyo State contains a number of natural features including the Old Oyo National Park. In this location there was earlier habitat for the endangered African Wild Dog, however, this canid is thought to have been locally extirpated at the present. The Climate is equatorial, notably with dry and wet seasons with relatively high humidity. The dry season lasts from November to March while the wet season starts from April and ends in October. Average daily temperature ranges between 25 °C (77.0 °F) and 35 °C (95.0 °F), almost throughout the year.<sup>109</sup>

### **Overview of Herder-Farmer conflict in Oyo state**

In recent times, communal conflicts have been on the increase in Oyo State. The historical analysis of conflict in this area revealed major causes as competition for land and natural resources, and territorial disputes and traditional chieftain cytussles as was the case in the pre-colonial era. Others includes doctrinal differences, lack of communal respect for host community, and agitation for positions of authority and power, which had culminated into inter-personal and intra/inter group conflict in the communities of Oyo state. The crisis in Irawo communities in Atisbo Local Government areas (Ago-Are, Tede, Irawo, Sabe, Bassi and Offiki) was one of the several violent conflicts not only in Oyo State but in this part of Nigeria. It was an age-long conflict, which started sometimes in 1952 when the Oba Ajoriwin “Aderinola” died. The Edu and Ogbo ruling families fought for the throne until they eventually split the town into two communities. The Edu migrated to Irawo-Owode three kilometers to Irawo-Ile. This position was maintained till the mid-1960s prior to a resolution that led to the formation of common front- Irawo Parapo Community. Apart from struggling for the throne, people still traced the origin of the conflict to the scramble for

<sup>108</sup>Law, Robin (1975). “A West African Cavalry State: Yhe Kingdom of Oyo”. The journal of African History. 16(i): 1-15..doi: 10.1017/50021853700014079. ISSN0021 – 8537. JSTOR181095

<sup>109</sup> Easley, Dr. Larry. “The four forest states of Africa”. Oyo Empire. Southeast Missouri state University, cape Girardeau. 2 mar. 2007. <https://www.britanica.com/place/oyo-empire>

control of the precious stone deposit in some communities. However, government intervention could not bring lasting solution to the crisis as one party was subjugated for the other in the era of the Alliance for Democracy (AD) political party in year 2001.

Thereafter, the community was pulled apart as the seat of government turned against the other party and no sooner had the Oba Ajoriwin, who was on exile in the last four years, returned to the palace then some people invaded Irawo-Owode and unleashed mayhem, burnt houses and shot into the air sporadically. Another example of community conflict was that of the Bororos from the Niger Republic who usually migrate into the country through Benin Republic, which shares boundary with Nigeria along the Oyo Northern part of the State (Saki, Kisi, Igboho, Igbeti). During the dry season they move from one region to the other in search of forage for their livestock. At this time of the year fadama (irrigation) farmers at the peak of their production block cattle routes and waterways, hence the grazing animals encroach on the cultivated farmlands damaging crops.

These had often resulted into herder-farmer conflicts, which claim lives and properties. Similar conflicts have also been recorded among the Tiv and Fulani/Jugun in Benue State. Part of the factors responsible for the underdevelopment of Nigeria is the incessant ethno-religious conflicts, territorial encroachment by the neighboring communities (Igbojaye/Ofiki and Saki/Ogboro) among others, and perpetual division arising from tribal, geographical or religious differences. The incessant conflicts might have had adverse effects on agricultural production in terms of internal population displacement, unwarranted deaths, maiming and destruction of infrastructure. This hostility and unstable environment might have also militated against mobilization of investors such as government, individuals or agencies which will in no doubt adversely affect the nations' economy tremendously.<sup>110</sup>

Besides, the quest for protection and preservation of secured economic sources of livelihood appears to be the bane for continued conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Oyo state. However, there is disagreement among researchers, policy makers, scholars and academics about the nature and the factors that motivate these violent conflicts. Some view it as ethnicity, while others view it as a religious warfare, or a struggle for political power. In examining the violent conflict between the herdsmen and the indigenous farmers in Oyo states, the research does not undermine the fact that due to the nature of the land in these state - rich for farming practice and other agricultural activities - migration, open grazing, change in climate and contestation between the two subjects are more likely to be the primary cause (even though conflicts in Oyo State are not pronounced as other states).

The data collected covers the number of those killed, injured and properties destroyed in Oyo State from the 2015-2018. For a simplistic representation, the data presentation will be dwelled extensively in the core conflict areas of the state for a proper analysis. This data was collected within the period of two months, June 21st - August 21st, 2018. The data was collected from various daily newspapers, Journal and documentaries and from some key informants interviewed via mobile phone. The data collected, and its findings provide a framework to interrogate the usual official narrative of the violent conflict of land contestation and indigene-settler ideology in the states. The result of the data collected is presented below as an estimation of the number of people killed and missing in the core conflict areas of the state.

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<sup>110</sup><https://oyostate.gov.ng/about-oyo-state/>

**Presentation of the Data on Oyo**

Date	LGA	No. killed	Injured/displaced	Religion	Attacker
Nov. 27, 2018	Shaki	Nil	250 injured	Mostly Christians	Herdsmen <sup>111</sup>
Dec. 2, 2018	Onitoto, Iseyin	1	Nil	Christian	Herdman <sup>112</sup>
Jan. 23, 2018	Lagun	Nil	150 acres of plantation destroyed by Herdsmen	The farm belongs to a Christian	Herdsmen <sup>113</sup>
Feb. 7, 2018	Saki	1	Nil	Christian (SARS)	Herdsmen <sup>114</sup>
Feb. 13, 2018	Iseyin	12 (herdsmen)	14 missing (herdsmen)	Muslims	Yoruba Militia <sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Tension in Oyo community as herdsmen kill Yoruba farmer, <https://guardian.ng/news/tension-in-oyo-community-as-herdsmen-kill-yoruba-farmer/>

<sup>112</sup> <https://www.nairaland.com/4342309/fulani-herdsmen-kill-man-farm>

<sup>113</sup> **Herdsmen set 150 acres palm plantation ablaze in Ibadan - The Nation**, <http://thenationonlineng.net/herdsmen-set-150-acres-palm-plantation-ablaze-in-ibadan/>.

<sup>114</sup> <https://punchng.com/fulani-herdsmen-kill-sars-operative-in-oyo/>

<sup>115</sup> 12 herdsmen killed in Oyo, 14 others missing – Miyetti Allah

**Plateau State:** Plateau State was created out of the then Benue-Plateau State on February 3, 1976 by the Murtala Mohammed Regime. Its capital is Jos. Jos the original name of 'Gwosh' was wrongly pronounced as 'Jos' by the Hausa who settled on the site and turned it into a trading center. Plateau State gets its name from the Jos Plateau, a mountainous area in the north of the state with captivating rock formations. Bare rocks are scattered across the grasslands, which cover the plateau. The altitude ranges from around 1,200 meters (about 4000 feet) to a peak of 1,829 meters above sea level in the Shere Hills range near Jos. Plateau State has led to a reduced incidence of some tropical diseases such as malaria. The Jos Plateau makes it the source of many rivers in northern Nigeria including the Kaduna, Gongola, Hadejia and Yobe rivers. It is located in North Central Nigeria. Plateau State occupies 30,913 square kilometers. Plateau State shares borders with Kaduna State to the North, Kaduna and Nassarawa States to the East, Benue to the South and Taraba State to the East. Plateau State is located between latitude 8°24'N and longitude 8°32' and 10°38' east. Plateau State is also divided into chiefdoms and emirates, each encompassing ethnic groups who share common affinities. Leaders of the chiefdoms are elected by the people from amongst several contestants who may not be related to any past chiefdom leaders, while succession to the position of an emir is hereditary.

Plateau State has over forty ethno-linguistic groups but no single group large enough to claim majority position. Some of the indigenous tribes in the State include: Afizere, Amo, Anaguta, Angas, Aten, Berom, Bogghom, Buji, Challa, Chip, Fier, Gashish, Goemai, Irigwe, Jarawa, Jukun, Kwagalak, Kwalla, Meryang, Miango, Miship, Montol, Mushere, Mupum, Mwaghavul, Ngas, Piapung, Pyem, Ron-Kulere, Rukuba, Talec, Taroh, Youm. Each ethnic group has its own distinct language, but as with the rest of the country, English is the official language in Plateau State although Hausa has gained acceptability as a medium of communication. These people groups are predominantly farmers and have similar cultural and traditional ways of life. People from other parts of country have come to settle in Plateau State and generally coexist peacefully with the indigenes. These include the Hausa, Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, Ijaw, and Bini. Plateau State is predominantly Christian.

