



**NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**THE MENACE OF FULANI HERDSMEN AND THE CHALLENGES OF INSECURITY IN
NIGERIA**

M.A. THESIS

Chioma NZE

**Nicosia
February, 2024**

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HERDSMEN AND THE**

MASTER THESIS

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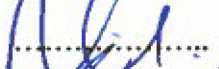
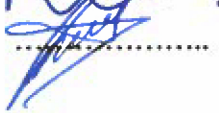
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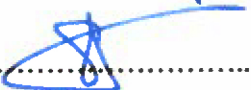
Approval

We certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Chioma Nze titled “**The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria**” and that in our combined opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of International Relations.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that all information, documents, analysis, and results in this thesis have been collected and presented according to the academic rules and ethical guidelines of the Institute of Graduate Studies, Near East University. I also declare that as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced information and data that are not original to this study.

Chioma Nze

...../...../2024

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Chioma Nze

Abstract

The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria

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MA, International Relations

Supervisor: Dr. Ibrahim Ayberk

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Weather patterns and climatic conditions have a significant impact on the agricultural sector. The rise and expansion of agricultural production in Nigeria, fueled by the expanding population, have resulted in escalating conflicts between farmers and herders regarding the utilisation of agricultural land. The presence of land disputes, religious and ethnic tensions, and social inequality has led to a rise in insecurity and presents a notable threat of exacerbating food shortages in Nigeria. Using a case study approach, the thesis utilizes a qualitative research design to fulfil the study objectives, which are primarily to examine the causes of Fulani herdsmen and farmers' clashes in Nigeria and assess how the menace of Fulani herdsmen impacts insecurity in Nigeria. This thesis utilises document analysis to provide a historical perspective on the evolution of conflicts between farmers and herders, and the impacts of past and present policies. The analysis showed that climate change impacts Farmers-Herder's conflict. These conditions significantly impact the quality of grazing land and water resources, which is an essential need. Furthermore, the analysis showed that the scarcity-induced tension has led to territorial conflicts, resulting in the unfortunate loss of numerous lives. The analysis revealed the significant socio-economic consequences of the Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict, which encompass a humanitarian crisis, internal displacement, food scarcity, and social devastation. To tackle this conflict, a holistic approach is necessary in these communities, considering both the economic and social aspects. Governments at all levels must prioritise addressing conflict with a high level of expertise.

Keywords: Climate change, conflict, farmers, Fulani herdsmen, Nigeria

Öz

Fulani Hayvan Yetiştiricileri Tehdidi ve Nijerya'daki Güven(siz)lik Sorunları

Nze, Chioma

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Danışman: Dr. İbrahim Ayberk

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Hava durumu ve iklim koşulları tarım sektörü üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. Nijerya'da artan nüfusla birlikte tarımsal üretimin büyümesi, çiftçiler ve hayvan yetiştiricileri arasında tarım arazilerinin kullanımına ilişkin çatışmaların artmasına neden olmuştur. Arazi anlaşmazlıkları, dini ve etnik gerilimler ve sosyal eşitsizliğin varlığı, güvensizliğin artmasına yol açmış ve Nijerya'da gıda kıtlığının şiddetlenmesi gibi önemli bir tehdit oluşturmuştur. Nicel analiz yöntemlerinden bir tanesi olan Vaka Çalışması yöntemini kullanan bu tez, öncelikle Nijerya'daki Fulani hayvan yetiştiricileri ve çiftçilerin çatışmalarının nedenlerini incelemek ve bu hayvan yetiştiricilerinin neden olduğu tehdidin Nijerya'daki güvensizliği nasıl etkilediğini değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda tez, çiftçiler ve hayvan yetiştiricileri arasındaki çatışmaların evrimi ile geçmiş ve mevcut politikaların etkileri hakkında tarihsel bir perspektif sunmak için Doküman Analizini kullanmaktadır. Analiz, iklim değişikliğinin çiftçi-hayvan yetiştiricisi çatışmasını etkilediğini göstermiştir. Bu koşullar, temel bir ihtiyaç olan otlama arazisi ve su kaynaklarının kalitesini önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Ayrıca analiz, kıtlığın neden olduğu gerilimin bölgesel çatışmalara yol açtığını ve bunun da çok sayıda can kaybına neden olduğunu göstermiştir. Analiz, Fulani hayvan yetiştiricileri-çiftçileri çatışmasının insani kriz, ülke içinde yerinden edilme, gıda kıtlığı ve sosyal yıkımı kapsayan önemli sosyo-ekonomik sonuçlarını ortaya koymuştur. Bu çatışmanın üstesinden gelmek için, bu topluluklarda hem ekonomik hem de sosyal yönleri dikkate alan bütüncül bir yaklaşım gereklidir. Bu doğrultuda yetkililer, çatışmayı yüksek düzeyde uzmanlıkla ele almaya öncelik vermelidirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim değişikliği, çatışma, çiftçiler, Fulani hayvan yetiştiricileri, Nijerya

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List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
CDHR	Committee for the Defence of Human Rights
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GHGS	Greenhouse Gases
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IHRCMG	Independent Human Rights and Crime Monitoring Group
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
OSIWA	Open Society Initiative for West Africa
UNCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Funds
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Background of Study

Nigeria has been recognized by the World Population Review as the most populous African country (Ikhuoso et al., 2020). The country consists of a populace exceeding 200 million individuals (World Bank, 2023). Furthermore, as per the World Bank's report, Nigeria is host to the most impoverished populace globally, with 83 million individuals, constituting 40% of the Nigerian population, residing below the poverty threshold (Ogundeji et al., 2023). The correlation between population growth and heightened levels of consumption has been noted to lead to a commensurate escalation in the discharge of greenhouse gases, which possess the capacity to modify the climate (Hawken, 2017). The phenomenon of population growth acceleration is known to intensify the impacts of climate change by imposing additional pressure on resources and amplifying the susceptibility of people to climate-induced hazards, particularly in regions that are resource-constrained (Hawken, 2017).

The Earth's climate system experiences alterations due to both natural occurrences and anthropogenic influences, which are ascribable to human actions including groundwater abstraction, vegetation removal, quarrying and surface mining, urbanisation, and subsurface construction tunnelling. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report of 2007 cites an instance where the rising concentration of greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the atmosphere has resulted in climate change (Molina & Abadal, 2021). As per the 2018 report of the IPCC, there has been an increase of roughly 1°C in the mean global temperatures since the pre-industrial period. Furthermore, the report emphasizes that human-induced warming is a contributing factor to a rise of roughly 0.2°C in the mean global temperature every ten years. As per the report, it is projected that the average temperature of the Earth's atmosphere will witness a rise of 1.5 °C during the period of 2030 to 2052, provided the existing pace of anthropogenic GHG emissions continues (IPCC, 2018). The goal of limiting global warming to a maximum of 2°C was a widely recognized objective in global policymaking for a significant period preceding 2015 (Carbon Brief, 2018). The report released by the IPCC highlights significant differences between the effects of global warming at 1.5 °C and 2 °C. The latter temperature increase is associated with a greater likelihood of significant consequences for both the natural world and human society.

To restrict global warming to a maximum of 1.5 °C, it is imperative to reduce net global emissions by roughly 45% from the levels observed in 2010 by the year 2030, followed by a subsequent reduction to net zero by 2050 (Ogunbode et al., 2020).

The current state of climate variability and the exponential growth of the global population of 8 billion, according to the United Nations Population Fund (2023) has raised pressing concerns regarding the sustainability of human existence and the earth's carrying capacity (Daily & Ehrlich, 1992). The agricultural sector is significantly reliant on climatic conditions this is because certain crops require different temperatures, rainfall, seasonal, soil health and water availability for example banana and pineapple require hot weather while the weather and apples require cold temperatures. Consequently, the phenomenon of climate change has resulted in a scarcity and unpredictability of food supply. This has led to intense competition for finite resources, including those utilized by both humans and livestock as noted by Lobell et al. (2008). Climate change has resulted in a reduction of biodiversity, with many animal and plant species facing the threat of extinction for example, the African elephant found across Kenya, South Africa, and Botswana (Harley, 2011 & Urban, 2015). Additionally, arable lands have been subjected to degradation (Ikhuoso, 2015). These factors have presented a significant challenge to the maintenance of food security and have led to intense competition for resources such as water, land, and food.

The year 2007 marked a turning point in the examination of the security implications of climate change in Africa, as the reality of climate change became indisputable. It was the year that the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) convened their inaugural discussion on the security ramifications of climate change, as reported by Odoh and Chilaka (2012). The matter was a prominent topic of discussion at the 17th gathering of the Conference of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol in November 2011, which took place in Durban, South Africa. As per the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNCC), a consensus was reached on four primary domains of synchronized and supplementary measures and execution. These measures were also intended to establish and maintain confidence among nations. The extension of the present global legal framework via a subsequent phase of commitment to the Kyoto Protocol, wherein developed nations pledge to reduce GHG emissions to be average of 5.2% and which incorporates prevailing accounting regulations and patterns of international

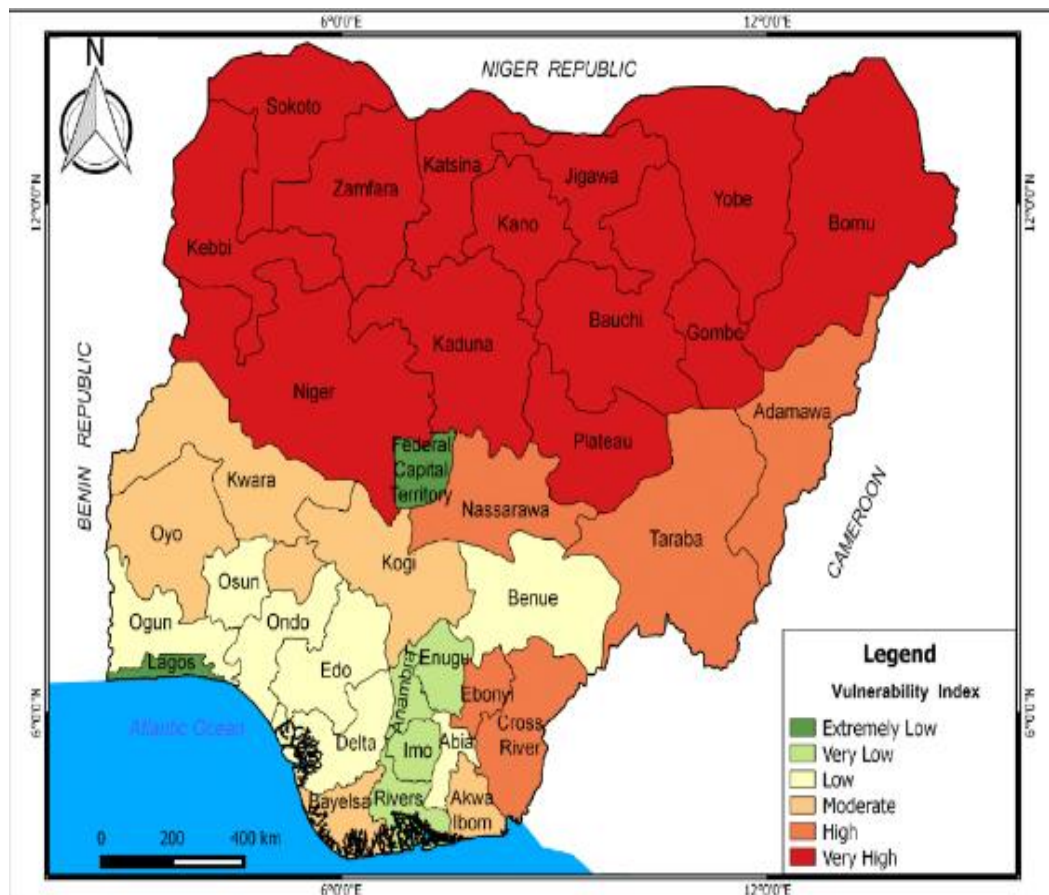
collaboration, could guide future endeavours. The Kyoto was later concluded on 31st December 2012 this was due to the dismissal failure of the Kyoto first committee and transition to the Paris agreement.

The introduction of a novel negotiation platform within the Convention aims to produce a fresh and comprehensive protocol for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. This protocol, legal instrument, or other legally binding outcome is expected to be implemented by 2015 and remain effective beyond 2020. The present negotiation process entails a crucial aspect of identifying means to augment the current degree of domestic and global efforts and expressing determination towards reducing greenhouse gas emissions. It was decided to bring the ongoing comprehensive negotiations involving all member nations under the Convention to a close by the end of 2012. This entails efforts to enhance the transparency of existing national plans aimed at reducing or limiting emissions. The aforementioned statement pertains to the initiation and sustained execution of an all-inclusive worldwide assistance system that will provide financial aid and technological resources to aid emerging nations in establishing their sustainable energy prospects and erecting communities and economies that are capable of withstanding the effects of climate change. The objective is to undertake a comprehensive worldwide assessment of the developing climate issue, utilizing the most reliable scientific research and data. The primary aim is to determine whether a maximum temperature increase of two degrees Celsius is sufficient or if a lower limit of 1.5 degrees Celsius is necessary. Additionally, the review aims to ensure that the collaborative efforts taken are sufficient to prevent the average global temperature from exceeding the agreed-upon threshold.

Nigeria is susceptible to the adverse effects of climate change. The phenomenon of climate change in Nigeria has resulted in the disturbance of the ecosystem's regular functioning, thereby impacting the accessibility of crucial resources necessary for human sustenance, such as the capacity to fish, which has been hampered by climate change and rising sea levels (Haider, 2019). Drought, heat waves, and other climatic anomalies have been shown to reduce crop yields, which may lead to food shortages (Abdulkadir et al., 2017). The occurrence of climate change hazards, such as prolonged dry spells, erratic weather seasons, and heavy droughts, in Nigeria, is often perceived in the context of environmental degradation, natural resource scarcity, food shortages, and migration. These factors have been known to instigate the Fulani herdsman and Farmer conflicts in affected regions (Odoh & Chilaka 2012). Figure 1.1 displays the

spatial distribution of vulnerability to climate change in Nigeria, revealing that states located in the northern region exhibit greater levels of vulnerability compared to those situated in the southern region.

Figure 1.1 Pattern of Climate Vulnerability in Nigeria



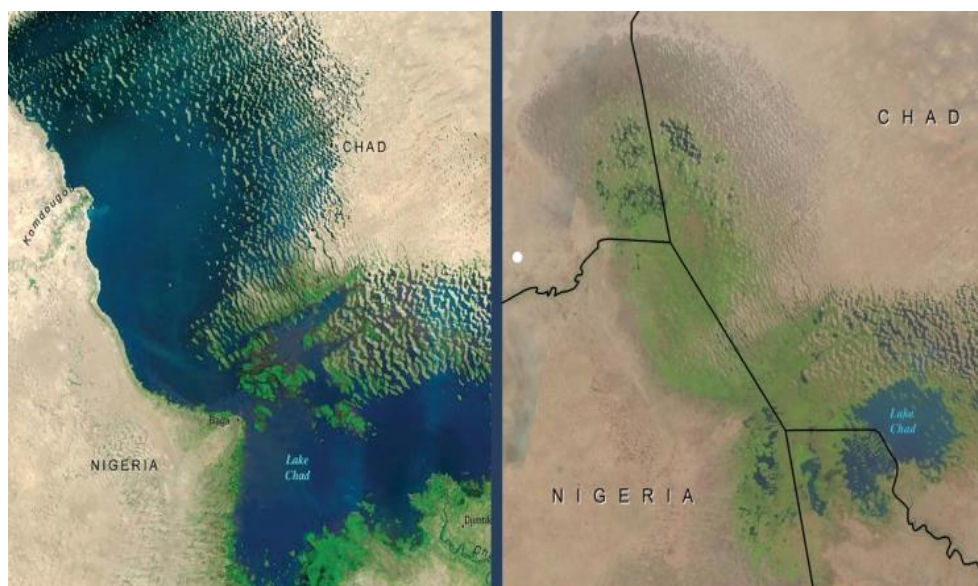
Source: Ignatius, 2016

The phenomenon of climate change has the potential to impact agriculture on both local and regional levels. The agricultural sector is highly susceptible to fluctuations in weather patterns and climatic conditions (Walsh et al., 2020). The utilization of land, water, and other natural resources is significantly dependent on the impact of climate (Gowda et al., 2018). The alterations in climate conditions, including variations in temperature, precipitation, and frost timing, have the potential to extend the duration of the growing season and facilitate the cultivation of diverse crops (Walsh et al., 2020).

According to Aremu and Abraham (2018), there have been report that indicates that is a reduction in river flow and desiccation of lakes in the northern regions. The

agricultural sector is facing a reduced water supply of over 2.2 billion which is impacting crop production and the maintenance of pasture for cattle rearing the phenomenon of Lake Chad's significant reduction in size from an estimated area of 45,000 km² in 1960 to less than 1500 km² in 2020 is largely attributed to alterations in the climatic conditions of the area. Figure 1.2 shows that the water volume of Lake Chad has experienced a significant reduction of 90% since the 1960s, primarily attributed to excessive utilization and the impacts of climate change.

Figure 1.2 Lake Chad's Reduction in Size



Source: Usigbe, 2020

Moreover, the transportation of water through inland channels has encountered obstacles, as reported by the Department of Climate Change Federal Ministry of Environment (2021). Due to the impact of climate change on the availability of basic resources for their livestock, it is not uncommon for herdsmen to migrate from the northern regions of Nigeria to predominantly Christian areas (settled predominantly by different tribes such as Igbos, Yoruba and Efik) in the south, seeking more favourable environmental and weather conditions. The phenomenon of migration, often undertaken for adaptation, has been known to give rise to ethnic and religious tensions within the host communities.

The escalation and expansion of agricultural production endeavours in Nigeria, propelled by the burgeoning populace, have resulted in progressively pervasive and severe clashes between farmers and herders regarding the utilization of agricultural

terrain (Adisa & Adekunle, 2010). The problem of land disputes, religion and ethnicity, and marginalization and inequality has led to a rise in insecurity and poses a considerable risk of exacerbating food shortages in Nigeria and other affected countries such as Ghana and Niger.

The incidence of assaults perpetrated by herders against civilian populations in Nigeria has witnessed a notable surge. According to a survey by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), these attacks caused an estimated 60,000 fatalities and over 300,000 displacements across Nigeria in 2020 (Gursoy, 2020 cited in Essien, 2022). Durojaiye (2014) asserts that the Fulani herdsmen tend to perpetrate assaults on susceptible communities during periods of increased vulnerability, such as at night when visibility is reduced. This phenomenon has a significant impact on an individual's capacity to monitor troop movements, comprehend terrain, and particularly influence their perception of enemy movements and positions. Furthermore, individuals may be vulnerable to surprise attacks if they are asleep or have limited time to respond, such as during days of prayer when they are congregated in open and accessible churches. These attacks are characterized by the use of advanced weaponry such as the AK-47 (also referred to as the Kalashnikov or simply AK an assault rifle that utilizes gas operation and is designed to accommodate the 7.62mm cartridge), resulting in the loss of human lives, destruction of property, and incineration of homes. There is a prevalent sense of insecurity among Nigerians, which is reflected in their fearful demeanour (Kuka, 2018). The apprehension and distress associated with the prospect of surviving another day is an unpredictable uncertainty. The nation appears to be under a spell as if it is under the subjugation of intangible extra-terrestrial beings. The widespread and omnipresent nature of their existence across both land and water highlights a fundamental vulnerability within Nigeria's security infrastructure.

The issue of the danger posed by Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria has been recognized for a significant period, spanning from 1998 to the present. According to Isabor (2021), the ranchers possess sophisticated weaponry, with some of the illicit arms being smuggled in from neighbouring countries such as Chad and Niger. In response, former President Muhammadu Buhari implemented a partial border closure in February 2021 to protect the nation. Isabor (2021) posited that the herdsmen may potentially acquire their weaponry from unscrupulous firearms merchants, political figures, and prominent livestock breeders. Nevertheless, the question regarding the

source of heavy weaponry utilized by herdsmen remains inadequately resolved, and governmental entities have yet to implement any substantial measures to redress the issue.

Individuals refrain from engaging in farming activities and experiencing peaceful sleep during the night due to the apprehension of being assaulted by herdsmen (Ekundayo, 2022). According to the International Crisis Group (2017), herders migrate across state borders to graze their cattle in areas where livestock tax regulations are less stringent (in Northern Nigeria for instance, a cattle tax levy of 900 Naira per annum, approximately \$1 per annum, commonly referred to as 'Jangali', is enforced, whereas in the southern region, no such levy exists). The response of federal and state governments to the crisis caused by the actions of these herders has been inadequate thus far. Okoro (2018) reported that herdsmen have caused significant harm to communities by engaging in various criminal activities such as kidnapping, arson, murder, rape, and looting. These actions have resulted in a serious threat to national security and development. Insecurity in Nigeria has also been influenced by other factors such as corruption and unemployment (Nzubechukwu et al., 2022). According to Lazarus and Okolorie (2019), Nigeria has acquired notoriety for being a nation characterized by pervasive corruption within its political institutions and broader community. The reputation of Nigeria is supported by a corpus of evidence, including widely recognized metrics such as Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. This index has consistently ranked Nigeria at 150 out of 180 and assigned it a score of 24 out of 100 (Transparency International, 2022).

Nzubechukwu et al. (2022) posit that corruption is widely regarded as the primary impediment to Nigeria's development, as evidenced by governmental shortcomings and systemic infrastructure deterioration. According to Lazarus and Okolorie (2019), Nigeria has acquired notoriety for being a nation characterized by pervasive corruption within its political institutions and broader community. The reputation of Nigeria is supported by a corpus of evidence, including widely recognized metrics such as Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. This index has consistently ranked Nigeria at 150 out of 180 and assigned it a score of 24 out of 100 (Transparency International, 2022). The prevailing condition of insecurity in Nigeria is indisputably a consequence of governmental inadequacy, which is ascribed to pervasive corruption.

The multifaceted challenge of insecurity in Nigeria has had a significant influence on the allocation of substantial funds by the Nigerian government towards the acquisition of advanced weaponry to effectively combat terrorism such as Boko Haram through the Nigerian armed forces. Regrettably, a sizeable portion of these significant funds are diverted to the personal bank accounts of political figures and senior military personnel such as the late former Chief of the Defense Staff, Alex Badeh, and the late former Comptroller-General of the Nigerian Customs Service, Alex Dikko, who were both tried for misappropriating funds (Olabimtan, 2021), leaving the lower-ranking soldiers in a disadvantageous situation against the heavily armed Boko Haram insurgents. Nigerian soldiers have been paying the ultimate price as a result of these actions (Nzubechukwu et al., 2022). The insufficiency of policing in Nigeria may account for the Nigerian police force's lack of proactive efficacy in addressing the country's security and criminality issues. According to Eme (2013), several Nigerian soldiers who are engaged in combat against the Boko Haram insurgents in the Northeast region of the country have fallen victim to ambush attacks due to the unauthorized disclosure of their operational plans, surveillance activities, and strategic manoeuvres by individuals with insider knowledge. Just as corruption, unemployment has also been attributed to be a cause of insecurity in Nigeria. According to KPMG, the unemployment rate in Nigeria has risen to 37.7% in 2022 and is projected to increase to 40.6% as a result of the persistent influx of job seekers into the labour market (Punch, 2023).

Unemployment is a precursor to poverty, which can lead to extreme poverty, and subsequently, criminal activity. This, in turn, contributes to a sense of insecurity within society. The escalation of unemployment in Nigeria has resulted in a surge of individuals experiencing severe poverty, leading them to resort to any available means of survival. According to Nzubechukwu et al. (2022), individuals who are susceptible to a life of criminality and criminal behaviour can become unwitting pawns in the hands of malevolent actors. The escalating conflict has become so alarming that it is impossible to deny that Nigeria is at a crossroads and progressively moving towards a society riven by conflict. Thus, the study aims to assess the causes of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and the challenges they pose to insecurity.

Problem Statement

The farmers-herders conflict in Nigeria dates back to pre-colonial times (before 1900s), but the shift in focus and targets from what scholars, observers, analysts, and the intelligence community initially saw as a simple conflict between Fulani nomads and sedentary farmers to heightened herders' militancy in almost all regions has sparked domestic and international attention and opinions. Most concerning is the shift in terrorist tactics, targets, and sophistication employed by nihilistic nomads who have killed innocent residents. When the conflict between Fulani herders and farmers first erupted, some scholars, analysts, and observers centred or rather linked the conflict's root causes around a single narrative: the scarcity of natural resources, which is frequently caused by climate change and, as a result, drives herder migration to the country's southern region in search of pasture for their cattle (Igbini et al., 2022).

The rising state of herdsmen attacks and the destruction caused poses huge security challenges to Nigeria. Since the turn of the first decade of the 21st century, violent attacks by herdsmen have been on the increase (Akpo-Robaro, 2019). The activities have become worrisome and a source of great concern to many Nigerians. To many Nigerians, their activities are beyond what can be termed as mere crimes or pockets of killings by unidentified individuals. Consequent to their activities, many people now live in fear and under great psychological trauma. This reality has raised the question among a larger proportion of the Nigerian population as to whether these herdsmen are truly herdsmen or terrorists. Many have asserted that the act of causing people to live in fear is a phenomenon that is associated with terrorism.

The study contributes to the body of knowledge and concepts currently in existence by highlighting the importance of the environmental security through emphasizing the link between climate change, climate-based migration and infamous Farmers-Herders Conflict in Nigeria. Previous studies have demonstrated that ethnicity, religion and tribal rivalries are all significant factors in the conflict between Fulani farmers and herders, by downplaying the effects of climate change and its conflict fomenting implications. Nevertheless, climate change and growing migration under these circumstances expand the scope of the conflict by accounting for various environmental contributing elements. Furthermore, the study highlights the necessity of environmental security by addressing the causes and impacts of climate change, such as the scarcity of water and land resources. Therefore, as the use of eco-violence

also demonstrates, it is imperative to address environmental issues in order to achieve peace-making.

Significance of Study

Nigeria is susceptible to the adverse effects of climate change. The phenomenon of climate change in Nigeria has resulted in the disturbance of the ecosystem's regular functioning, thereby impacting the accessibility of crucial resources necessary for human sustenance. The study aims to examine the causes of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria. Research findings can provide security agencies with a deeper understanding of the underlying causes of the clashes. This information can be used to develop more effective strategies for preventing and mitigating conflicts. For instance, if the research identifies issues related to land disputes or resource scarcity climate crisis and climate-based migration as major factors, security agencies can focus on mediation and early intervention to prevent violence. Research insights can help security agencies allocate resources more efficiently. They can deploy personnel and assets to areas most likely to experience conflicts based on the identified causes, thus improving response times and effectiveness. Armed with a better understanding of the causes, security agencies can work proactively to prevent clashes. They can engage in community policing, engage with local leaders, and facilitate dialogues between conflicting parties to prevent tensions from escalating. Research can provide data-driven insights that guide security agencies' decision-making processes. This can lead to more targeted and evidence-based interventions. The government of Nigeria can use research results to design and implement programs that promote peace, reconciliation, and understanding between different communities. This might involve community development initiatives, conflict resolution training, and intercommunity dialogue. Demonstrating a commitment to addressing internal conflicts can enhance Nigeria's international reputation. The government of Nigeria can share research findings with international organizations such as United Nations, the African Union, ECOWAS, and the World Bank and collaborate on conflict resolution efforts, possibly attracting support and resources for peace-building initiatives. Research findings can serve as a basis for crafting effective policies that address the root causes of the clashes. The government of Nigeria can develop comprehensive strategies that tackle issues such as land use, resource management, and ethnic tensions.

Research Questions

The main research questions the thesis seeks include:

➤ *What are the causes of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes and the challenges they pose to insecurity in Nigeria?*

The sub-questions will be sought to be answered which include:

➤ *What are the causes of Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict in Nigeria?*

➤ *How does the menace of Fulani herdsmen impact insecurity in the North and South of Nigeria?*

➤ *What is the socioeconomic effect of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmer conflict in the North and South of Nigeria?*

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the thesis is to assess the causes of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes and the challenges they pose to insecurity in Nigeria.