### **Overview of the Conflict**

The herdsmen attack in Plateau state seems to have a link with the Jos crisis that have occurred repeatedly in the last 18 years. It is important to note that Plateau State, Nigeria, has been plagued by incessant spurts of violence resulting from conflict between the rival groups. This happened in 1994, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011 and in 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018. These incidents of violence are characterized by gross violations of human rights and the perpetration of heinous crimes such as mass murders, bombings, arson, looting and destruction of public and private property. Victims, including children, women and the aged are usually hacked to death, burned alive and murdered in a chain of cruel and indiscriminate killings, while some are disappeared and never found. The systematic and organized manner in which most of these attacks were executed shows clearly that they were well planned and sponsored. Although the horrific crimes committed in Jos spread to neighboring towns and villages within Plateau state, they are all referred to as the Jos crisis because the violence occurred mainly in Jos.

**Presentation of Data on Plateau State**

Date	LGA	Community	No. Killed	Injured/Displaced	Religion	Attacker
Jan. 7 - March 17, 2018	Jos North	Jarawa, Angwan Rogo, kuru, karama, Bauchi road, Angwan Rukuba, Dogo Na-Hawa, Ragsat and Zot	992	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>116</sup>
Jan. 20, 2018	Barkin Ladi		1	Nil	Christian	Herdsmen <sup>117</sup>
Jan. 22, 2018	Jos South	Jos	1	Nil	Christian	Special Anti-Robbery Squad, SARS <sup>118</sup>
Jan. 25, 2018	Bassa	Bassa	8	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>119</sup>
Jan. 26, 2018	Bassa	Bassa	3	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>120</sup>
Jan. 28, 2018	Bassa	Bassa	2	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>121</sup>
Feb. 10, 2018	Bassa	Bassa	33	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>122</sup>
March 8, 2018	Bassa		11	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>123</sup>
March 9, 2018	Bokkos		9	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>124</sup>
March 12, 2018	Bassa		26	200	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>125</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Interview with officials of National Emergency Management Agency, NEMA, Jos, October 3, 2018.

<sup>117</sup> Hunter killed in Barkin Ladi, Plateau (Source <http://punchng.com/suspected-herdsmen-kill-hunter-in-plateau/>)

<sup>118</sup> SARS opens fire and kill 1 in Jos South, Plateau <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/256417-sars-operatives-open-fire-jos-relaxation-spot-reportedly-kill-one.html>

<sup>119</sup> Attack in Bassa, Plateau State. 8 locals killed. (<http://sunnewsonline.com/suspected-herdsmen-kill-8-injure-10-persons-in-plateau/>)

<sup>120</sup> 3 locals killed in Bassa, Plateau, <http://sunnewsonline.com/plateau-fresh-herdsmen-attacks-leave-three-dead-burnt-houses/>)

<sup>121</sup> 2 killed in Bassa, Plateau state (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/2-killed-in-plateau-as-herdsmen-ambush-residents/>)

<sup>122</sup> Interview confirmed 30 were killed on the outskirts of Bassa while three people were killed in Bassa itself. 3 killed in Bassa, Plateau (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/3-killed-plateau-ambush/> ...)

<sup>123</sup> 11 killed in Bassa, Plateau, <http://punchng.com/herdsmen-kill-11-torch-50-houses-in-plateau/>

<sup>124</sup> 9 killed in Bokkos, Plateau, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/261315-infant-nine-others-killed-plateau-violence.html>

<sup>125</sup> 26 killed, 26 in Bassa, Plateau, <http://punchng.com/herdsmen-kill-26-torch-11-houses-in-fresh-plateau-attacks/>

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March 14, 2018	Rafiki	Bassa	2 (soldiers)	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>126</sup>
March 14, 2018	Miango	Bassa	4 (soldiers)	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>127</sup>
March 22, 2018	Jos South	Jos	3	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>128</sup>
April 8, 2018	Barkin Ladi	Gidan Akwati	45	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>129</sup>
June 25, 2018	Barkin Ladi	Gidan Akwati	103	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>130</sup>
August 4, 2018	Bassa	Zanwra	3	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
August 4, 2018	Bassa	Gashish, Nyar	86	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
Sept. 4, 2018		Nkiedonwhme Community	27	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
Sept. 22, 2018		Ruku	38	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
Sept. 25, 2018		Kaikayi	9	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen
October 3, 2018		Shonog	9	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen

<sup>126</sup> Herdsmen kill 2 soldiers in Rafiki, Bassa Plateau (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/herdsmen-youths-clash-plateau-2-operation-safe-haven-personnel-killed-2-others-injured/>)

<sup>127</sup> Herdsmen kill 4 soldiers in Miango, Bassa, Plateau (source <http://saharareporters.com/2018/03/17/fulani-herdsmen-kill-4-soldiers-garrison-commanders-convoy-injure-scores-plateau...>)

<sup>128</sup> attack leaves 3 dead in Jos South, Plateau, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/262848-three-dead-in-plateau-community-attack.html>

<sup>129</sup> 5 persons were killed in the town while 40 others were killed in the outskirts of the town. Interviews in the town confirmed that the journalist only covered those killed within the town. 5 killed in Birkin Ladi, Plateau state, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/264398-gunmen-kill-five-injure-three-in-plateau-community.html>

<sup>130</sup> Maina, Maina. (2018) "Plateau Attacks: Over 100 Killed in renewed clash" Daily Post. <https://www.dailypost.ng/2018/06/25/plateau-attacks-100-killed-renewed-clash/>

**Taraba State:** Taraba state is one of the 36 states of the federal republic of Nigeria. It is named after River Taraba, a river that transverses the central part of the state.<sup>131</sup> Intense military politics under the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida led to the creation of Taraba state out of the defunct Gongola state on 27 August 1991.<sup>132</sup> Taraba state is bounded in the West by Plateau state and Benue state and on the eastern border by Adamawa state and the Republic of Cameroon. On the northern border are Bauchi and Gombe states. Taraba has been rightly nicknamed nature's gift to the nation because of the abundant natural resources the state is endowed with. The agrarian nature and rich alluvial soil found in most parts of the state makes Taraba conducive for cultivating all types of food and cash crops such as cassava, yams, potatoes, cocoyam, rice, maize, coffee, tea and cocoa. The state has vast lushly green grassland that supports cattle grazing while the various rivers/ponds hold great potential for the development of fisheries.<sup>133</sup> The natural endowments of Taraba state, particularly the central and southern parts of the state, are attractive to migrating herdsman and pastoralists. More importantly, it is an economic gateway to southern Nigeria from the Northeast for the transportation of cattle and other farm products to the South. Consequently, there have been increased, but undocumented levels of internal migrations from the far North, including the border areas into central and southern Taraba, where Fulani-Muslim herdsman come in search of grazing fields and other economic reasons.

Taraba state has sixteen local government areas, and according to the 2006 census figures released by the national population commission, the total population figure of Taraba state stands at 2,300,736. Even though religion is never part of the census count in Nigeria, research carried out has shown that about 55% is Christian, 32% Muslim, 12% African Traditional Religion adherents and 1% self - acclaimed free thinkers.<sup>134</sup> Most of the Christians are found in the central and southern part of the state. The high population of Muslims in Taraba state is understandably hinged on the population of Hausa-Fulani Muslim settlers which has steadily grown over the years since the colonial period.<sup>135</sup> Other factors responsible for this population growth include migration within Taraba, and migration from without because of the favourable environmental conditions of Taraba state compared to most northern states as well as high birth rate.<sup>136</sup> Some pastoral Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsman move in and out of the state seasonally, with some finally settling down, especially at the border between Taraba state and Cameroon, as such, it is difficult to calculate the actual population and the 32% is seen as a 'representative figure'.