Thus, the specific objectives of the study are as follows:

To examine the main causes of Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict in the North and South of Nigeria

To assess how the menace of Fulani herdsmen impact insecurity in the North and South of Nigeria

To assess the socio-economically effect of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmer conflict in the North and South of Nigeria

Limitations of the Study

This study was not immune to some limitations. A number of limitations in the process of carrying out this Thesis had an impact on the scope as well as the significance of this work. Some of the limitations include:

The scope of the study was sometimes limited due to the availability of data to cover the dynamism of local conflicts, environmental conditions, and historical climate patterns.

The remoteness from the geography where the conflict is going on, the fact that what is happening does not constitute a safe environment for a field study, not to mention the budget limitations, necessitated the use of secondary sources in this

Thesis. Yet, it should be underlined that the use of secondary data for this thesis may be subject to biases from the original data collectors, which might lead to subjectivity.

Establishing linkages between climate change and conflict outcome and resolution without longitudinal studies proved to be a little difficult. The impact of climate on conflict results may not be immediately evident and might develop gradually over extended periods. Without longitudinal studies to monitor the changes over time, it is difficult to identify the progressive changes in conflict dynamics caused by climate change.

Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of five chapters. These chapters are as follows:

In Chapter 1, the research's main focus is introduced. This section explains the study's significance and explains its scope. This part sets the stage for what this thesis is dealing with, presents the problem we're trying to solve, and explains why it's important. Subthemes, study questions, and intended outcomes are all covered.

Chapter 2 examines the theoretical underpinnings and any prior related studies within the literature critically. There's an explanation of why these specific works of literature were selected for analysis, and how they helped shape the study's theoretical foundation.

In Chapter 3, the methodology employed in the study is discussed. This consists of the document sources, data collection and analysis methods used in the study.

The findings are discussed, along with their relevance, in Chapter 4. The findings of the study are presented in this part. These results make connections between the several key elements that were investigated. It further stresses the significant results from the data analysis that was carried out to accomplish the objectives.

Chapter 5 offers a summary of the study's results and any relevant suggestions. By relating the findings to the discussion at hand, it illustrates the study's significance and value. Furthermore, it highlights research gaps.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the existing literature on the infamous and rapidly deepening and deteriorating conflict between farmers and Fulani herders in Nigeria. Additionally, it elaborates on areas and issues that need further scrutiny, such as the primary causes, consequences, and drivers of the infamous conflict in question. Therefore, it serves as the foundation for any subsequent investigation that may be undertaken. Firstly, this chapter focuses on the historical background of the Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict in Nigeria. Then, it discusses the primary causes, consequences, and drivers of the conflict in Nigeria and lastly, the nexus between climate change and the Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict in Nigeria.

The Historical Background of Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria

As cited in Cabot and Cabot (2017), Meier (2011) asserts that the conflict between Fulani herders and farmers is considered to be as old as civilization. The connection between the farmers and the herders is mutually advantageous, thus benefiting both parties involved. According to Olomjobi (2017) farmers grant permission for herdsmen's cattle to graze on their land in exchange for the fertilizing benefits that the herdsmen's cattle bring to the farmers' soil. However, this relationship is often marked by rivalry, which has recently resulted in violent altercations over the availability and control of crucial resources such as freshwater and land, also known as common pool Resources (Cabot and Cabot, 2017). These conflicts have endured for a considerable duration. Based on a report by Crisis Group (2017), it has been observed that out of the 36 Nigerian states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja, approximately 22 states have experienced occasional encroachment and conflicts caused by herders. The level of destruction caused by the attacks of herdsmen in these states is truly unparalleled. The first clash between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria was documented in 1948 (Birma, 2018). In 1951, a further conflict emerged, leading to the departure of the Fulani Bororo community to Sudan (Adebajo, 2022). The 1955 conflict was officially classified as genocide, prompting the Sudanese government to issue eviction notices to all Fulani Bororo, requiring them to go back to their homelands of origin (Abodunrin et al., 2020). The Fulani Bororo originated from the Nigerian states of Borno, Sokoto, and Kano (Birma, 2018). The Fulani Bororo

people were repatriated to Nigeria in 1956. Over time, the process of urbanization and developmental initiatives caused the displacement of the Fulani herdsmen from the ranches (Adebajo, 2022). The evictions prompted the Fulani herdsmen to forcibly establish their grazing paths and occupy interim locations, which eventually happened to be agricultural areas (Ogbette & Attama, 2018). According to documentary evidence, the Nigerian government had acquired around 6.4 million hectares of land by 1964. These lands were located in 144 distinct regions in the Savannah region of Northern Nigeria, as well as three additional lands in Oyo and Ogun States (Birma, 2018).

These lands were not fully exploited and were eventually abandoned. Furthermore, the cattle routes, notably the Burtali and Labi, were deserted or repurposed for urban development, resulting in a dispute arising from the redundancy of livestock routes. Undoubtedly, the origins of inter-religious and inter-ethnic conflict in Nigeria can be traced back to a time before the country gained independence in 1960 (Nnabuihe, 2016). The colonial authorities established tin mines in the mostly Christian Jos plateau, and they encouraged both the local inhabitants and individuals from other regions of present-day Nigeria to come and work in these mines (Nnabuihe, 2016). Among the individuals they referred to as non-indigenes, were mostly Muslim Fulani herdsmen who had established residences in the villages. The indigenous population expressed their opposition to the practice of Fulani herdsmen allowing their cattle to graze in the region, especially when it resulted in damage to local agricultural produce. Accusations of crop damage have resulted in retaliatory actions, including the killing of herds, which has triggered violent clashes between Fulani herders and local agricultural communities (Birma, 2018).

The Fulani herdsmen, due to the unique nature of their work, often relocate in search of grazing lands. During their activities, the herdsmen allegedly come across individuals who steal their animals, and they report these incidents to the appropriate authorities (Opeyemi & Omilusi, 2016). However, the authorities have neglected to investigate these cases. This is due to resource constraints faced by law enforcement agencies, delays in law enforcement, and political influence, which is why the herdsmen are confident to carry weapons for protection (Ajayi, 2021). Throughout their voyage, they regularly encroach into farmlands held by people in their host villages, causing crop damage. Farmers' efforts to mitigate the destruction caused by them are greeted with resolute and aggressive opposition (Tunde, 2021). Oftentimes,

the farmers experience intimidation, injuries, and fatalities, while others are forcibly displaced from their homes. Occasionally, Fulani herdsmen are said to use these occasions to engage in theft, sexual assault, destruction of homes, and the murder of innocent individuals in the villages they traverse (Igbokwe & Iwuoha, 2019). Fulani herdsmen have been notorious for causing widespread destruction in villages in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the frequency with which they engage in these criminal activities has grown enormously (Salihu, 2018). Based on data from the Institute for Economics and Peace, there were 1, 229 fatalities in 2014, compared to around 63 documented cases of herders attacking and killing individuals in 2013 (Mohammed & Bala, 2018). Furthermore, in May 2015, more than 100 farmers and their relatives were allegedly brutally killed in villages and refugee camps situated in the Ukura, Per, Gafa, and Tse-Gusa local government regions of Benue State. Benue State is located in the North Central region of Nigeria and has a population of approximately 4, 253, 064. The region is primarily populated by the Tiv, Idoma, Igede, and Etulo peoples, with Makurdi serving as its capital. Benue is known for its abundant agricultural resources, earning it the nickname 'food basket of the nation'. Despite the abundance of arable land and favourable weather conditions for farming and animal husbandry, the state has faced significant challenges that have had a profound impact on food security. One of the most prominent issues is the conflict between herders and farmers.

In July 2015, alleged Fulani herdsmen launched an assault on Adeke, a village located on the periphery of the state capital, Makurdi (Mayah, 2016). In December 2015, a total of six individuals lost their lives in Idele village, located inside the Oju local government region. Three Fulani herders were slaughtered and decapitated in a retaliatory assault carried out by young individuals in the town (Ndubuisi, 2018). Between July 2016 and January 2018, Benue State alone saw over 500 fatalities and conducted mass burials for more than 73 individuals (Mohammed & Bala, 2018). In February 2018, a violent confrontation between herders and farmers in Benue State resulted in the death of an additional 40 individuals, the displacement of around 2, 000 people, and left no less than 100 others with severe injuries (Aliyu et al., 2018). In 2019, a total of 325 individuals lost their lives in Nigeria as a result of assaults perpetrated by Fulani herdsmen. The number of killings caused by Fulani extremists decreased by 72 per cent compared to the previous year when they were responsible for 1,158 deaths (Sasu, 2022). Furthermore, there have been documented incidents of aggression perpetrated by the Fulani herdsmen in many southern parts of the nation,

such as Enugu, Ekiti, and Ondo (Babarinde, 2021). According to Akinloye (2020), between 2017 and May 2, 2020, there were a total of 654 incidents carried out by Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. These incidents resulted in the deaths of 2, 539 individuals and the abduction of 253 persons.

With the escalation of violence, some factions within Nigeria's national security apparatus have raised suspicions about purported connections between Fulani herdsmen and the Boko Haram insurgency (Duke & Agbaji, 2020). It is said that Boko Haram militants, who are escaping the conflict in the northeastern part of the country, have relocated to the north-central area. There, they are launching assaults on civilian towns, masquerading as herdsmen (Birma, 2018). The Fulani herdsmen are considered one of the most lethal terrorist organizations in the world according to the Global Terrorism Index 2020 (Anaele, 2020). Some sources, such as the Nigerian military, have said that these individuals are herders originating from various regions in West Africa, rather than specifically Fulani (Peace, 2017). Although weak Nigerian borders and inadequate immigration control, particularly in the northern regions of the nation, may contribute to the admissibility of the former, establishing a connection between the actions of Boko Haram terrorists and those of the Fulani Herdsmen is very challenging (Birma, 2018).

Main Parties of the Conflict

To have a complete understanding of the conflict, it is necessary to have a firm grasp of the dynamics and points of view of the parties involved. Every party involved in the conflict has its own unique history, characteristics, grievances, and concerns that contribute to the continuing conflict. This section provides the background concepts of the parties involved in the conflict.

Fulani Herdsmen

The Fulani ethnic group, also referred to as the Fulbe or Peuls, is a culturally diverse people who are widely dispersed throughout the West African sub-region (Odey & Ajor, 2020). The origins of the Fulani can be traced back to the Berber population of North Africa in the 8th or 11th century AD. The Fulani people originated from the migration of the Berbers from North Africa, who intermingled with the local population in the Senegal area of West Africa (Burabali, 2016). During a millennium-long timeframe spanning from AD 900 to 1900, they expanded their presence across

the majority of West Africa and even extended into some regions of Central Africa (Burabali, 2016). Certain clusters of Fulani people have been discovered extending to the western boundaries of Ethiopia. During their eastward migration, they encountered several African tribes. Upon encountering these other ethnic groups, they subjugated the weaker tribes (Folami & Folami, 2013). Throughout their journey, some Fulani either fully or partly relinquished their customary nomadic lifestyle in favour of settling down in cities or engaging in agricultural activities alongside the subjugated populations (Ejiofor, 2022). The migratory Fulani tribe proceeded towards the east in pursuit of the most optimal pasture for their livestock. They centred their lives and devoted themselves to their livestock. According to their unique culture, the level of respect a man receives is directly proportional to the number of cattle he possesses (Mbah, 2016). The most significant clusters of the Fulani ethnic group are situated in Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, and Guinea. Within these nations, they have ascended to the position of the dominant social group and engaged in matrimonial alliances with the indigenous populace of the Hausa ethnic group (Igbini et al., 2022). According to Ejiofor (2022), it was estimated that over 30 million individuals belonging to the Fulani ethnic group reside throughout the nations of West Africa, and they continue to hold the title of the most populous nomadic community globally.

The Fulani ethnic group is predominantly located in the northern states of Nigeria (Odey and Ajor, 2020). In the 18th century, a significant number of individuals from the Fulani ethnic group migrated to the region of Niger (Enor et al., 2019). This development arose because they pursued enhanced economic opportunities and enough grazing land for their livestock. The region of the Benue and Nile rivers, presently recognized as Nigeria, was formed because of the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914 under the leadership of Sir Frederick Lord Lugard, who served as the colonial Governor-General of the Nigerian protectorates (Speaker et al., 2018).

Gabriel (2019) asserts that Fulani herdsmen, also known as Fulani pastoralists, are individuals who primarily rely on nomadic or semi-nomadic herding as a means of livelihood, with a particular emphasis on the rearing of livestock. There is a prevailing perception among certain individuals that a specific group of people are recognized as genuine Fulani pastoralists, whose principal means of subsistence involve the rearing and management of cattle. In contrast, the semi-nomadic Fulani population partakes in transhumance migration and subsequently returns to their respective camps or places

of residence. Abdulbarkindo and Alupsen's (2017), as cited by Gabriel (2019), argue that Fulani herdsmen are seen as a united group that consistently seeks out rich grazing locations in order to sustain their livestock.

Figure 2.1 Fulani Herdsmen



Source: Leke and Olawale, 2019

Figure 2.2 Fulani Herdsmen



Source: Oyeniya, 2022

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 depict the Fulani herdsmen engaged in the act of grazing their cattle. Figure 2.1 illustrates the consequences of climate change, depicting a lack

of fertile area for cow grazing. In contrast, Figure 2.2 illustrates a Fulani herdsman and his cattle grazing on fertile terrain.

Okoli (2016, p. 22) posits that the phrase ‘Fulani militancy’ is a recent addition to contemporary social discourse in Nigeria. The militancy of herdsmen has also capitalized on the pre-existing divisions based on religion and ethnicity in Nigeria (Okoli & Ogayi, 2018). The situation is developing into an intricate identity dispute that is causing instability in the Middle Belt region, which spans throughout central Nigeria. The herdsmen assaults in Kaduna, Taraba, Plateau, and Nasarawa States have shown a discernible pattern of targeting mostly non-Muslim populations, indicating a religious motive behind these attacks. In Zamfara and Kebbi States, the assaults have specifically targeted villages inhabited by non-Fulani communities (Yakubu, 2021). Typically, victims in the majority of assaults are selected based on their religious or ethnic affiliations (Okoli & Ogayi, 2018). The issue has garnered widespread attention due to the considerable detriment it has caused to the socio-economic and security welfare of Nigerians throughout the country (Okoli, 2016). The Fulani nomads' use of violence in their competition with crop farmers for resources within their mutually inhabited ecological region is commonly regarded as a manifestation of violent extremism known as Fulani militancy (Okoli, 2016).

The Fulani herdsmen have steadily been improving their military strength over the last several years. Along with using paid soldiers, they make use of modern weapons such as AK-47 assault rifles, knives, light-machine guns, sub-machine guns, and shotguns (George et al., 2021). At the moment, some attacks make use of military strategies, and supply helicopters and machine guns mounted on vehicles are occasionally used in these assaults (Okoli, 2017). When the attacks are carried out, they often use a tactic known as ‘scorched-earth’. The scorched-earth tactic is to deprive the opponent of all the resources and infrastructure that they need to continue fighting. This encompasses a wide range of resources, such as food, water, people, animals, plants, and infrastructure, which leads to the total devastation of entire communities (Davidson, 2019). Furthermore, they continue to carry out extended offensives that last for many months. There has been a disturbing increase in the transnational dimension of the violence that herdsmen are committing in West and Central Africa. Mercenaries from Mali and the Central African Republic, for instance, have often been implicated in the attacks that Fulani herdsmen have carried out in different parts of Nigeria. Fulani herdsmen have carried out these attacks (Okoli,

2017). There have been cases in other parts of Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, and Niger where mercenary warriors have engaged in analogous situations. It has been reported many times that the Fulani attackers and other organized transnational criminals, including livestock rustlers and insurgents in the sub-region, are working together in the planning and execution of their attacks (Okoli, 2017).

Farmers

The term farmer was initially utilized to refer to a tenant who acted as a leasehold rent for a farm, typically on a Lord's manorial demesne (Dyer, 2007). The aforementioned term can also be attributed to individuals who frequently partake in a blend of agricultural practices, including the cultivation of crops such as field crops, orchards, vineyards, and the raising of livestock and poultry (Ajiye, 2019). A farmer is an individual who engages in the cultivation of land or crops. From a comprehensive viewpoint, a farmer can be defined as an agriculturist whose primary occupation involves the cultivation of living organisms for the production of food and raw materials for various industries (Ajiye, 2018). The discord between farmers and Fulani herders has hurt the sustainability of the livelihoods of farmers in the north-central region and other affected areas of the country. Additionally, the herders, who are also involved in the commercial rearing of cattle have been negatively impacted.

Nigerian farmers who engage in this conflict often have a stable and non-nomadic way of life. They confine themselves to a certain geographical area and produce their crops. This contrasts with the way of life of the Fulani herders (Appiah-Boateng, 2020). The ownership of land is a crucial quality for farmers. This is because there is often a strong connection between farmers and their land, characterized by a developed mindset that is passed down through generations within families (Leakey et al., 2022). Consequently, conflicts often arise when Fulani herders intrude on this property, as disputes arise around land ownership and use. The main occupation of these farmers is agricultural cultivation, namely the growth of food crops such as grains, vegetables, and fruits (Olowe, 2021). Their existence hinges on the proper production and collection of these crops. There is a clear and direct relationship between farmers and the agricultural products they produce, which has both economic and subsistence implications (Lese et al., 2021). Crop damage from Fulani herd migration or confrontations resulting from grazing land disputes may have a significant negative impact on farmers' lives. Farmers often have strong connections

with their surrounding communities. The disputes have a significant influence on both people and communities as a collective entity. The conflicts may exert pressure on social unity and interpersonal connections within these groups (Omotola & Hassan, 2015).

These farmers rely on agriculture as their main source of income and survival. Conflicts may lead to significant economic repercussions, such as damage to crops or relocation, which can have enduring effects (Soomiyol & Fadairo, 2020). A significant number of farmers engaged in these conflicts cling to conventional farming methods, particularly relying on manual labour and rudimentary agricultural implements. The presence of technological breakthroughs in agriculture may be less common in certain contexts (Dickso & Amannah, 2023). Farmers often possess a strong cultural identity that is closely linked to their agricultural techniques and the land they farm. Hence, the disputes might be seen not only as economic hurdles but also as menaces to cultural legacy (Aluko, 2017). Farmers are exposed to the threat of climate change, which may potentially decrease agricultural productivity and intensify competition for limited resources such as water and land area (White & Yeates, 2018).

Climate Change

Climate change has a significant and ongoing impact on the well-being of human beings (Stott et al., 2019). According to the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report, climate change has detrimental impacts, including extreme weather events, rising sea levels, loss of biodiversity, wildfires, drought, and worsened air quality (IPCC, 2018). Climate change is defined as the enduring alterations in temperature and weather patterns over an extended period. These shifts may occur naturally because of variations in solar activity or significant volcanic eruptions. Human activities have emerged as the primary catalyst for climate change, mostly because of the combustion of fossil fuels such as coal, oil, and gas (United Nations, 2023).

The primary concern about climate change nowadays is the occurrence of global warming, mostly ascribed to certain anthropogenic activities such as deforestation, land degradation, as well as air pollution. Scientific consensus strongly affirms that the main human activities responsible for climate change (global warming) are the burning of fossil fuels, such as oil and coal (Jalo, 2018). This process emits carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases into the environment. Greenhouse gases trap heat

in the atmosphere, resulting in a range of effects on ecosystems, including rising sea levels, severe weather events, and droughts. These changes increase the likelihood of wildfires and impact plants, animals, and humans. Furthermore, human activities like agriculture, deforestation, overgrazing, and bush burning also play a role in the escalation of greenhouse gas emissions, which in turn contribute to climate change.

During the last century, the Earth's average surface temperature rose to an extent that cannot be ignored. The mean global temperature has risen by 1.7 degrees Celsius over the last century and is anticipated to rise by a maximum of 1.1 degrees Celsius in the future (Otegwu et al., 2014). Even a marginal increase in global temperatures caused by climate change may have significant ramifications for both the environment and human welfare. According to the IPCC (2014), most of the increase in global warming since the mid-20th century may be traced to the elevation of human-induced greenhouse gas concentrations, which lead to the greenhouse effect. Climate change is an adverse environmental phenomenon that is causing considerable concern worldwide. It refers to anomalies in the climate system resulting from human activities and noticeable changes in the Earth's climate system that can be attributed to human activities, namely those that affect the composition of the atmosphere and ultimately lead to global warming (Ayoola et al., 2011).

Primary Causes and Drivers of Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria

Conflicts do not arise independently in a vacuum. The extensive literature on conflicts also emphasizes that there are both visible/triggering and underlying causes of conflicts and that conflicts often arise when these are combined. In this regard, several causes contributed to the emergence of conflicts between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. Nevertheless, starting from the year 2000, the symbiotic alliance between farmers and herders has been progressively declining. The main factors contributing to this issue include the displacement of herders as a result of climate change (Ogoh, 2019; Akuva & Yusufu, 2020), an upsurge in both human and animal populations (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014), the ineffectiveness of conventional ways to resolve conflicts (Bukar, 2016), the politicization of the conflict (Atelhe & Cornelius, 2018), the dwindling supply of natural resources (Kwaja & Ademola-Adelehin, 2017), and the unlawful occupation of land by host communities. The Fulani ethnic group constitutes the majority of livestock herders and adheres to the Islamic faith, whereas the majority of crop farmers identify as Christians. Therefore, the

conflict first emerges as a result of rivalry for resources, but occasionally it intensifies into an ethno-religious conflict, leading to grave and disastrous consequences.

Land Dispute

The land has significant social and economic value in agricultural communities, and as a result, herders always encounter persistent threats to their cattle, which is a crucial representation of their cultural legacy (Adigun, 2019). This is particularly true in regions where land conflicts are very intense, such as Benue, Plateau, and Nasarawaa. Due to the limited and diminishing availability of land caused by desertification, erosion, drought, and climate change, life is becoming more challenging and demanding for farmers and herders who struggle to find sufficient grazing space (Olajunge, 2015). These factors often result in the deterioration of grazing paths, the encroachment of farmland, the continued erosion of traditional methods for settling disputes between farmers and herders, and the weakening of governmental frameworks aimed at safeguarding grazing routes (Ayodeji, 2022). The conflict over land between farmers and Fulani herdsmen is seemingly escalating steadily. Both groups see land as their need and normatively primary source of sustenance. Due to the restricted availability of land and scarcity of resources, the likelihood of violent disputes among the parties involved is consistently high (Adigun, 2019).

Since the enactment of the Land Use Act of 1978 by Major-General Obasanjo, the state has assumed ownership of subsurface mineral rights, which are now administered by local political elites rather than the general population (Ibeanu, 2000). The Act granted the authority to assign land at their discretion to the governing elites, in collaboration with influential traditional chiefs who functioned like manorial lords (Adigun, 2019). They were responsible for deciding who would get what? and how? in terms of access to property within the communities. The implementation of the new land-use administration, initially aimed at promoting agriculture, has resulted in unforeseen outcomes, particularly in terms of environmental deterioration, due to its failure to predict climate change. Due to the Land Use legislation's obsolescence, there have been strong demands for its revision or abolition. This is because the legislation has significantly hindered access to land, particularly for non-indigenous individuals who want to engage in commerce and other economic endeavours. The formidable, entrenched interests and the feudal-like traditional chiefs, together with its

incorporation into the 1999 Constitution, have collectively posed challenges in amending it, despite the pressing need for its change in light of contemporary circumstances.

Regrettably, the issue of land played a crucial role in the discussion on whether to implement cattle ranching as a viable method to resolve this situation. Concerns arose around the potential loss of land by farmers, who are often indigenous, to herders, who are typically either settlers or non-indigenous individuals. In January 2018, the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) stated that the Federal Government's plan to create cattle ranches nationwide would not effectively resolve the conflicts between herdsman and farmers. This is because the government intends to allocate over 370,000 hectares of Nigeria's land to herdsman. During the same period, Delta state Governor Ifeanyi Okowa, despite his state being under assault by herdsman, made it clear that he would not give up land for ranching. This decision was part of his firm policy to put a stop to the attacks by herdsman (Okowa, 2018). The Yoruba Council of Elders has firmly opposed the concept of ranching or 'cattle colonies' and has made it clear that it would not permit such practices in the South-West region.

In response to the discontentment of the herders and the potential loss of their lands, a few governors have taken the initiative to prohibit open grazing in their states such as the governor of Benue, Ekiti and Ondo. These bans are being strictly enforced, but no alternative solutions have been provided for the herders. Consequently, the herders have expressed their intention to defend themselves to protect their livelihoods. This has raised concerns that the army may be colluding with the herders who are disregarding the Open Grazing Prohibition Law in Benue state and carrying out their threats of violence. These allegations have been made by the Independent Human Rights and Crime Monitoring Group (IHRCMG, 2018). The conflicts between both parties have significant consequences for food security, development policies, national security, the environment, and the agricultural sector of the economy.

It is worth noting that these conflicts are also accompanied by the tragic loss of lives and destruction of properties. Conflicts between farmers and herdsman highlight climate change as a significant element that worsens the already diminishing resources (Conroy, 2014, p.7). This is due to the struggle for fertile land for crop cultivation by farmers and grazing areas for herders. Additionally, regarding the influence of climate

change-induced migration of the herders towards the South, an official in Tureta Local Council in Sokoto State recounts the following:

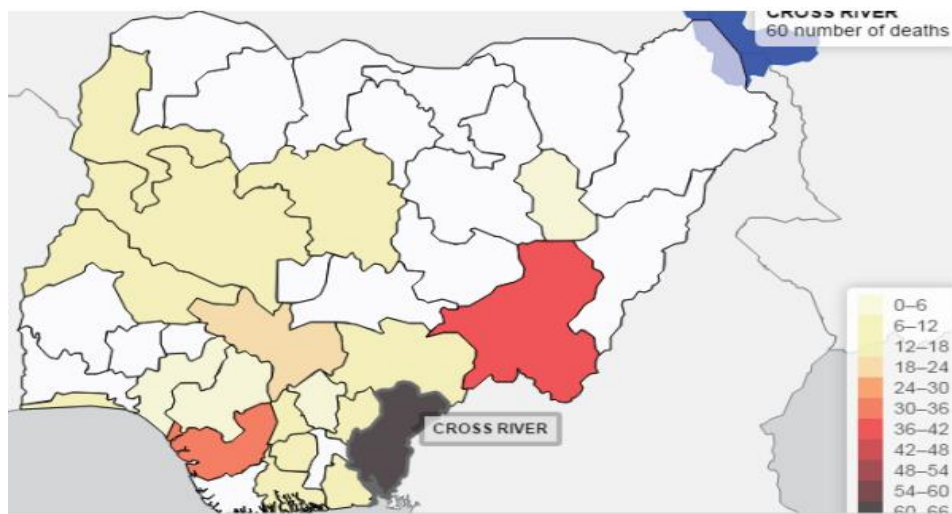
‘In the past, the migration used to be more in the middle of the dry season and after harvest but nowadays it is throughout the year. Worst of all, during the planting season, Fulani herdsman) walk on the seeds planted, and in most cases, a lot of them fail to germinate. This has caused a huge loss to us. The damage is usually the cause of our conflicts with the Fulani herdsman. It is a yearly battle between us’ (Odoh & Chidozie 2012, p.120).

The Nigeria Watch database indicates that land disputes were responsible for 1,367 violent fatalities between August 2014 and April 2018. Additionally, farmer/herdsman conflicts accounted for 1,067 deaths during the same time. This demonstrates the crucial correlation between land accessibility and the disputes between farmers and herders.

Based on the statistics used in Ichite's study (2015), 68% of fatalities were concentrated in the northern region of Nigeria. The North-Central region, particularly Benue, Plateau, and Nasarawa, has the highest number of recorded fatalities resulting from land conflicts. The media coverage of the conflicts between farmers and herders from January to April 2018 has been focused on the state of Benue, particularly in the Local Government Areas (LGA) of Guma, Logo, and Makurdi, which have had the most severe impact.