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<sup>131</sup> Taraba State Of Nigeria in [www.ngex.com/Nigeria/Placis/](http://www.ngex.com/Nigeria/Placis/) (accessed March 30<sup>th</sup> 2015)

<sup>132</sup> Alkali, Muhammad Nur Alkali, Abubakar Kawu Monguno and Ballama Shettima Mustafa. 2012. *Overview of Islamic Actors in North-Eastern Nigeria*, Nigeria Research Network (NRN) Oxford Department of International Development Queen Elizabeth House University of Oxford, Working Paper No. 2, January 2013, p. 4.

<sup>133</sup> Taraba State Government in [www.tarabagov.ng](http://www.tarabagov.ng) (accessed March 30<sup>th</sup> 2015)

<sup>134</sup> Abdulkarkindo Adamu & Alupse Ben, *Migration and Violent Conflict Societies*, Nigeria Conflict Security Analysis Network (NCSAN), Working Paper No.1, Abuja, Nigeria p. 22.

<sup>135</sup> Mohammed Sanni Abdulkadir. 2011. "Islam in the Non-Muslim Areas of Northern Nigeria, c. 1600 – 1960." *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies, (IJORELS)* 1(1):1-20.

<sup>136</sup> Bello Umar Danejo et al. 2015. "Socio-Economic Factors Influencing Rural-Urban Migration in Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State, Nigeria." *ARPN Journal of Science and Technology*, 5(4):201-206.

## Overview of the Conflict

Despite current levels of violent conflicts in Taraba state, there are hardly any records of violent conflicts, ethnic or religious, in territories considered as part of Taraba state today during the pre-independence times.<sup>137</sup> Rather there is evidence of ethnic collaboration between the indigenous Jukun and Tiv groups to wade of Fulani invasion, before the arrival of colonial administration. In 1866, during the reign of Aku Agbumanu (1861-1866), the Fulani rulers of Wase and Misau declared war on Wukari. The Tiv were on hand to help the Jukun defeat the Fulani invaders. Similarly, during the reign of Awudumanu Abiten (1871-1903), Mallam Dankaro, the Gobir raider, invaded and terrorised Wukari town but was defeated by the Jukun tribe with the help of the Tiv people. The worst of these conflicts took place in 1906 when a violent conflict ensued between the Hausa-Fulani traders and the Jukun at Abinsi. The Jukun in collaboration with the Tiv fought the Hausa-Fulani traders which resulted in 76 Hausa-Fulani traders being killed and 163 captured. In addition, the canteen of the Royal Niger Company was completely burnt. Lord Lugard, the then Governor General of Northern Nigeria sent forces to rescue the Hausa-Fulani traders and punish the perpetrators.<sup>138</sup> By 1960, post-independence political arrangements and the creation of new states led to hostilities between different ethnic groups within Taraba. For instance, sixteen years after independence, the southern part of the state was embroiled in violent conflicts over the creation of new administrative jurisdictions. Vaaseh explains that “trouble started in 1976 when Benue and Gongola states were created. The Tiv and the Jukun ethnic groups felt the states were created for them. Consequently, it was alleged that the Jukun ethnic group led by the then administrator of Wukari Division, Mallam Ibrahim Sangari led a band of arsonists to attack and burn down Tiv villages. They argued that since Benue was created for the Tiv, Gongola was created for the Jukuns; hence the Tiv were to relocate to Benue state.”<sup>139</sup>

Between 1990 and 1991, the Tiv and Jukun fought fiercely, killing people and destroying property wantonly. Five years before the creation of Taraba state in 1991, the Tiv ethnic group, which is 99% Christian, petitioned the Gongola State Government over their socio-political exclusion in the yet to be Taraba state. In a memorandum dated February 13, 1986, the Tiv ethnic group wrote to the then governor of Gongola State, Col. Yohanna Madaki on various issues such as: the non-recognition of Tiv as indigenes of the state, non-recognition of Tiv traditional rulers, denial of employment opportunities at the local government level, denial of scholarship opportunities, change of names of Tiv towns and settlements to Jukun or Hausa names etc.<sup>140</sup> A similar episode happened in 2001 that claimed lives from Wukari to Ibi, Gassol and Donga local government areas. Gudaku reported that “in 1995 and between 1998 and 1999, violent conflict erupted between the Jukun/Chamba and the Kutep ethnic groups in Takum.”<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Ter-Rumun Avav and Mson Myegba. 1992. *The Dream to Conquer: Story of Jukun – Tiv Conflict*, Swem Kalagbe Series, No. 1, p. 5.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Vaaseh Godwin. 2013. “Indigene or Settler: Tiv-Jukun Geopolitics.” In *The Military Invasion of Zaki-Biam*, edited by Terhemba Wuam and Elijah Terdoo Ikanoor, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, p. 13.

<sup>140</sup> Ter-Rumun Avav and Mson Myegba. 1992. *The Dream to Conquer: Story of Jukun – Tiv Conflict*, Swem Kalagbe Series, No. 1, p. 33.

<sup>141</sup> Gudaku Benjamin Tyavkase. 2007. *Agony of Crisis: A Challenge to National Development and Integration*, Jos: Fab Educational Books, p. 63.



**Data Presentation on Taraba State**

Date	LGA	Community	No. Killed	Injured/Displaced	Religion	Attackers
Jan. 4, 2018	Wukari	Wukari	6	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>142</sup>
Jan. 4, 2018	Gassol	Gassol	1	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>143</sup>
Jan. 5, 2018	Lau	Lau	60	250	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>144</sup>
Jan. 8, 2018	Ngurojec/Gembu	Sardauna	3	22	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>145</sup>
Jan. 14, 2018	Ibi	Ibi	1	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>146</sup>
Jan. 23, 2018	Ardo Kola	Ardo Kola	9	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>147</sup>
Feb. 1, 2018	Gassol	Gassol	4	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>148</sup>
March 1, 2018	Gembu	Sardaun	15	Nil	Christians	Herdsmen <sup>149</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Gun men KILL 6 in Wukari, Taraba (source <http://punchng.com/gunmen-kill-seven-in-taraba/> ...)

<sup>143</sup> Gunmen KILL 1 in Gassol, Taraba (Source <http://punchng.com/gunmen-kill-seven-in-taraba/>)

<sup>144</sup> 60 indigenes ATTACKED AND KILLED in Lau, Taraba (source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/254650-taraba-communities-attacked-fulani-bachama-groups-accuse.html> ...)

<sup>145</sup> 3 indigenes attacked and killed in Sardauna, Taraba (source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/254861-three-killed-six-injured-fresh-taraba-attack.html> ...)

<sup>146</sup> Herdsmen attack and kill 1 in Ibi, Taraba (Source <file://localhost/tp::http://punchng.com>: armed-fulani-men-attack-taraba-community-kill-traditional-ruler:)

<sup>147</sup> Gunmen kill family of 9 in Ardo Kola, Adamawa (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/gunmen-wipe-family-9-adamawa-kidnap-7-children/>)

<sup>148</sup> 4 killed in Gassol, Taraba (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/breaking-gunmen-strike-taraba-killed-four/>)

<sup>149</sup> clash in Saradauna, Taraba leaves 15 DEAD (Source <http://saharareporters.com/2018/03/03/15-killed-attacks-fulani-communities-taraba-...>)

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Marc h 4, 2018	Gembu	Sardauna	20	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>150</sup>
Marc h 7, 2018	Takum	Takum	2	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>151</sup>
Marc h 15, 2018	Takum	Takum	5	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>152</sup>
April 4, 2018	Takum	Takum	4	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>153</sup>
April 5, 2018	Donga	Donga	5	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>154</sup>
April 7, 2018	Bali	Bali	4	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>155</sup>
April 10, 2018	Wukari	Wukari	51	Nil	Christian s	Herdsmen <sup>156</sup>

<sup>150</sup> About 20 KILLED in Saradauna, Taraba (Source <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/260665-mambilla-20-reported-killed-300-cows-stolen-fresh-taraba-violence.html> ...)

<sup>151</sup> 2 killed in Takum, Taraba. (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/two-dead-in-renewed-attacks-on-taraba-villages/>)

<sup>152</sup> Attack on Takum, Taraba leaves 5 DEAD (source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/five-people-killed-houses-razed-herdsmen-attack-taraba-communities/>)

<sup>153</sup> family of 4 KILLED in Takum, Taraba (Source <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/gunmen-wipe-taraba-family-4-despite-military-presence/>)

<sup>154</sup> 5 killed in Donga, Taraba (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/herdsmen-kill-5-thursday-attack-taraba-village/> ...)