According to Nigeria Watch (2017, p.17), community disputes were responsible for a significant number of fatalities in 2016, with roughly 65 instances registered across the nation. The primary catalyst for the violence among the villages was a land dispute. Delta, Cross River, Kogi, and Akwa Ibom states had a significant number of deadly communal clashes. The most substantial occurrences were widespread in the states located in the Middle-Belt region. The Gassol Local Government Area in Taraba state, located in North-Central Nigeria, saw a total of 22 fatalities resulting from disputes connected to land issues. As to the study, Cross River and Delta states suffered casualties of 60 and 31 individuals, respectively, due to land-related disputes. The scenario is shown in Figure 2.3 below.

Figure 2.3 Map of Fatalities Due to Communal Violence per State



Source: Nigeria Watch, 2017

Ethnic and Religious Rivalry

The dispute has recently intensified, including ethnic and religious divisions, with no intervention from government or community leaders to resolve these issues (Muhammed et al., 2015). The main reason behind this apathy is that both ethnic nationalists and politicians have been profiting from these conflicts and have undoubtedly succeeded in establishing a rift between farmers and pastoralists, particularly in less educated populations. Leaders at the Federal, State, Local Governments, and even community levels are bewildered and pondering how to handle these difficulties (Muhammed et al., 2015).

Identity politics is a fundamental component of the political landscape in Nigeria. The Nigerian political elites have always attempted to exploit the many dimensions of identity, particularly ethnic and religious affiliations, especially during election campaigns, leading to disputes and instability. Given Nigeria's diverse ethnic makeup, some individuals with vested interests often use the disputes to achieve political and economic advantages. Lenshie (2014, p. 198) contends that 'Nigeria's political climate is characterized by a growing and intense revival of ethno-cultural identity'. The manipulation of ethnicity and religion by the elite tends to exacerbate issues such as disputes between farmers and herders. Identity politics is not inherently problematic, this is because marginalization could contribute to the use of identity as a rallying point for mobilization but rather the issue is in how entrenched interests use and exploit these ethnic and religious identities (Paul et al., 2017). The Middle-Belt

region, known for its frequent farmers/herdsmen conflicts, serves as the junction between the predominantly Muslim North and the predominantly Christian South. Identity politicians have strategically propagated the notion that the conflict is rooted in religious differences between Muslims and Christians. The lack of social control mechanisms, such as family, religious, and political institutions that were prevalent in traditional African cultures and focused on the welfare of the community, has increased ethno-religious disputes.

Amidst the ongoing conflict, former Vice President Yemi Osinbajo cautioned against politicizing the situation between farmers and herders in the nation. He emphasized that such an interpretation might provoke strong emotions from particular groups and could lead to an unforeseen catastrophe in the country (Agbakwuru & Erunke, 2018). In addition, the Buhari administration issued a warning to leaders in the country, including former Minister of Defence and Chief of Army Staff Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma, urging them to refrain from making provocative remarks that may jeopardize the unity of the nation. General Danjuma previously said that the military was supporting the terrorist organization to eradicate certain minority groups inside the nation. He recommended residents take up self-defence measures. The remark made by General Danjuma quickly garnered the interest of several organizations, such as the tribal chiefs of Benue state represented by the Mdzough U Tiv, the Idoma National Forum, and Omi Ny'lgede. These groups expressed their support and urged the residents to arm themselves against the herders.

Consequences of Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria

The consequences of the conflict between herders and farmers contribute to the underlying causes of the declining socio-economic conditions in rural areas in Nigeria. The consequences of these wars have a significant impact on several aspects of people's lives, including the economy, social fabric, religious institutions, and other realms. These violent assaults and retaliatory actions have resulted in societal and interpersonal consequences, as well as negative socio-economic impacts. These include, but are not limited to, the following repercussions as recognized by scholars.

Threat to National Security

The primary obstacle presented by the herders-farmers conflict over limited resources is the security threat, which impacts both groups equally. In their study,

Falanta and Bengesi (2018, p. 21) argued that the repeated disputes over natural resources between farmers and pastoralists lead to severe outcomes such as fatalities, property loss, crop devastation, food insecurity, absence of peace, impoverishment, and economic decline. Furthermore, as reported in Paaga (2013, p. 149), Benjaminsen (2009), stated that several wars arise from fights between two groups, leading to the loss of human lives. The implementation of the Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranch Establishment Law 2017 by the Benue State government resulted in the deaths of 82 Tiv farmers in Guma and Logo Local Government Areas on January 1, 2018. This incident has caused a significant risk to the safety of people and their belongings across the whole state. It is important to note that Agatu village in Benue South Senatorial District was also subjected to an assault in February 2016. The incident resulted in the deaths of 300 individuals and the damage to assets valued at millions of dollars (UNOWAS, 2018).

According to Olaitan (2016), the government's inability to effectively handle the issue of herdsmen attacks in Nigeria has significant consequences. The possession of advanced weaponry by herders, which they use to harm and eliminate perceived adversaries without restraint, poses a significant threat to the security of the country. This is due to the inability of security officers due to a lack of resources, especially the police, to overcome the audacity and firepower of armed herders.

The herdsmen have forcibly expelled entire communities, kidnapped respected political figures, set fire to churches, murdered clergy members and other worshippers, assassinated law enforcement officers, committed acts of sexual assault, engaged in looting, and carried out abhorrent crimes. Meanwhile, the government has made insufficient effort to address this dire situation, which poses a significant threat to national security.

Social Impact

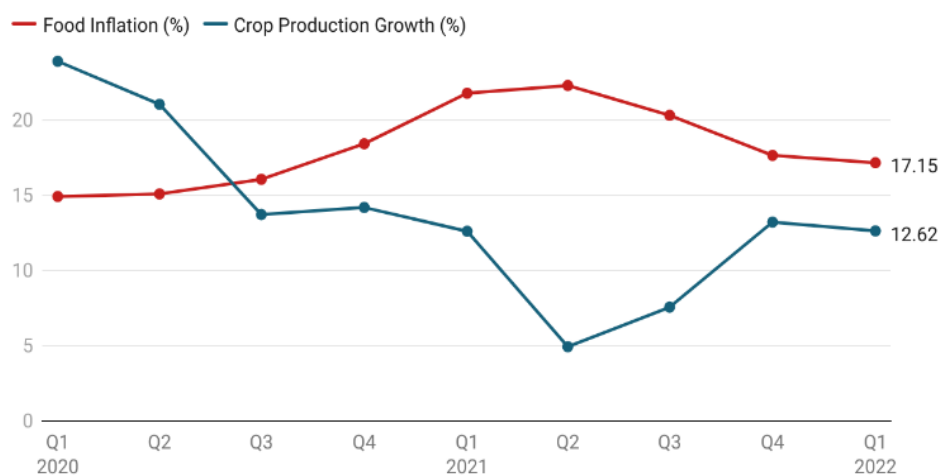
When considering the overall well-being and safety of the majority of the population, as well as its impact on the progress and advancement of the country (Erondu & Nwakanma, 2018). One consequence of the conflict between cattle herders and farmers is the erosion of social capital, which refers to the deterioration of the social bonds that have been established over time among these groups in neighbouring villages. This circumstance undermines the mutual trust between both parties, hindering their capacity to engage in future transactions. Consequently, it perpetuates

a cycle of tension, which may lead to the emergence of new conflicts and crises. Entire villages have been pillaged and forced to leave, resulting in an increased responsibility on the government, organizations, and people to provide them with care and essential resources. Furthermore, the crisis has subjected the Nigerian administration to significant scrutiny both domestically and globally (Erondu & Nwakanma, 2018).

Threat to Food Security

The farmer-herder conflict has escalated significantly, with severe implications for food security. Each state within the north-central geopolitical zone has seen various forms of attacks, leading to a decline in food production (Nnamani et al., 2018). The violence in Nigeria has resulted in the extensive displacement of individuals, causing many to forsake their agricultural activities and leave their original residences. Conflicts in these regions sometimes pose a significant risk to economic activities, notably food production, leading to the potential for widespread famine and hunger (Okoli et al., 2013). Based on a report by UNICEF (2023), it is estimated that a significant number of Nigerians, approximately 25 million, could potentially experience hunger from June to August 2023 if immediate measures are not implemented.

The ramifications of the violence on Nigeria's food security are of utmost significance. The conflict has led to security and livelihood difficulties that threaten the survival and well-being of the affected communities, impacting their ability to sustain themselves and their whole existence. Additional externalities include a reduction in agricultural production and a decline in household capital, both of which have detrimental effects on social and national sustainability (Tanko, 2021). Kareem (2022) reports a significant fall of 47.2% in agricultural output from Q1 2020 and Q1 2022. Figure 2.4 demonstrates a negative correlation between agricultural output and food inflation. The decrease in food output has mostly been attributed to the country's insecurity, which includes the Boko Haram insurgency, ransom kidnappings, conflicts between farmers and herders, and ethnic disputes. Agricultural workers have expressed dissatisfaction with their inability to access farmland.

Figure 2.4 Crop Production Decline in Nigeria

Source: Kareem, 2022

It has been highlighted that violent conflicts, particularly disputes related to resource use, may adversely impact agricultural and animal productivity. The occurrence of violent conflict hampers the productivity and marketing capabilities of farmers, hence adversely impacting people's access to food (Jeanty & Hitzhusen, 2006). According to FAO (2023), internal or community disputes have a detrimental impact on agricultural productivity and investment in several ways. Violent conflict between farmers and herders can cause disruptions in the availability and circulation of farm inputs, such as fertilizers. This is because the government allocates more resources towards maintaining peace, resulting in reduced spending on vaccines for livestock, fertilizers, and other agrochemicals for crop farmers. Food insecurity arises as a consequence of insufficient crop yields or the complete absence of production in regions affected by war, resulting in elevated food costs (FAO, 2023).

The Nexus Between Climate Change and Fulani Herdsmen-Farmer Conflict

Climate change has played a role in the movement of Fulani herdsmen increasing confrontations between Fulani herdsmen with farmers (Maley & Vernet, 2015). The hostilities have had a substantial impact on locations such as Jos and Benue, this is due to the historical tension between ethnic groups and religion within the region. The Fulani people have been compelled to relocate to host communities due to insufficient rainfall, resulting in the depletion of grazing lands in their original territories (Abugu & Onuba, 2015; Waziri, 2020). According to Maley and Vernet (2015), when Fulani

pastoralists face severe climatic conditions that lead to the reduction of pastures, they move to more suitable locations for grazing in the central and southern regions. The last two decades have seen the occurrence of detrimental consequences resulting from climate change. According to Tiwo (2023), climatic change in Northern Nigeria from 2010 to 2023 has resulted in the mortality of over two million cattle. The areas that saw the greatest impact were the northeastern districts such as Borno, Adamawa, Yobe and Taraba which were inhabited by the Fulani pastoralists (Tiwo, 2023). The southerly extension of the desert, caused by climatic changes, has compelled the Fulani pastoralists to move in substantial numbers to new places that provide grazing land for their cattle. This migration has a considerable impact on the Fulani pastoralists, as shown by Abugu and Onuba (2015) and Waziri (2020). The movement of the Fulani pastoralists has led to an increase in disputes with the local farming population as a consequence of encroachment on their agricultural areas (De Haan et al., 2016).

Deepening Scarcity of Resources Due to Climate Change

The Fulani community exclusively depends on communal water sources, including rivers, dams, cow ponds, streams, hand-dug wells, and springs, for both their use and that of their animals (Alimba, 2014). Insufficient water supply is a major limitation for livestock farming and a key reason why pastoralists migrate to the southern region of Nigeria (Alimba, 2014; Okello et al., 2014). The severe consequences of climate change, drought, and desertification in northern Nigeria have transformed what was once a seasonal occurrence into a permanent stay in host communities (Okello et al., 2014). The detrimental consequences of climate change, such as less rainfall, have led to a significant decrease in agricultural productivity in many northern areas of Nigeria. Given the region's heavy reliance on agriculture, the revenue was therefore impacted. When agricultural productivity is impacted, it becomes a crucial factor in driving migration from damaged areas to regions that are more appropriate for agro-pastoralist activity.

The confrontation between farmers and herders was first documented during the West African Sahelian drought and famine that occurred from 1968 to 1974. After this time frame, the northern part of Nigeria has been susceptible to the consequences of climate change, including drought and desertification due to geographic vulnerability (Alimba, 2014). The occurrence of 'seasonal migration' is prompted by the scarcity of pasture and water for cattle during this time, which can only be found in a limited

number of locations, mostly in agriculturally abundant regions, the central region, and the southern portion of Nigeria. The likelihood of a climatic war cannot be easily dismissed, since a significant portion of Nigeria's northeastern and north-central states, around two-thirds, face the imminent threat of being impacted by the detrimental consequences of climate change, particularly drought and desertification. When the Fulani pastoralists migrated southwards to find water and grazing grounds for their cattle, they encroached into the farmlands of the local populations. To save their crops from damage caused by the herders and their livestock, conflicts arose (Alimba, 2014; Okello et al., 2014).

It is crucial to comprehend that climate change also impacts agriculture. The expansion of farmed regions driven by climate change has resulted in the encroachment of restricted grazing areas for herders, such as the Fulani, to accommodate their animals. This is one reason why the Fulani believe they have a valid basis for allowing their animals to trespass onto farmers' property. According to Muhammed et al. (2015), there has been a longstanding struggle between migratory Fulani herders and host communities' farmers due to the scarcity of water and rich land resources resulting in conflicts. The majority of conflicts between the Fulani herders from the northern region and farmers in the central and southern regions have always been seen as religious or ethnic disputes between the Christian farmers and the Muslim Fulani herders. The primary source of conflicts between these two groups in Nigeria has consistently been the acquisition of crucial natural resources. The Fulani herders resort to using force to gain access to the resources they lack in their home region, such as water and fertile land for grazing (Muhammed et al., 2015).

In addition to the limited availability of resources and the deterioration of the environment due to climate change, there has been an emergence of 'conflict entrepreneurs' who exploit socio-economic and political factors to exacerbate the animosity and tension between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers for their gain. This has disrupted the longstanding peaceful coexistence between these communities (Okeke, 2014).

Climate Change and Changing Migratory Pattern

The dual ramifications of climate change, including drought and desertification, have become more apparent in northern Nigeria. Considering that the agricultural industry is the primary source of employment in Nigeria, employing over 75% of the

population in the northern region, a decline in crop production and a significant mortality rate among livestock result in reduced income and subsequently, poverty (Okolie, p. 2022). In light of these conditions, there has been a pervasive absence of passion for agriculture and a substantial migration of individuals in two distinct directions. Undoubtedly, these movements will unavoidably result in discontent, attrition, and conflicts within the host populations. The occurrence of Fulani herders exemplifies such migration tendencies. As a result of persistent droughts and desertification in Northern Nigeria, a considerable proportion of Fulani herders have migrated to the South in search of lush grazing pastures for their cattle, this is shown in Figure 2.5. Regrettably, these migrations have led to several instances of violent confrontations with the indigenous communities.

Figure 2.5 Migratory Pattern of Fulani Herdsmen from Northern to Southern Nigeria



Source: Ashiru, 2016

Climate change constantly worsens community disputes, and the severity of this effect is mostly driven by elements like migration, the attitudes of immigrants, as well as the perception, reception, reaction, and friendly connection with host communities (Allwod, 2013). Violent conflict is often unlikely due to the need to compete for scarce natural resources. Initially, the Fulani herders and their cattle embark on a southward

migration in search of more productive grazing grounds and sources of water. The circumstances above have resulted in recurrent conflict between pastoralists and agriculturalists in the northeastern regions of Nigeria (Otu, 2023). Moreover, there is a notable pattern of young farmers from rural regions relocating to urban areas in search of enhanced quality of life. The process of migration is of utmost significance in the perpetuation of conflict in northern Nigeria and the emergence of groups like Boko Haram. These young migrants lack formal education and the crucial skills needed to survive in urban areas. Insufficient governance and the absence of a comprehensive welfare program have resulted in the inability of these young persons to get employment, therefore compelling them to engage in criminal behaviour and pose a threat to society.

CHAPTER III

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

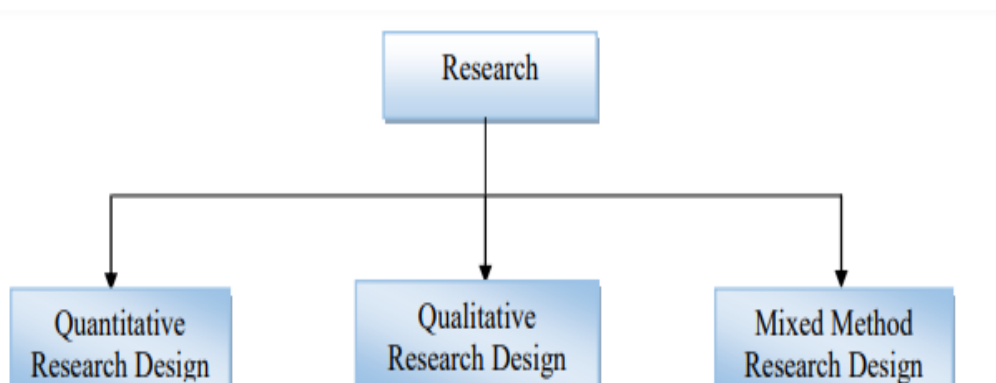
Methodology

This section allows for a thorough evaluation of the study's overall validity and reliability by outlining the scientific methods used to investigate the research problem and explaining the rationale behind the selection of specific procedures to gather, process, and analyze information to understand the problem.

Research Design

According to Bloomfield and Fisher (2019), research design serves as a mechanism for offering specific directions for research procedures. The selection of research design plays a crucial role in determining the appropriate methods of analysis that will provide the desired outcomes. It encompasses the identification of necessary data, the selection of data collection and analysis techniques, and how these elements will address the research questions (Asenahabi, 2019). The research design should have a method for interpreting the analyzed data to provide comprehensive results and conclusions. These findings and conclusions will enable the researcher to offer suggestions or draw implications based on the study (Asenahabi, 2019). In this regard, as shown in Figure 3, research design can be categorized into three distinct types: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods research designs.

Figure 3.1 Categories of Research Design



Source: Asenahabi, 2019

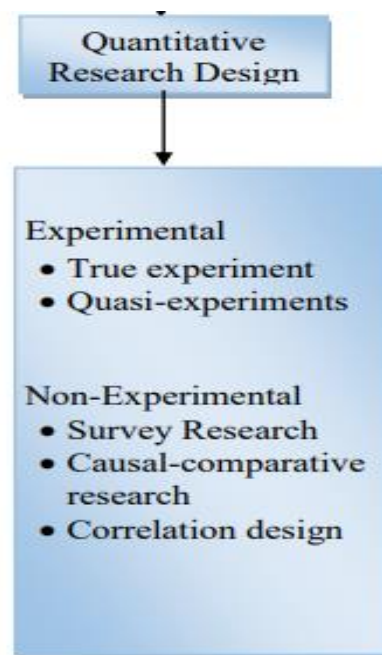
Quantitative research entails the systematic collection of numerical data to elucidate phenomena, followed by their evaluation using mathematically based procedures such as regression, ANOVA, chi-square, and structural equation models (Kandel, 2020). Quantitative research is distinguished by its rigorous control over variables, impartiality in data collection and analysis, and emphasis on generating quantifiable results. The major objective of this approach is to measure the degree of variability in a certain situation, issue, occurrence, or phenomenon (Kandel, 2020). Quantitative research involves the formulation and use of mathematical models and assumptions. The main aim of using a quantitative research design is to demonstrate a causal link between an independent variable and a dependent or outcome variable within a particular sample (Mehrad & Zangeneh, 2019). As shown in Figure 3. Quantitative research may be categorized into two main types: non-experimental research and experimental research approaches (Asenahabi, 2019).

Non-experimental design refers to a kind of quantitative research that does not include experiments during data collection. It is categorized into three groups: survey design, causal-comparative design, and correlation design (Taherdoost, 2022). The survey technique is the systematic gathering of data from a representative sample group to evaluate the group's current state concerning one or more variables. Survey research can be classified as either cross-sectional or longitudinal studies (Asenahabi, 2019). Cross-sectional research pertains to observations made at one or more specific times, while longitudinal research comprises observations made over several distinct time intervals (Hunziker et al., 2021). Causal-comparative research is a quantitative design that does not include experimentation and instead focuses on comparing two or more groups. This comparison is made concerning a causative factor (the independent variable) that has already occurred (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Correlational research is a non-experimental design in which correlational statistics are used by researchers in this kind of study to evaluate and describe the degree of association between variables or sets of scores (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

Experimental research entails the deliberate manipulation of one or more independent variables to ascertain their influence on one or more dependent variables. Jongbo (2014) asserts that experimental research is based on the creation of cause-and-effect relationships. Two separate groups, namely the experimental group and the control group, are used in experimental research (Asenahabi, 2019). The experimental group is subjected to a distinct treatment, while the control group stays unchanged,

enabling the exploration of the relationship between the variables being studied. There are various types of experimental design. Quasi-experiments involve the use of control and experimental groups, but the participants are not randomly assigned to these groups by the researcher. A true experiment is conducted when the researcher randomly allocates participants to different treatment groups. Single-subject design, which entails the systematic observation of the behaviour of one individual or a limited group of individuals over a while (Creswell, 2014).

Figure 3.2 Quantitative Research Design Approaches



Source: Asenahabi, 2019

Taherdoost (2022) identifies the limitations of the quantitative study design. In this regard, the weakness can be summarized as follows.

- Quantitative research emphasizes measurable variables, which might result in overlooking the underlying causes and mechanisms behind the data - the “how and “why” may not be captured.
- Numerical data is insufficient for fully comprehending intricate social, psychological, or cultural matters since data does not explain the personal challenges or experiences of each individual.

- Although quantitative research aims to maintain objectivity, it may nevertheless be influenced by researcher bias in areas such as study design and data collection, not to mention interpretation.
- Quantitative research is inadequate for understanding human experiences or unique situations due to its inability to provide detailed insights.
- Quantitative research may not accurately capture the experiences and perspectives of underrepresented or disadvantaged groups due to their limited representation in the data.

A mixed-methods design is a relatively new research design compared to the quantitative and qualitative designs; however, it incorporates both qualitative and quantitative data in a manner that effectively elucidates research problems. Within the framework of mixed method study design, qualitative research collects data that is open-ended and does not have predefined replies, whereas quantitative research collects data that are closed-ended (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, Dawadi et al., (2021) assert that this approach provides a sound basis for reasoning, allows for methodological adaptability, and facilitates a comprehensive comprehension of individual instances. Put simply, the utilization of mixed methods allows researchers to address study inquiries with enough comprehensiveness and scope, facilitating the generalization of results and consequences about the studied matters to the whole population (Dawadi et al., 2021). Multiple studies, such as David et al., (2018), Dawadi (2019), and Fauser (2018) have recognized notable limitations associated with mixed-method design.

Firstly, the process of data collection and processing might be relatively time-consuming. The procedure of recruiting individuals and collecting data is demanding (David et al., 2018; Linnander et al., 2019). Furthermore, the endeavour of integrating both qualitative and quantitative data is a substantial obstacle for the majority of researchers (Linnander et al., 2021). The diverse epistemological and philosophical frameworks exert an impact on both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Therefore, the challenges in combining both paradigms centre on the equitable consideration of assumptions in each paradigm and the compatibility of the data gathered from both research designs (Dawadi et al., 2021). In addition, issues related to the mixed-methods approach concern the selection of a suitable design and the maintenance of data integration quality. Occasionally, there may arise a situation where one approach

might impact the process of gathering and analyzing data from another method (Dawadi et al., 2021).

The thesis utilizes a qualitative research design to fulfil the study objectives, which are primarily to examine the causes of Fulani herdsmen and farmers' clashes in Nigeria and assess how the menace of Fulani herdsmen impacts insecurity in Nigeria and the region in general. Firstly, qualitative research endeavours to tackle scientific and practical concerns inside societies, using naturalistic and interpretive methodologies to explore various topic areas (Taherdoost, 2022). These approaches use diverse empirical data, including case studies, life experiences, and narratives, to illustrate the daily routines and challenges people face. Aspers and Corte (2019) propose that qualitative research encompasses two overarching criteria, namely the procedural approach and the resultant outcomes. The objective of qualitative research is to gather original, firsthand textual material and use specialized interpretative methodologies for analysis. This highlights the significance of understanding the context in which certain phenomena take place. It requires an in-depth understanding of the societal, cultural, historical, and environmental influences. (Muzari et al., 2022). Exploratory in nature, this approach proves to be valuable in the examination of a phenomenon that is characterized by limited available information. The focus of this approach often is on the examination of event findings within a specific temporal and contextual framework, while neglecting to account for potential future implications and outcomes, as well as the applicability of the study's conclusions to other settings (Taherdoost, 2022).

According to Creswell (2014) qualitative research is focused on gaining an understanding of the significance that a social or human predicament holds for either an individual or a collective. Furthermore, the primary objective is to derive significance, intention, or veracity from the viewpoints and encounters of the involved parties (Aspers & Corte, 2019). The qualitative research methodology employs open-ended inquiries to extract data that cannot be subjected to numerical scrutiny. The utilization of this methodology facilitates the researcher in acquiring an enhanced comprehension of issues through the examination of their unique contextual components and the significance attributed to them by diverse individuals (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). As shown in Figure 3.3, qualitative research methods can be categorized into the following: narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory, action research, ethnography, and case studies (Asenahabi, 2019).

Figure 3.3 Qualitative Research Design Approaches



Source: Asenahabi, 2019, p. 78

This thesis employs a case-study approach. A case study is a research approach in which a researcher thoroughly examines a particular occurrence involving a process, person, organization, group, industry, culture, or nation (Taherdoost, 2022). A case study entails a comprehensive analysis of a phenomenon. A case study offers a thorough comprehension of the occurrence and fundamental causes of specific events by clarifying the method by which a cause-and-effect relationship occurs (Asenahabi, 2019). A case study is used in this thesis due to its ability to provide a comprehensive understanding of the infamous farmer-herdsmen conflict via an extensive range of data, thereby facilitating a holistic perspective of the conflict. Moreover, the conclusions derived from the case study may be used to create well-informed judgments and provide resolutions for the issues. Furthermore, the utilization of case study design in this thesis may enhance the understanding of eco-violence theory by uncovering novel patterns, linkages, or theoretical viewpoints. Local communities usually have their perspectives, beliefs, and strategies for environmental conflicts. The

use of case studies allows perceptions and beliefs to be documented and provides an understanding of how they shape the dynamics of eco-violence.

According to Taherdoost (2022), some of the advantages of qualitative research design include:

- Qualitative research design helps to explore the ‘How’ and ‘Why’ questions. Concerning this thesis, qualitative research addresses the underlying causes and mechanisms behind the farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria. This also addresses the limitations of the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions of the quantitative research design. A thorough examination of documents, reports, and community narratives can provide rich contextual factors that explain the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the conflict.

- Qualitative research design enables individual experience to be obtained historically. This research design allows the use of a wide array of texts to provide valuable insight into the personal experiences of individuals affected by the farmers-herdsmen conflict in Nigeria. It does not solely rely on numerical data, as the quantitative research design does. Deeper dimensions of human experience, such as trauma, loss, and resilience, can be understood with a qualitative research design.

- Qualitative research design enables phenomena to be examined within a broader social, cultural, and historical context. This research design allows the thesis to elucidate the elements, such as land disputes, resource shortages, and ethnic tension, that contribute to the formation of farmers and herders conflict and their effects on different groups. Furthermore, a deeper comprehension of the conflicts is facilitated by the examination of the historical and cultural practices that influence them, since they provide insight into the conduct and motive of each group involved in the conflict.