<sup>155</sup> Family of four killed in Bali, Taraba (Source <http://punchng.com/family-of-four-killed-in-fresh-taraba-attack-ig-boss/>)

<sup>156</sup> More than 51 bodies recovered in Wukari, Taraba (Source <http://sunnewsonline.com/death-toll-in-taraba-attack-rises-to-51/> ...)

**Zamfara State:** Zamfara State is a State in north western Nigeria and its capital is Gusau. It has the population of 3,259,846 and occupies 39,762 square kilometres. Until 1996 the State was part of Sokoto State and was the first in Nigeria to introduce Sharia law. Zamfara State shares borders with Sokoto State and Niger Republic to the north, Katsina State to the east and Kaduna, Niger and Kebbi States to the south. The area today called Zamfara State was one of the old Hausa city-states like Kano, Katsina, Gobir, Kabi and Zazzau. Zamfara State was created on 1st of October 1996 by Gen. Sani Abacha. It was carved out of the old Sokoto State. The main language spoken in the State are Hausa, Fulfulde and Arabic, while its official language is English. Islam and Christianity are the principal and major religions of the State. The occupation of the people of the State is primarily farming. They produce food crops as well as cash crops. The State is made up of fourteen local government areas and they are; Zurmi, Maradun, Talata Mafara, Gusau, Kaura Namoda, Bungudu, Tsafe, Maru, Anka, Bukkuyum, Gummi, Bakura, Birnin Magaji/Kiyaw and Shinkafi.<sup>157</sup>

Zamfara State is grouped into 3 senatorial districts namely; Zamfara North, Zamfara Central and *Zamfara West*. For Zamfara North senatorial district, five local government areas are recognised namely; Kaura Namoda, Shinkafi, Zurmi, Birnin Magaji and Talatu while for *Zamfara Central* senatorial district four local government areas are recognised namely; Gusau, Tsafe, Bungudu and Maru and *Zamfara West* senatorial district has five local government areas namely; Maradun, Bakura, Anka, Bukkuyum and Gummi.<sup>158</sup> The scope of this study is not restricted to only one senatorial district because LGAs within each senatorial districts were affected. Thus, the major affected LGAs are; Maru, Tsafe, Talata Mafara, Anka, Zurmi, Birnin Magaji, Maradun, Bukkuyum, Kaura, Gummi, Bakura and some parts of Gusau. Over 30 communities were adversely affected as these attacks were majorly launched in the communities where farmers and herdsmen reside.

### **Overview of the Conflicts in Zamfara State**

Zamfara State have experienced various kinds of conflicts and insecurity in the past ranging from kidnappings and killings of indigenes, traditional rulers and the political élite, chieftaincy disputes, intra- and inter-religious squabbles, rape of women and girls, irregular payment of salaries in the LGAs and some MDAs, violent armed rural banditry, land disputes, farmer/pastoralist conflict, political/electoral violence and cattle rustling. For a long time, Zamfara state has been battling with serious security challenges that have unsettled and displaced people and communities. Because of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons across the country, the expanse and deep forests in the state have provided safe havens for criminal gangs who, until recently, raided villages, killed citizens, stole animals, kidnapped residents and attacked highways, thus making life insecure, brutish and very traumatising for the people.

Another related challenge that has been causing violent conflicts in Zamfara state is the transhumance movements amongst pastoralists which have largely and severally resulted in cattle rustling, intra-pastoralists conflicts, the abuse of vulnerable groups especially women and girls, armed banditry and other violence associated with unrestricted transhumance movements and proliferation of small arms and lights weapons. Dominantly, those involved in cattle rustling are of the herder's stock with collaborators across other ethnic groups and foreigners from neighbouring West African countries. Community land-disputes caused by increasing pressure and the effects of climate change

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<sup>157</sup> NGEX Nigeria. Zamfara State, Nigeria. 2013. <http://www.ngex.com/nigeria/places/states/zamfara.htm> [accessed 27/06/2018]

<sup>158</sup> All you Need to Know About Zamfara State. np.2018. <http://tukool.com/know-nigeria/know-about-zamfara-state/> [accessed 27 June 2018]

have fuelled local conflicts that are sometimes fractious and divisive. Respondents admitted the local courts and palaces of chiefs are flooded with cases of land disputes.

Another major issue causing conflict relates to activities of illegal miners in the state and its attendant consequences. That has been a major source of conflict at different levels between the miners and communities as well as with security agencies. Many people take to it because of the prevailing poverty and joblessness. Researchers have also identified gender-based violence as a major issue in this state. Women groups have complained of systematic exclusion in government and in decision making positions. Conflict is perceived as being on the increase in Zamfara state. Increase in urbanisation/urban development, deepening poverty, poor government performance and inadequate conflict resolution mechanisms are some of the reasons attributed to the escalation in conflict situations in the state. Non-Nigerians, local criminal gangs and illegal aliens as well as politicians are mainly behind the conflicts because they are the beneficiaries of the situations. In addition to politicians, some government officials, such as those in forestry, and traditional rulers in the affected communities have interests and benefit from the conflicts. Herders and the uneducated youth within the communities are the foot soldiers in acts of violence.

Some of the severely affected areas are: Tsafe, Gusau and Kaura Namoda for political violence, while areas most affected by cattle rustling include Dansadai, Dangulbi, Anka, Shinkafi, Zurmi-Gidan Jaja, Maradun, Birnin Magaji and Tsafe. Weapons used in the violent conflicts include locally made and sophisticated imported rifles and other small arms, bows and arrows, sticks, clubs and machetes. The negative impacts of these conflicts in Zamfara are noticeable but not<sup>159</sup> limited to these factors such as massive loss of lives and properties, abduction of the women and traditional leaders, massive displacements of victims with no place to shelter, increase in the number of people disabled as a result of the crisis, increase in poverty and halting of the development process because of halted farming and economic activities among others.

### **Presentation of Data on Zamfara State**

In Zamfara state, government reports that over 60 attacks have been carried out between 2011 - 2018. In these attacks, more than 4000 have been killed, 3000 hectares of farm destroyed, 25,000 cows rustled.<sup>160</sup> It is incredibly difficult to ascertain the number of Christians killed since the majority religion in this state is Muslims. Most of the attacks are equally carried out by bandits as well as herdsmen in retaliation for cattle rustled. Some of the attacks are tabulated below:

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<sup>159</sup>2016 Strategic Conflict Assessment of Nigeria: Consolidated and Zonal Reports. *Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Abuja*. Pages 268-391. [www.ng.undp.org>nigeria>docs>gov](http://www.ng.undp.org>nigeria>docs>gov) [accessed 27 Oct. 2018]

<sup>160</sup> Collins Nnabulfe "Zamfara Crisis: Over 60 attacked, 4000 killed, 3000 hectares of farm destroyed, 25,000 cows rustled – Yari." *Nigerian Tribune*. 10<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2018. Online. [www.tibuneonline.com/163714/](http://www.tibuneonline.com/163714/) accessed [27 Oct. 2018]

**Data Presentation on Zamfara State.**

<b>Date</b>	<b>LGA</b>	<b>No. Killed</b>	<b>Injured/Displaced</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Attackers</b>
<b>Feb. 17, 2018</b>	Birane, Zurmi	40	1,960 displaced	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Herdsmen/bandits<sup>161</sup></b>
<b>March 29, 2018</b>	Bawon Daji	15	Nil	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Herdsmen/Bandits<sup>162</sup></b>
<b>April 4, 2018</b>	Kabaro & Danmani, Maru	30	630 displaced	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Herdsmen/bandits<sup>163</sup></b>
<b>June 14, 2018</b>	Dutsen-Wake & Oho, Birnin Magaji	15	Nil	<b>Muslims</b>	<b>Herdsmen/Bandits.<sup>164</sup></b>
	Maru	156	234 displaced		<b>Herdsmen/bandits</b>
	Maradun	480	1,890 displaced		<b>Herdsmen/bandits</b>

<sup>161</sup> <http://dailypost.ng/2018/04/21/suspected-herdsmen-attack-zamfara-villages-kill-scores-2/>

<sup>162</sup> <https://punchng.com/breaking-gunmen-kill-15-herdsmen-in-zamfara/>

<sup>163</sup> <http://dailypost.ng/2018/04/21/suspected-herdsmen-attack-zamfara-villages-kill-scores-2/>

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/06/14/bandits-kill-10-in-zamfara-fresh-attack/>

## General Understanding of Herder-Farmer Conflict in Nigeria

There is no single explanation for the herder-farmer conflict in Nigeria. Researchers, policy makers and conflict analysts in generally identify different factors that sustain the conflict. Attributions are made to ethnic, socio-economic, environmental and political factors including indigene-settler ideology. As such, over the years, contending narratives on the nature of herder-farmer conflict in Nigeria have emphasized the issue of environment, ethnicity, political contestation and economic competition as the basis for the conflict.