Data Collection

The importance of data collection in research is rooted in its role as a managerial strategy utilized by researchers to obtain the necessary data for their inquiry/subject in question (Sunarya et al., 2017). The concept of data collection pertains to the systematic procedure of acquiring and scrutinizing data to perform research and substantiate ideas using diverse methodologies. The purpose of doing this kind of evaluation is to identify a particular problem and get insights into its outcomes and potential future developments. The data collection step involves clearly defining the objectives of the study, identifying data sources, reviewing relevant literature, defining

selection criteria, validating data and carrying out data analysis. There are two separate methodologies for data collection. The contingency of this matter is dependent on the nature of the data being collected. Pandey and Pandey (2021) differentiate primary data-collecting techniques from secondary data-collection techniques.

Primary data is defined as information that is obtained directly from researchers who have firsthand experience and observation of a certain event or scenario. The findings produced via empirical inquiry are considered to be more dependable (Sharma & Kumar, 2022). Examples of techniques used to obtain primary data include interviews, surveys, observations, process analysis, and experimental methods, etc. Primary data has several limitations, which include:

- It is time-consuming as researchers must dedicate significant resources to recruiting participants and collecting data.
- Potential for bias: The process of collecting primary data might be susceptible to response bias, interviewer bias, and social desirability bias.
- Data Ensuring the protection of sensitive data is crucial for upholding ethical standards in terms of data security and privacy.
- Potential for data inaccuracies and restricted generalizability (Ragab & Arisha, 2018).

The concept of secondary data refers to information that has been obtained from published sources, indicating that the data has already been gathered by a distinct individual or entity for a particular purpose and can be utilized for alternative research objectives (Taherdoost, 2022). According to Taherdoost (2022), secondary data is used in studies because it enables researchers to conduct a longitudinal analysis, which entails the examination of studies conducted over an extended period. This can aid in identifying various patterns. Furthermore, it is possible to access historical secondary data spanning several years as well as more recent data up to a few hours prior. This feature facilitates the comparison of data across different periods. The justification for using secondary data includes:

- Secondary data lies in its ability to facilitate the comparison of findings across different time frames.
- Historical documents provide valuable insights into historical events. Secondary data also provides information on populations that are hard to reach or marginalized.

➤ Secondary data may be retrieved quickly and provide greater information than can be offered on the long-term dynamics of farmer-herder conflict without the acquisition of fresh data. In addition, the need for fieldwork is avoided, which might be resource-intensive.

➤ Data: The use of secondary data helps to reduce ethical problems related to data security and privacy since it does not require the direct participation of human subjects. The issue of conflict between farmers and herders is delicate, and people in communities may be reluctant to provide personal or sensitive information. By using secondary data, information is acquired without compromising the anonymity or well-being of individuals. In addition, conducting research in conflicting regions may be subject to legal restrictions. Therefore, using secondary data helps to circumvent any possible legal complications.

➤ Enhanced generalizability: Secondary data offers a wider viewpoint by including a larger population over an extended period. The confrontations between farmers and herders have persisted for over seven decades. Therefore, by using secondary data, a historical perspective may uncover patterns, triggers, possible measures to reduce harm, long-term consequences, and policy implications.

This thesis accomplishes its goals through the use of secondary sources, including textbooks, scholarly publications, periodicals, official government documents, and databases, which include Google Scholar, a freely accessible search engine that offers a wide range of books and articles. Additionally, Scopus, a citation and abstract database, is employed. ERIC, a database specifically designed for educational research, is also utilized. Lastly, JSTOR, a digital library providing access to articles and various primary materials, is incorporated into the research methodology.

Data Analysis

In this thesis, document analysis is carried out. The method of document analysis is a highly valuable research technique that enables the examination of a diverse range of documents, such as books, newspaper articles, academic journal articles, and institutional reports (Morgan, 2022). According to Patton (2015), any credible written material has the potential to serve as a viable resource for qualitative analysis. Undertaking a document analysis pertains to the necessity of conducting research endeavours that are specifically designed to examine how written materials depict

various societal factions (Morgan, 2022). The justification for employing document analysis is that it enables researchers to obtain the optimal data source (Davie & Wyatt, 2021). Therefore, document analysis is used in this study to obtain optimal data. Additionally, studying the behaviour of Fulani herdsman is another aspect of this research. Researchers are more likely to suffer damage in very aggressive environments; thus, due to safety concerns, document analysis is preferred as a data analysis method. Document analysis is also used in this study due to data stability (Morgan, 2022). During interviews or observations, researchers could have an impact on the subjects. The data are impacted, however, when they do a document analysis on texts that already exist (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Utilizing document analysis in this thesis offers a historical lens for comprehending the development of disputes between farmers and herders, as well as the consequences of previous and current policies. Document analysis helps to incorporate the viewpoints of several stakeholders, including farmers, herders, government organizations, and local authorities. The use of document analysis provides valuable insights into initiatives designed to alleviate disputes between farmers and herders. The application of document analysis provides comprehensive knowledge of the social, political, economic, and cultural variables that contribute to these disputes. Document analysis does not require direct engagement with people, hence mitigating ethical problems.

Theoretical Framework

There is much discussion about whether the primary focus of an investigation should be on ‘individual’, ‘national’, ‘international’, or ‘global’ security, but generally speaking, security is defined as the absence of threats to fundamental values, for both individuals and groups (Baldwin, 2018). During the majority of the Cold War era, the concept of national security -which was primarily defined in terms of militarization- dominated most discussions and works on security. Scholars and statesmen alike tended to focus primarily on what their own governments should be able to do militarily to counter the challenges they faced from other actors which were states. In this context, in the Cold War period, national security primarily emphasised militarism due to the significant risk of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union (Leffler, 1992). The primary focus of study in that setting was the nation-state, where each state placed its security interests as the first priority. All

actors of the international system were primarily motivated to save their territory, sovereignty, and population from potential military assault or invasion by opposing states in an anarchical setting. States became preoccupied with military expansion, forming strategic alliances, and using deterrent policies to ensure their security against a perceived existential threat (Hough, 2013). The ideological conflict between capitalism and communism under the leaderships of the United States and Soviet Union led to a global fight for influence and power, increasing tensions and highlighting the need for military strength to maintain national security (Buzan & Lawson, 2014).

The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and early 1990s marked a significant shift in the world order and thus worldwide security dynamics. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar world system, new actors and topics emerged, changing and indispensably broadening the concept of security. One notable shift was the emergence of non-state entities as key players in international affairs (Langhorne, 2005). Non-state actors such as transnational terrorist organisations, insurgent movements, and criminal organisations have gained importance, offering new challenges to established security notions (Davis, 2009). These players operated independently of any single state and frequently pursued goals that contrasted from those of nation-states, complicating efforts to effectively address security concerns. Another key shift was the broadening of the meaning of security beyond traditional military considerations. This extended approach, often known as 'comprehensive security' or 'human security', encompassed a wide range of non-military threats such as economic instability, environmental degradation, communicable diseases, and human rights violations. Policymakers are becoming more conscious that non-traditional security issues can have major implications for national and international stability and well-being (Caballero-Anthony, 2011). Furthermore, the end of the Cold War prompted a reconsideration of the role of international organizations and institutions and multilateral collaboration in addressing security concerns. With the end of the 'bi-polar superpower competition', a greater focus was placed on diplomacy, conflict resolution, and collective security frameworks to handle crises and maintain stability. Institutions such as the United Nations, regional organisations, and cooperative security arrangements have grown in popularity as forums for debating common security concerns and promoting interstate cooperation.

That being said, the post-Cold War period presented new obstacles and uncertainty as well. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the rise of asymmetric threats, the development of ethnic and religious conflicts, and the challenges provided by globalisation all resulted in complex and complicated security issues that defied easy solutions (Alach, 2006). Furthermore, the disintegration of state authority in some places, as well as the formation of failed states and ungoverned zones, created ideal ground for insecurity and unrest. Overall, the end of the Cold War marked a watershed moment in the evolution of international security, ushering in a more complex and interconnected security environment defined by the presence of diverse actors, a broader understanding of security threats, and a renewed emphasis on multilateral cooperation (Obikaeze, & Iheke, 2016).

The concept of security has come under fire for being overly limited and ethnocentric -a term that denotes cultural prejudice. Rather, a number of authors have advocated for an extended definition of security that takes into account a variety of factors outside the purview of localized national security (Baylis, 2019). In his 1983 work entitled '*People, States, and Fear*', Barry Buzan makes the case for a definition of security that is more broadly defined internationally and encompasses not only military but also political, social, economic, and environmental dimensions. International organisations have made numerous decisions and launched initiatives concerning environmental issues and their connection to security, especially in addressing climate change and the greenhouse effect. In this regard, a number of noteworthy examples can be given:

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was established in 1992, the UNFCCC is a significant global agreement designed to tackle climate change. It acts as the cornerstone for worldwide initiatives to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and prepare for the effects of climate change (Protocol, 1997). The yearly Conference of the Parties (COP) gatherings within the UNFCCC offer a forum for nations to discuss and revise their pledges to address climate change. The Paris Agreement, established in 2015 under the UNFCCC, is a legally binding international treaty that outlines ambitious objectives to restrict global warming and address climate change (Falkner, 2016). The primary goal is to ensure that the global temperature increase remains significantly below 2 degrees Celsius compared to pre-industrial levels, striving to cap the rise at 1.5 degrees Celsius (Warren et al., 2022). All participating countries must submit nationally determined

contributions (NDCs) detailing their actions to reduce emissions and adapt to climate change as per the agreement.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was founded in 1988 by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), the IPCC evaluates scientific studies on climate change and offers policymakers unbiased data to assist in decision-making. The reports are subjected to thorough peer review and are used as the scientific foundation for global climate discussions and policy creation (Secretariat, 2013). Recently, the Security Council has conducted numerous debates and meetings regarding the connections among environmental factors like water scarcity, food insecurity, climate-induced displacement, and conflict risk (Conca, 2019). These decisions and initiatives demonstrate an increasing awareness within the global community of the links between environmental concerns, such as climate change, and security. Through collaborative efforts and coordinated action, international organisations strive to advance sustainable development, resilience, and peace by collectively addressing these challenges (Peters et al., 2020).

Buzan's study presents intriguing and significant concerns concerning the compatibility of national and international security considerations as well as the ability of nations to think more cooperatively on a global and international scale given the structure of the international system. The emphasis on the conflict between national and international security is not shared by all security authors. Some say that focusing solely on state and inter-state interactions fails to recognize global political shifts. Some others, however, argue that globalization's integration and dispersion require greater focus on social security. On the other hand, there are scholars arguing that in the post-Cold War age, with the emergence of a global society, the focus on national and international security is no longer relevant. They stress the fragmentation of nation-states, much like proponents of "societal security" theory, but they push for an emphasis on global society as opposed to ethno-national society. They acknowledge the increased risks and hazards that come with this approach. These comprise the hazards posed by phenomena like global warming, cyberwarfare, and international terrorism. Most people believe that nation-states have little influence over these global security risks (Baylis 2019).

There has been a growing focus on the environmental aspect of security within the international community. It is increasingly acknowledged that environmental

challenges are linked to other global issues like poverty, inequality, conflict, and migration (Warner et al., 2010). Recognising the increasing significance of environmental degradation and climate change, policymakers and practitioners are emphasising the importance of addressing these issues comprehensively to advance sustainable development and security. Factors like resource scarcity, competition over land and water, and climate-induced displacement can lead to conflict and instability within and between countries due to environmental stressors (Akhtar-Schuster et al., 2011). Conflicts with environmental origins are on the rise, leading the global community to acknowledge the significance of tackling environmental issues to prevent and reduce conflicts while supporting peacebuilding initiatives (Kalilou,2021). International agreements and initiatives like the Paris Agreement on climate change, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction have increased the importance of environmental issues on the international agenda. These frameworks offer a foundation for collaborative efforts, teamwork, and skill development to tackle environmental issues and advance sustainable development (Annan-Diab & Molinari, 2017).

In parallel with all these developments and transformations, scholars including Baechler (1999), Percival and Homer-Dixon (1999), and Gleditsch (1998) have devoted their attention to the correlation between environmental scarcity and violent conflicts. Similarly, scholars including Burton (1990) and Azar (1990) have emphasized a link between unmet human needs (be it political, including equal representation, economic, such as equal opportunities, or social and cultural, including maintaining traditional cultural codes) and the causes of conflict, arguing that needs are ontological. That is, they are regarded as matters of life and death and therefore not open to discussion and negotiation. In light of this context, eco-violence and human needs theory of conflict will be effectively utilized in this thesis.

According to Homer-Dixon and Blitt's (1998) argument, numerous developing nations such as Nigeria, India, and Brazil have significant reliance on four crucial environmental resources that are essential for crop production, namely fresh water, cropland, forests, and fish. As stated by Homer--Dixon and Blitt (1998), 'The depletion or diminution of resources due to mismanagement, excessive utilization, or deterioration may incite conflicts under specific circumstances: supply-induced

scarcity is caused by the loss of resources such as a lack of quality drinking water or fertile land' (Homer-Dixon & Blitt, 1998, p. 9).