The first perspective is echoed by scholars such as Mvendaga Jibo and T. Varvar. Both emphasize the primordial nature of the Nigerian state and culture and how citizens are innately pulled towards conflict and violence.<sup>165</sup> Egwu and Enna, distinguished professors at the Federal University of Lafia, Nasarawa State, blame climate change for the conflict in the state.<sup>166</sup> Climate change has led to internal migration and contestation over resources. Okoli and Atelhe link the violent conflict to environmental degradation, desertification, loss of wetlands and droughts.<sup>167</sup> Environmental degradation is generally understood as the depletion of environmental resources which ultimately endangers the existence of living things and forces man to look for survival. According to Hugo, migration whether permanent or temporary, has always been a traditional response and a survival strategy for people faced with the impact of war, natural disasters or the consequences of environmental degradation.<sup>168</sup> In modern times, more than ever before, the complex nature of human disasters coupled with the destruction of the environment due to human activity has uprooted large numbers of people from their communities to new abodes as they search for survival.<sup>169</sup> Currently, Northern Nigeria is estimated to be going through extreme problems of environmental degradation from deforestation and low rainfall. It is a region that lays on the edge of the Sahara Desert with a scanty savannah belt,<sup>170</sup> suffering from desert encroachment, shortage of water and soil erosion.<sup>171</sup>

Consequently, public opinion in northern Nigeria directed by the government, policy makers, the media and some international organizations suggest that the violent conflict in Taraba state is due to environmental degradation, migration and contestation over fertile grazing and farming fields in the state. The Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor of the U. S. State Department, published its 2008 report and described the conflict in Taraba as “decades old tribal feud over farmland and political power.”<sup>172</sup> On the other hand, Ayih directly links the conflict to the population explosion, economic pressure and contestation over economic opportunities.<sup>173</sup> The proponents of

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<sup>165</sup> Varvar T.A.: Traditional and Political Development among the Tiv - A Reflection of the Past One Hundred Years, paper presented at the Colloquium organized to mark the end of the Second and beginning of the Third millennium held 28 - 29 December 1999 at Benue Hotel Makurdi.

<sup>166</sup> Egwu and Enna, 2015, pp. 66-67.

<sup>167</sup> Chukwuma, Okoli and Atelhe, George, Nomads against Natives: A political Ecology of Herder/ Farmer Conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria, in: American International Journal of Contemporary Research 4(2), 2014, p. 80.

<sup>168</sup> Hugo, Graeme 1996 “Environmental Concerns and International Migration,” *International Migration Review* 30:1: 105-131

<sup>169</sup> Anthony Oliver-Smith, 2006. Disasters and Forced Migration in the 21st Century, *Understanding Katrina, Perspectives from Social Sciences*, June 11, 2006.

<sup>170</sup> John Lavers. 1981. ‘Kane and Bornu to 1808.’ In *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, edited by Obaro Ikime, Ibadan: Heinemann, p. 187.

<sup>171</sup> Ndurwawa J. Y. 1983. ‘A Survey of Refuse Collection and Disposal in Maiduguri’ B.Sc. (Agric) Project

<sup>172</sup> US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Nigeria, March 11, 2008 Report. [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov) › ... › Africa (accessed July 28, 2015)

<sup>173</sup> Ayih, S. O., Nasarawa State: Past and present. Abuja, Nigeria: Umbrella Books, 2003.

environmental resources and population explosion argue that the violent conflict between herders and farmers is more about land and resources rather than religion. For them, the agricultural advantages of the Middle Belt and Southern Regions have over the years attracted herders, who have migrated from northern states like Gombe, Katsina, Kano, Sokoto, as well as across the border from Chad, Niger and Cameroon, to settle and farm. They are simply considered environmental and economic migrants.<sup>174</sup> The arrival of these settlers and herdsmen over the years means stiff competition over space and environmental resources with indigenous farmers. Consequently, the ongoing conflict is more about land and environmental resources than religion. Those who lean towards to this point of view maintain that the two opposing groups: settlers and the indigenes belong to two different religions, Islam and Christianity. As such, any violent conflict between them is likely to be interpreted in terms of religious differences rather than fundamental issues central to the violent conflict in the first place.

Moses Aluaigba views the herder-farmer conflict from the point of view of citizenship. In recent times, questions have been raised in public discourses on the subject of citizenship in Nigeria. In particular, the issue of discrimination against Nigerians who live in places where they were not born or where their forefathers were not born has been perceived as a major cause of conflict. Consequently, the arrival of herdsmen into farming communities is perceived as reviving this old and unsettled rivalry between the indigene and the settler over socio-economic and environmental resources. The Nigerian Republic, like other African nations, has been blamed for its inability to accommodate the various ethnic groups that exist in the country. Nigeria's post-colonial policies have instead caused further division, adding to the serious quarrels between its varied groups and leading to yet more violent conflict.<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, Nchi indicts the political class and blames the failure of political leadership for the conflict. Politicians ride on the back of ethnic, religious and regional identity to get to office, encouraging division and conflict.<sup>176</sup> Using the 1997-1998 conflict in Toto LGA, Nasarawa state for example, Usman argues that the conflicts are related to ethnic identity and the desire to preserve the ethnic homeland and heritage.<sup>177</sup>

Another significant factor is the proliferation of arms. A research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, Helen Chuma Okoro, stated (in her publication on the proliferation of firearms in Nigeria) that reportedly 80% of weapons in civilian possession were illegally acquired due to strict regulations. The fact that this data is outdated may mean that these figures are understated.<sup>178</sup> Importantly, the understated figures conceals how the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen acquire their weapons. In an interview with the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) in Adamawa state, it was confirmed that a compromised vigilante commander who was supposed to be fighting Boko Haram was arrested for supplying arms, guns and ammunition to the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen in Taraba and Benue States.<sup>179</sup> A recent security report indicates how a blacksmith known simply as 'Sarpong', who produces cooking utensils in Kumasi, Ghana's second largest city, has turned to making guns and local weapons. He confirmed that most of his purchases were from foreigners, especially Nigerians. Nigeria shares borders with countries affected by herdsmen migration and Islamic

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<sup>174</sup> Nnoli, Okwudiba, 1978, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Enugu: Forth Dimension Publishing Company, p. 159

<sup>175</sup> Aluaigba M. T.: *The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria*, Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Bayero University, Kano, 2008, p. 10.

<sup>176</sup> Nchi, S.I., *Religion and politics in Nigeria: The constitutional issues*. Jos: Greenworld, 2013, p. 229.

<sup>177</sup> Usman, David, *The Social and Economic Adjustment of Victims of the 1998 Violent Inter-ethnic Conflict in Toto Local Government Area, Nasarawa State, Nigeria*, ABU Zaria: unpublished PhD thesis, 2010.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Authors' interview with security officials in Yola, Capital of Adamawa State on 23 August 2016.

radicalism. Nigeria has a border of around 1,500 kilometres with the Republic of Niger, 1,700 kilometres with Cameroon, 90 kilometres with Chad and 850 kilometres of maritime border (with the Atlantic Ocean). Recently, the over all boss of Customs, know as Comptroller General of Customs, retired Colonel Hameed Ali sought the support of the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) to curb the influx of small firearms across the over 4,000 kilometre borders of Nigeria. Disturbingly, many firearms used in the Libyan war and other conflicts in surrounding countries have found their way into Nigeria through these porous borders. Another dimension to the problem is in-country production, as a large number of illicit guns are produced in Nigeria by gunsmiths and sold to persons without licenses.<sup>180</sup>

Generally, the contending narratives above cannot be utterly dismissed. The climate change theory espoused by Egwu, Enna, Okoli and Atelhe looks at the issue of survival and migration as the basis of the conflict in the Middle Belt region. However, it forgets to mention that migration and the occupation of territories along the Middle Belt region, did not originate with climate change. The theory concerning the population explosion and the political economy of conflicts proposed by Ayih in the context of the Middle Belt Region provides an incisive analysis on the relationship between poverty, relative deprivation and conflict. Ayih's contribution is plausible in many respects. For instance, it captures properly the fundamental and existential conditions that create land scarcity and hunger, which in turn, precipitate the herder/farmer conflict. Although Ayih acknowledges the reality of poverty and its impact on violent conflict in the Middle Belt region, he neglects to mention that not all ethnic groups that migrate to the state seek traditional rulership and political domination of indigenous Christian groups. The Igbos and Yorubas of the South also migrate to Nasarawa State for economic reasons, but they do not seek to rule the ethnic groups of Nasarawa State in the way and manner the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsman seek to do.

Furthermore, Nchi lays the blame at the foot of politicians and political power. He reiterates the culture of impunity and how this culture has aided the spread of violent conflicts not only in the Middle Belt but also in Nigeria in general. Nchi excludes an important element in his analysis and conclusion. This element is linked to the way and manner politicians ride on the back of democratic principles to come to office only to turn their backs on democracy and to promote an Islamic agenda. In this way, ethnic groups that are predominantly Christian are targeted and excluded from political power-sharing. In fact, they are forced to live as second-class citizens and government policies are deliberately enacted to suppress these groups. In the context of the environmental degradation narrative peddled by government and policy makers, empirical evidence based on data collected, and the detailed information provided by victims on the ground demonstrates the contrary. It shows there is a systematic and strategic scheme to dispossess lands and properties belonging to indigenous farmers. Furthermore, it indicates there is a calculated attempt to substantially displace farmers from their ancestral farmlands.

That is why for some scholars, the arguments outlined above are deformed. This perspective limits the historical migration of herders into farmers' territories. It also fails to recognize the Islamic principle of expansion. From the foregoing, it is obvious that the contending narratives above seem to neglect the religious component of the conflict. According to Fremantle, an expert on the Muri Emirate, Taraba state, this principle is contained in the Fulani Jihad's Manifesto, traced back to Dan

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<sup>180</sup> See footnote 75.



Fodio in 1820.<sup>181</sup> This manifesto, among many other things, outlined how Fulani Muslim pastoralists can conquer pagan territories, live in urban communities, exercise influence among rulers and still retain links with their kinsmen.<sup>182</sup> The argument also undermines the role of the colonial administration in the institutionalization of inferior status for indigenous communities in Northern Nigeria. In other words, colonial administration played a significant role in promoting the spread and solidification of a particular religious identity in the north above other identities.<sup>183</sup>

The historical background to this infiltration by herdsmen into the Middle Belt Region can be found in the period 1804 -1856. Uthman dan Fodio (1754 - 1817) waged a jihad and conquered the former Hausa states, wresting these territories from the Nupe, Nassarawa, Bauchi and Zaria emirates that were hitherto pagan territories. These included the non-Muslim areas of southern<sup>184</sup> Nigeria and the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria, especially southern Kaduna.<sup>185</sup> The early British occupation of the then Benue region in 1900 up until the 1950s witnessed the appointment of many Hausa-Fulani Muslims in the region by the colonial government, brought in from the far north, to act as tax collectors, judges, policemen, scribes and messengers. This not only led to the exploitation of indigenous communities by Hausa-Fulani Muslim colonial agents, but also demonstrated the abuse of power and privilege by<sup>186</sup> the Muslim controlled government of Northern Nigeria before Independence. This resulted in the Haakaa and Nyambua riots which took place in 1929 and 1939 respectively. It was an uprising among the Benue people against the colonial administration and its agents. Hundreds of people, particularly indigenous farmers were killed by the colonial agents. This resulted in two things: first, there was acute famine and hunger because farmlands were affected, and second, the majority of the Tiv who occupied the Benue region were forced to flee into the Muri Province (present day Taraba State)<sup>187</sup> which was already under a Muslim rule established in 1817.<sup>188</sup>

The period of decolonization leading up to Nigeria's independence in 1960 saw the emergence of regional governments. The Northern People's Congress, the ruling party of northern Nigeria was, among other things, guided by the vision of conquering central and southern Nigeria for Islam. According to Muhammad Ribadu, a former minister in Nigeria's First Republic: The political conquest of the South was a religious obligation that the Northern People's Congress, controlled by Muslims, owes the world of Islam. The Qur'an has to be dipped into the Atlantic Ocean before the Jihad could stop.<sup>189</sup> This has two important implications: First, the Islamic conquest of the south has to start from central Nigeria. Secondly, dipping the Qur'an in the ocean is a strong symbolism for conquering and dominating all parts of the south for Islam, including the ocean; particularly Lagos,

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<sup>181</sup> Fremantle J.M. (ed.) *Gazetteer of Muri Province*. London: Frank Cass (1919) pp. 18 & 38

<sup>182</sup> Biyar A.D.H. 1961. "The *Wathiqat abl, al-Sudan*: A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihad." *Journal of African History*. **2(2)**:235-343. This manifesto is considered one of the oldest original documents to have survived, as far back as 1820. They contain letters and documents issued by Othman Dan Fodio (son of a jurist) and are alleged to bear the seals of Muhammad Bello, the Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad al-Amin, the Sultan of Bornu (now el-Kanemi of Borno).

<sup>183</sup> Turaki Y. 1982. "The Institutionalization of the Inferior Status and Socio-Political Role of the Non-Muslim Groups in the Colonial Hierarchical Structure of the Northern Region of Nigeria: A Social-Ethical Analysis of the Colonial Legacy". PhD. Boston: Boston University Graduate School, p. 87

<sup>184</sup> Laird M. and Oldfield R.A.K.: *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the River Niger in 1832, 1833 and 1834*, London, 1834/1971, pp. 124-125, 232-235.

<sup>185</sup> Nigeria-USman dan Fodio and the Sokoto Caliphate: [http://www.mongabay.com/history/nigeria/nigeriausman\\_dan\\_fodio\\_and\\_the\\_sokoto\\_caliphate.html#jif7j4lwA9HWhUIq.99](http://www.mongabay.com/history/nigeria/nigeriausman_dan_fodio_and_the_sokoto_caliphate.html#jif7j4lwA9HWhUIq.99), accessed 24 August 2014.

<sup>186</sup> Ahiane, Andrew: Nigeria - Tiv, Jukun, a Catalogue of Crisis, AllAfrica, 2001: [allafrica.com/stories/200111050168.html](http://allafrica.com/stories/200111050168.html).

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Nigeria-USman dan Fodio and the Sokoto Caliphate, op. cit.

<sup>189</sup> Ribadu, Muhammed: Minister Nigeria's 1st Republic, in: *New Breed Magazine* January 1977, p. 10.

which lies at the edge of the Atlantic Ocean. This ideological vision has guided various government policies since independence, such as the inclusion of Nigeria as a member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference.<sup>190</sup> As such, in post-independence Nigeria, Islamic radicalization and the growth of intolerant and radical views both within mainstream Islamic groups and ordinary Muslims increased at different levels. This became apparent around the early 1970s, when the late Mohammed Marwa, widely known as Maitatsine, began espousing radical Islamic views in northern Nigeria. This was to lead to massive riots in the northern city of Kano and resulted in the deaths of several thousand people.<sup>191</sup>

In the early 1980s, the successful revolution of the Iranian people against their Shah led to a fresh awakening of radical Islamic tendencies in northern Nigeria. The emergence of an Islamic government under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini and the subsequent humiliation it meted out to the US provided inspiration to Muslims the world over and the younger generation saw in Islam a viable alternative to the bi-polar systems of capitalism or communism. The Islamist revival began in the 1980s, as young Muslims, radicalized by the Iranian revolution, began introducing variants of Islam that were of more radical disposition. Muslim youths believed that Christians were enjoying an advantageous status in society and began to call for the establishment of an order that would recognise Islamic law in some parts of the country. In short, they wanted a situation where the advantage allegedly enjoyed by Christians as a result of colonialism would now be reversed. Fired by the success of the Iranian people, various Islamic movements emerged, e.g. the Islamic Movement of Nigeria and Nigerian Muslim Brothers, and *Jamaatu Izalat al Bid'ah wa Iqamat al-Sumah* (Group for the Eradication of Innovation and Establishment of Tradition) which was inspired by the former Grand Qadi of Northern Nigeria, late Sheik Abubakar Gumi.

It was Sheik Gumi who declared that an Islamic state in Nigeria would have to be constructed on the ashes of the existing state, which had been built on *jahiliya* (a term meaning 'ignorance' used in reference to pre-Islamic Arab society).<sup>192</sup> The rhetoric of the Nigerian Muslim Brothers had a distinct quality of revolutionary idealism found in the works of the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb. On 18 April 1989, a Fulani leader was murdered and the Tiv Christians of Benue State, who were not in Benue but living in Akeleku town (Nasarawa State) were suspected. Although it was a mere suspicion with no concrete evidence, reprisal attacks led to the killings of hundreds of Benue people. The second and most devastating attack occurred on 12 June 2001, when suspected Benue assailants murdered Alhaji Dr. Musa Ibrahim, who was a Muslim and Chief of Azara town, at Ihuman village, which is dominated by Tiv Christians.<sup>193</sup> In reaction to this assassination there was widespread violence directed against the Christian Tiv living in Nasarawa State, particularly in Awe, Doma, Obi, and Keana LGAs. The chaos involved "indiscriminate reprisal attacks on the Tiv people and their property, and the corresponding counter-attacks by the Tiv people".<sup>194</sup> According to Sylvester Ogoh Alubo, all other ethnic groups, including the Alogo, Mada, and Migili, teamed up against the Tiv in Azara. At the end of the violence, over 74 people had been killed on both sides, with an inestimable

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<sup>190</sup>Salahudeen, Yusuf.:Nigeria's membership in the OIC - Implications of print media coverage for peace and national unity, in: Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs (2007), 19 (2): 235-247.

<sup>191</sup> Abiodun Alao: Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria, Country Report 2009, p. 15.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. The Islamic Movement of Nigeria; <http://www.islamicmovement.org?biozakzaky.htm>.

<sup>193</sup> Aper, J.: Ethnic Conflict in Azara, Nasarawa State, in: Inter-Group Relations in Nigeria during the 19th and 20th Centuries, edited by Akinwunmi, O. et al., 2006, p. 635.

<sup>194</sup> National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies: Research Reports on Conflict and Integration in Nigeria, Kuru, Nigeria, 2003., p. 25.

value of properties destroyed.<sup>195</sup> The Killing of the Tiv in Nasarawa state caused tensed relationship among their kith in Benue and the neighboring communities of Nasarawa state.

The phase of Islamic radicalization in Nigeria took place with the introduction of the Sharia penal code in some 12 states of northern Nigeria in 1999. (It was this phase that also captured the national reaction to global war against terrorism.); especially that the implementation of Sharia in the 12 states lasted up to 9/11, 2001. While there had been calls for the imposition of Sharia since the Second Republic, the first major and practical step was taken in 1999, when the governor of Zamfara State in northern Nigeria, Ahmed Sani Yerima, introduced Sharia law. Within three years of the introduction in Zamfara State, virtually all the states in northern Nigeria had adopted this Islamic code of laws.<sup>196</sup> By the early 2000s, Islamic radicalization led to the emergence of Boko Haram which has since killed as many as 17, 500 people (mostly Christians), displaced nearly 2.2 million people, and has destroyed hundreds of churches.<sup>197</sup>

There has been the resurgence of the Islamic infiltration, invasion and occupation of local communities, farmlands and territories in central and southern Nigeria, beginning in 2011. This is particularly rampant in Kaduna, Nasarawa, Plateau and Taraba states. Thousands of churches have been destroyed and thousands of Christians have been killed, displaced or injured. Like conventional terrorist organisations, Islamic radical sects and jihadi groups, the ideology of the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen go beyond mere feeding of sheep and the search for greener pastures.

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<sup>195</sup> Alubo Sylvester, Ogoh. 2006, Ethnic conflicts and citizenship crises in the central region, Ibadan: University of Ibadana, p. 142.

<sup>196</sup> Abiodun Alao: Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria, Country Report 2009, p. 19.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. <https://africacheck.org/reports/have-13000-people-been-killed-in-nigerias-insurgency-the-claim-is-broadly-correct/>.

## **Specific Areas to Some States**

While these issues are general to all the areas affected by herder-farmer conflict, there are specific issues to some states. In Adamawa state for instance, the clash and attacks between farmers and herdsmen in Adamawa state is as well galvanized by religion. While indigenous farmers in the state who are predominantly Christians are been attacked by Fulani herdsmen, most people, especially the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) perceives it as a deliberate and calculated attempt to kill Christians. This is seen in a number of Press releases by the Chairman of CAN, Adamawa Chapter, Most Rev. Dr. Stephen Dami Mamza. The recent peaceful demonstration by the Christian Association in August 2018 over the killings of innocent citizens in the state who are mostly Christians confirms the religious dimension of the conflict. Land contestation and migration are as well other dimensions of the existing conflict in Adamawa State.

In Benue state, there is a clear case of vulnerability and lack of security. For instance, investigations reveal that in Logo, Guma, Gwer-West, Agatu and Makurdi LGAs have particularly high levels of displacement of people. Invariably, women and children make up the highest numbers of those displaced. It is a known fact that social dislocation and displacement affect all gender groups of all ages, but the weak and vulnerable members of society, namely the elderly, women and children suffer the most. Facing this level of humanitarian crisis in the absence of security, some communities have gone on reprisal attacks which have escalated the level of violence. Furthermore, reports suggest that weapons used in Benue state are sophisticated and the perpetrators appear well trained and professional. Benue state is equally unique in its response to the conflict. It passed the anti-open grazing law, and started a movement called Movement Against Fulani Occupation (MAFO).

MAFO emerged to raise awareness on the atrocities of the Hausa-Fulani Muslim herdsmen against Christian. The effort of MAFO led to the introduction of Anti-Open Grazing and Establishment of Ranches Bill by the administration of Governor Samuel Ortom of Benue State. The bill received accelerated passage in the State House of Assembly. It was passed into law in May 2017. Part of the law indicates that any person who contravenes the act shall be guilty and upon conviction be sentenced to 5-year imprisonment with a fine of 1 Million Naira. Again, where damage is done to crops, the farm will be evaluated, and the manager of the livestock will be compelled to pay compensation to the farmer. Movement of livestock on foot within the state is prohibited. Any person who contravenes this shall be sentenced to one-year imprisonment or an option of fine of N500, 000.00. Furthermore, any livestock owner or manager who carries fire arms shall be treated under the Nigerian penal code as a criminal. Ranches shall be established and shall engage the services of security agencies, and anyone who rustles a call shall be sentenced to a 5-year imprisonment or an option of fine - N100, 000.00 per livestock. Any livestock wondering shall be impounded by the department of livestock. And when the owner is not found, the livestock shall be auctioned to the public and the proceeds deposited into the state consolidated revenue account. Through the new bill, the state shall establish a special open prohibition Tax Force who shall be responsible for enforcing the anti-open grazing law.<sup>198</sup>

In Cross River, the migration of herdsmen and their activities is muddled up with inter-ethnic rivalry and clashes demonstrated over the years. Ekiti, Enugu and Kogi states have similar issues of invasion

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<sup>198</sup> Vanguard News. 2017. Governor Ortom Blows Hot and Signs Anti-Open Grazing Bill Into Law, May 4, 2017. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/05/benue-gov-ortom-blows-hot-signs-anti-grazing-bill> law/+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=sg

by herders in search of greener pastures rather than religious narrative of the conflict. For Kaduna state, the significant element is the widespread impunity, where perpetrators of violence in Southern Kaduna are never arrested, prosecuted and punished; and victims are not adequately compensated. Additionally, gangs of bandits have taken advantage of the situation to instigate violence, rustle cattle for personal gain while conducting outright criminal activities against innocent citizens. Importantly, recommendations of previous white papers and reports of commissions of enquiries established by previous administrations to investigate the conflicts, resolve the issues, and end the crises were mostly neglected or not implemented satisfactorily.<sup>199</sup> This failure has not only widened the gap between indigenous farmer and herders, it has also given rise to the mutual distrust between the two concerned parties. In addition to community efforts to find resolution to these conflict issues, the Federal and State government have also put in some efforts to support sustainable conflict resolution. First, the federal government deployed a special security task force, code named “Operation Harbin Kunnama” (OHK). Among its objectives, the task force was mandated to enforce law and order and to restore normalcy to the area. There is an increase in the number of Nigerian Army personnel, the police and other security agencies in the area. However, communities remain apprehensive of unforeseen attacks, which have continued to occur in spite of the beefed-up security. The spate of kidnapping too has suddenly increased. Communities are worried that the current security strategy is not working. The funds used in maintaining security presence could have been used to respond to the dire humanitarian need of the victims and survivors. Furthermore, security services are alleged to have been compromised, and are increasingly becoming part of the conflict. Secondly, the Senate of the federation set up an Ad-hoc Committee on southern Kaduna crises and other parts of the country. So far, an interim report of the committee has been published but yet to be made public. The findings of the report have been rejected by the Senate citing poor recommendations.

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<sup>199</sup> Zangon Kataf (Market) Riots and Subsequent Riots Judicial Commission of Inquiry Report, September 1992.

## **Conclusion**

The search for peace must always be intentional. We did not set out on this project to point accusing fingers on anyone but to discover the best path for Nigerians to live as one people in a single and united nation - Nigeria. The herder-farmer clashes in Nigeria as we have seen above, continues to persist because of the various uncontrolled human involvements which sometimes could have been easily avoided. Conspiracies, destructions of lives and properties is a total setback to the country's development. So, we all have the challenge at hand to set our lives and our humanity in the direction that we in this moment and generations to come would always be thankful of.

Therefore, we have thoughtfully presented the following recommendations to aid us in our participation to bringing lasting peace between herders and farmers in Nigeria.

## **Recommendations**

Having analyzed the nature of the conflict, the following suitable recommendations by state and non-state actors will help in averting the already-existing problems of farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria.

### **Federal Government**

- For a sustainable peace to exist between Farmers and Herdsmen in Nigeria, farmers should be given loan to buy land for cattle ranch, by doing so, feeding industries will spring up and that will create job opportunity in the country. Government should establish cattle grazing fields in the six geo-political zones of the country and out-law open grazing of cattle. This must be done through due consultation, dialogue or appeal to some aggrieved regions of the country which may oppose or resist the move.
- Poor water management practice in the country should be improved by the Federal Ministry of Water Resources. This is in view of the fact that climate change cum water shortage and drought are the major reasons herdsmen are migrating southward in search of fresh water and grass for their cattle. Herdsmen should be properly educated or re-oriented on the sanctity of human lives and taught how to use better channels of communication to convey their grievances than resorting to conflict. Any form of aggression as a result of past issue(s) should be discouraged and anyone found wanting in that respect be prosecuted. The herdsmen and farmers should bear in mind that actions that lead to distrust is bad and should be abandoned. Therefore, plans for reprisal violent attacks on the whole town and villages in the case of two persons should be discouraged. And disarmament should not only be on one side but from both sides.
- The government should employ all necessary and sincere means to expose the bandits and their sponsors behind these incessant attacks in the States. If possible, the government can seek for international backings and assistance to help address these killings.
- High security check point should be mounted on the borders to prevent the movements of migrants into the States through these borders. Highly sophisticated weapons smuggled into the States by these migrants should be confiscated by the government and their sponsors revealed to the general public through the appropriate channels.
- The government should coordinate with neighbours to stop cross-border movement of non-Nigerian armed herders. Nigeria should work with Cameroon, Chad and Niger (the Lake Chad basin countries) to regulate movements across borders, particularly of cattle rustlers, armed herders and others that have been identified as aggravating internal tension and insecurity in Nigeria.
- There should be transparency in dealing with law breakers. Any suspect caught should be apprehended and prosecuted if found guilty. The prosecution should be made known to the public to serve as a deterrent for other group of bandits.
- Allocation of funds for security purposes should be strictly used for the purpose it is meant for. Highly sophisticated weapons should be provided for security agents to overcome any armed bandits during crossfire battle.

- In providing adequate support for victims of crisis, the government must take into consideration all categories of victims: farmers, herders, women, children, aged, youths and the disabled. Professional help should be sought for the helpless and those in need. This should be accompanied by clear policies and legal framework for rehabilitating victims of the conflicts in affected communities and States at large.
- In collaboration with the traditional leaders, the government should create platforms that will aid in sensitizing the people about the importance of human lives, unity and peaceful coexistence among the people of the Northern States.
- There should be massive deployment of the military to the States to ‘sweep out’ all hoodlums and bandits who are incessantly killing and terrorising the people.
- Since the government is short of security personnel, each community should have a vigilante group, highly trained, equipped and supported by the government. Sophisticated arms should be provided to this group to help fight the bandits who terrorises the community daily.

**Non-Governmental Organization:**

- Non-Governmental Organizations should create opportunities for inter and intra dialogues between farming and herding communities in the states.

**Religious Institutions:**

- Since the conflict in Plateau state is majorly driven by religious beliefs and sentiments, there is the urgent need for a round table discussion between the two religions involved. Religious leaders like Sultan of Sokoto, John Cardinal Onaikon, Bishop Matthew Kukah etc. should intensify and continue to encourage dialogue as a peaceful means of reconciliation. Christian Association of Nigeria as well as the Muslim body should encourage dialogue as a means through which grievances should be registered and resolved.

**Nigerian Security Agencies**

- Security system should be strengthened for herders and farmers especially in the communities. This will require that governments and security agencies sustain campaigns against cattle rustling and rural banditry; improve early-warning systems; maintain operational readiness of rural-based police and other security units; encourage communication and collaboration with local authorities; and tighten control of production, circulation and possession of illicit firearms and ammunition, especially automatic rifles, including strengthening cross-border cooperation with neighbouring countries’ security forces
- The security service should provide adequate security for farmers to return to the farms and be free to cultivate their land. Equally, farmers who transact their business through rearing of animals should be provided with adequate security for their livestock particularly during their proposed market days.



- Security services should conduct a thorough and formal investigative process for every attack to avoid suspicion and unnecessary allegations. This should include the disarmament of all actors with unlicensed and dangerous weapons in order to prevent further conflicts.
- Security posts should be mounted in all communities since bandits gain entrance through the bushes and farms.
- The security personnel should monitor and provide adequate information for the government so that it has a better understanding of the nature of the conflict. The security services should differentiate between different groups- bandits, herdsman, criminals and kidnappers- that have different reasons and strategies of inflicting violence and instability in the States.
- The existing farmer-herders conflict is beyond a clash. It appears to be an attack by armed Fulani militia on indigenous farmers in these states. Thus, there is the need for the Nigerian Military to intensify its responses to the conflict beyond road blocks and checkpoints. Villages susceptible to attacks should well be protected by military presence.

### **Nigerian Media**

- The media should create enough awareness of the groups behind every conflict as well as the nature of the conflicts within the country and avoid exaggerating or downplaying national security issues for selfish gains. There should be regular updates of conflicts in affected regions to create enough awareness and enable people take precautions where necessary.
- The media should conduct thorough investigation on any conflicting issues before reporting it to the public. Figures and facts should be accurate and should not be used as a misleading tool to the general public.
- The mass media should make it a point of responsibility to report factual information concerning the conflict. Importantly, the various mass media; radio, television and newspapers must continue to advocate and promote peace in the country. Hate speeches must be avoided and discouraged on social media.

### **Members of Communities**

- Members of different communities should avoid offering themselves as tools in the hands of the bandits. In collaboration with security services, they should develop a framework that includes both farmers and herders to monitor, observe and report any foreign elements to the authorities. This will erase mutual suspicion and provide clarity regarding the perpetrators of the conflicts.
- Members of different communities not affected by the conflicts should unanimously work to assist the affected communities. They must therefore find common grounds to protect and preserve not only their lands, but the lives of people resident within the community and neighbouring communities.
- Energetic males within each community should offer themselves for constant training for the services of the vigilante groups in order to help fight the bandits.

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