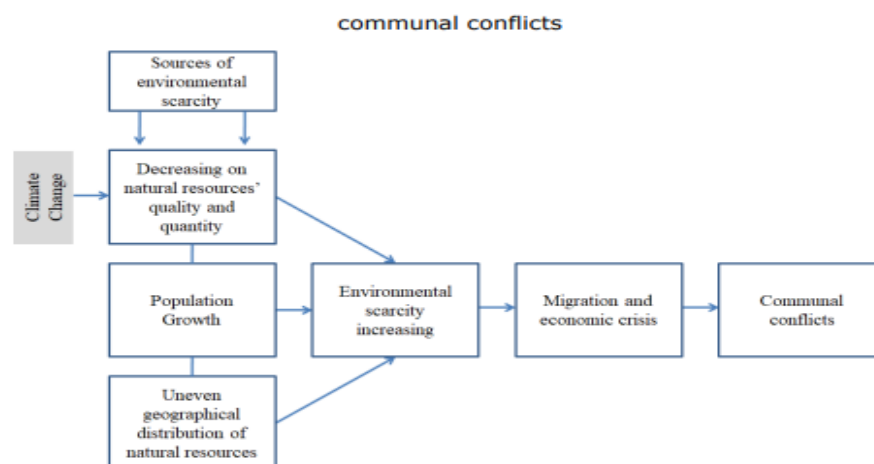
As per the analysis of Homer-Dixon (1999), the reduction in the availability and standard of renewable resources, coupled with population expansion and disproportionate resource distribution, can lead to an escalation in the scarcity of cropland, water, forests, and fish for specific groups of people, either individually or in combination. The occurrence of scarcity can have a detrimental impact on economic productivity, not only for the local groups affected by it but also for the wider regional and national economies. Displaced individuals may opt to relocate, or face forced displacement to unfamiliar territories. The relocation of groups can frequently incite ethnic tensions upon their settlement in unfamiliar territories. Along with them, migrants bring their social status, cultural background, and ethnicity. On certain occasions, this situation could cause conflicts with the native population because of incompatibilities. A clear example of such a situation is the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria. Due to the environmental degradation of the environment caused by oil spills, local communities were forced to move to unfamiliar territories, resulting in ethnic tensions (Nwankwo, 2021). Whereas reductions in financial resources may give rise to conflicts stemming from deprivation. An example of this situation can be seen in Somalia. Due to heavy reliance on agriculture and pastoralism, environmental degradation and drought led to reduced financial resources. This, in turn, led to conflicts over diminishing resources and competition for humanitarian aid, leading to derivative conflict (Destrijcker et al., 2023). In this context, Homer-Dixon (1999, p. 133) defended that 'Increased scarcity can reduce or constrain economic productivity, which may cause the affected people to migrate or be expelled to other rural lands or cities, and local decreases in wealth can cause insurgencies and rebellion'.

Homer-Dixon (1998) argues that resource scarcity is the result of several factors, including inadequate supply, excessive demand, and uneven distribution of resources caused by environmental change. This, in turn, leads to deprivation and violence among specific segments of society, albeit to varying degrees. The sources of scarcity mentioned above are attributable to a range of factors, such as population growth, economic progress, and environmental pollution, not to mention changes in climatic patterns. It is anticipated that constraints on environmental resources will curtail agricultural and economic output, resulting in disturbances in economic

sustenance, impoverishment, and migratory patterns. Resource capture occurs in situations of resource degradation and population growth, providing incentives for powerful groups such as the Fulani herdsmen to take control of scarce resources at the expense of weaker and poorer groups such as the farmers (Homer-Dixon, 1999). This causes the affected individuals to migrate to new locations (Madaki, 2018).

The occurrence of migration can be attributed to two primary factors, despite the list being long and sobering. The first factor pertains to the decline in environmental conditions such as drought, desertification, and sea level drying up within a specific habitat, which renders it unsuitable for habitation. When it comes to the second factor, is related to the potential for better economic prospects for migrants in areas with more abundant resources such as fertile grasslands and pastures, availability of good irrigation water, and excellent climate conditions (Morales-Muñoz et al., 2020). It is expected that the simultaneous occurrence of restricted productivity and migration will strengthen the stratification among pre-existing religious, socioeconomic, ethnic, or linguistic partitions within a community, ultimately resulting in the emergence of conflicts (Nnaji & Samuel, 2019). Ecological marginalization, where the combined impact of population growth and unequal resource access leads to a decrease in the quality and quantity of renewable resources, can lead to increased environmental scarcity. This scarcity, in turn, can lead to forced migration to ecologically marginalized areas (Homer-Dixon, 1999).

Figure 3.4 Influence of Climate Change on Resource Scarcity and its Relationship with Conflict



Source: Furini, 2019

According to Figure 3.4, climate change leads to a reduction in the quality and quantity of natural resources, such as fertile land and water resources. This, in turn, generates a shortage of environmental resources, leading to migration in search of available resources. However, as a result of competition for these scarce resources, violent confrontations tend to arise. It is fair enough to assert that a fundamental characteristic of Fulani pastoralists in Nigeria's case is their migratory behaviour, which is intrinsically linked to the phenomenon of climate change, scarcity of resources, and violent conflicts (Weber, 2021). The eco-violence theory proves to be a valuable analytical tool for comprehending the complex interconnections that may arise between climate change and the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers. As aforementioned, climate change impacts the four environmental resources, namely freshwater, cropland, forests, and fish. In the Nigerian case, which is the main focus of this thesis, the phenomena of drought and desertification have resulted in the depletion of arable land and forests, leading to a scarcity of these environmental resources. Due to drought and desertification, Fulani herdsmen migrate from the north to the south where they can obtain favourable weather conditions and lush vegetation. Nonetheless, this situation presents a potential danger to the sustenance of farmers who are not willing to endure such encroachments. This phenomenon inherently generates competition for land and water resources, thus leading to conflicts (Weber, 2021). Additionally, this thesis incorporates the human needs theory of conflict as an additional theoretical argument.

The theory of conflict based on human needs posits that all people possess fundamental needs that they strive to fulfil. However, when these needs are denied or thwarted by other groups or individuals, it may result in immediate or future conflicts since needs are considered ontological- a matter of 'to be or not to be' (Rossati, 1990, p. 43). Over time, scholars like Burton (1990) and Azar (1990) have identified several fundamental needs, the deprivation of which might result in such a river conflict. Burton's comprehensive contributions to the development of the Needs Theory distinguish him as one of the most prominent advocates of the theory. To briefly summarize his arguments in this regard. Burton categorized some requirements, including food, shelter, sex, reproduction, and identity, as fundamental wants. He argued that the total absence of these needs or even inadequate missing which, since the Cold War's conclusion, have grown exponentially, particularly in the past few decades (Burton, 1990).

Burton (1990) further established a relationship between frustration, which compels people to engage in aggressive behaviour, and the inclination of these individuals or groups to fulfil their fundamental needs (Akah, 2021). Burton (1990, p. 27) further states, 'Now it is a known fact that there are fundamental universal values or human needs that must be met if societies are to be stable'. This thereby provides a non-ideological basis for the establishment of institutions and policies. Unless the needs are met in multi-ethnic societies unless in every social system there is distributive justice, a sense of control, and prospects for the pursuit of all other human societal developmental needs, instability and conflict are inevitable' (Burton, 1990, p. 27). According to Burton (1990), violence arises when people or groups see no other means to fulfil their demands or when they demand understanding, respect, and consideration for their desires. Violence is a tragic manifestation of unsatisfied human needs, suggesting that all actions performed by humans are attempts to fulfil their requirements.

Advocates of the Human Needs theory agree that the primary factor in the conflicts between farmers and Fulani herders in Nigeria often stems from the damage to crops belonging to local farmers by the cattle of Fulani herdsman. Other fundamental causes, such as religious and ethnic tensions, have already been covered in this argument.

Farmers' efforts to save their crops often give rise to conflicts, which in turn lead to extensive damage. Likewise, the Fulani herders often express dissatisfaction with the intrusion on their grazing grounds by farmers and the theft of their livestock (cattle rustling) by residents. This often results in exasperation and strain for the herders, finally culminating in aggressive confrontations with the farmers as a means to safeguard their livestock. A Fulani herdsman named Ahmed Saidu expressed the following statement: 'Our herd is of utmost importance to us; as with every nomad, life is devoid of value without his cattle. What are your expectations of us when our very means of survival are endangered?' The invasion of grazing fields and roads by farmers is a significant provocation (Ishaku, 2017). This indicates that the conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsman revolves around ontological needs, in other words, the pursuit of livelihood and survival, which are closely linked to land-based resources for farming and grazing. These resources are essential for meeting the fundamental needs of both farmers and herders (Otor, 2021). The dissatisfaction

associated with these needs impedes the realization of the capabilities of both farmers and herders, resulting in conflict.

This thesis explores the important views and arguments on the nature and dynamics of the herdsman-farmers conflict provided by both the human needs theory and the eco-violence theory of conflicts. The disputes often emerge because of the farmers and herdsman's pressing need to protect and advance their livelihoods in a progressively shrinking natural region characterized by few resources, population displacement, and competition for resources (Atelhe & Okoli, 2014). The migration of Fulani herders in quest of grazing areas has increased the number of those who need this vital resource. The population expansion has resulted in a growing demand for land and water resources for agricultural activities and livestock raising in the area inhabited by indigenous farmers, early Fulani settlers, and nomadic herders. This thesis contends that the competition for land and water resources among the groups is the primary catalyst for the recurrent conflicts between farmers and herders.

As it acknowledges the connections between the political, social, and economic elements influencing the Fulani herdsman-Farmers conflict, the Eco-violence Theory was very necessary for this investigation. This conflict is caused by a multitude of variables, including geography, migration patterns, and ethnicity. This theory thus emphasizes how these components interact. The Eco-violence hypothesis also highlighted how susceptible societies are to environmental change and how they might lessen its effects. It highlights how the weather impacts farmers' and herders' way of life and coping mechanisms. Moreover, the use of Eco-violence Theory promotes an interdisciplinary method of conflict analysis.

CHAPTER IV

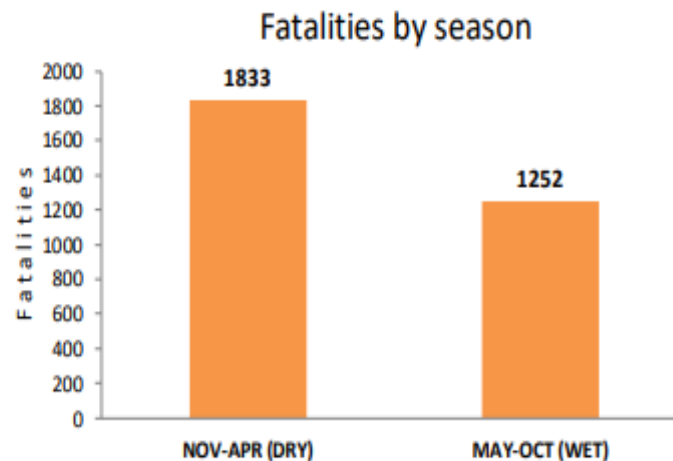
Discussion

What are the Causes of Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria?

The conflicts between farmers and herders have been ascribed to a diverse array of factors. This wide array of factors can be listed as follows:

The Effect of Climate Change

Nigeria has seen variations in climatic conditions, resulting in extended periods of drought and less precipitation. Based on a 2015 study from the National Meteorological Agency, the yearly precipitation has declined from an average of 150 to 120 days during the last three decades. Furthermore, during the last six decades, an expanse exceeding 350,000 square kilometers in the dry region has undergone a conversion into the desert and semi-desert conditions (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). The process of desertification is expanding in a southerly direction at a pace of 0.6 kilometers per year, as stated by the Federal Ministry of Environment National Policy on Desertification and Drought in 2018 (Bununu et al., 2023). According to the National Policy, the states of Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara have about 50-70 % of their geographical area facing a significant danger of desertification. As a result, this has compelled millions of pastoralists to seek grazing areas in other settlements (Azare et al., 2020). The herders' movement initially took place periodically, commencing in December and extending until May. This is because this period is the dry season in Nigeria. During this period, vegetation usually becomes scarce and water resources are depleted, mostly in the central region and some parts of the southern state (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). As a result, the herders have shifted from their former practice of temporarily remaining between December and May to establishing a permanent colony. The transition has increased disputes between crop farmers and herders in the country, mostly centred on the use of land and water resources (Adisa, 2010; Nte, 2019).

Figure 4.1 Fatalities of Humans by Season

Source: Furini, 2019

Furini (2019) demonstrates in Figure 4.1 that there is a 46.4 % increase in human death during the dry season (November to April) compared to the rainy season (May to October). According to their statement, climate change significantly exacerbates drought and desertification, leading to the displacement of rural populations from the northern to the central-eastern region in search of natural resources to sustain their way of life. The impact of climate change is significant and should be taken into account in communal conflicts such as the one between Fulani herders and farmers in Nigeria.

The research conducted by Effevothu and Ihuoma (2019) demonstrates that the conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria can be attributed to climate change and its associated consequences. It has been stated that the scarcity of resources disproportionately affects those who are vulnerable, as the competition for livelihoods and the growing insecurity around food often leads to migration and violence between communities. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of effective institutions to prevent or resolve these conflicts. They determined that climate change exacerbates several causes like land pressure, poverty, inadequate governance structure, environmental degradation, and ethnic marginalization, all of which contribute to the escalation of full-blown conflicts.

As to the findings of Ojo et al., (2023), Nigeria has seen a depletion of more than 90 % of its whole forest reserves, equivalent to around 10 million hectares or 10 % of Nigeria's total land area (Audu & Adie, 2023). The phenomenon of desertification is particularly pronounced in states like Sokoto, Katsina, Jigawa, Kebbi, Bornu, and

Yobe. It is moderate in Kano, Kaduna, Bornu, Yobe, Bauchi, Gombe, Adamawa, Taraba, Niger, and Plateau (Audu & Adie, 2023). Desertification impacts sixteen out of the nineteen Northern States. Likewise, climate change exacerbates terrorism, insurgency, and inter-tribal conflicts. In the very arid regions, whole settlements and main transportation routes have been engulfed by dunes in the northernmost areas of Katsina, Sokoto, Jigawa, Bornu, and Yobe States (Adebayo, 2022). The influx of people and cattle migration from these regions is managed by buffer states, including the Federal Capital Territory, Plateau, Adamawa, Taraba, Niger, Kwara, and Kaduna States (Adebayo, 2022). The migration of pastoralists to these buffer zones intensifies the competition for land use, which is portrayed by the media as inter-tribal conflicts, some of which have escalated into battles in the South West and South East regions. The climatic connection has worsened the inter-tribal conflicts between the Fulani and the Ekiti people in Ekiti State.

The impact of climate change on the Farmers-Herder conflict has been well documented in this thesis. A primary manifestation of climate change is the alteration in rainfall, prolonged droughts, and desert encroachment. These conditions significantly impact the quality of grazing land and water resources, which is a vital need. This leads to a change in the migratory pattern by the Fulani herders to explore alternative grazing routes from the North to the south of Nigeria. As a result of this need for water resources and quality grazing land, conflicts are triggered between the herders and farmers. This is in line with the theory of conflict based on human needs which posits that 'all people possess fundamental needs that they strive to fulfill. However, when these needs are denied or thwarted by other groups or individuals, it may result in immediate or future conflicts because needs are considered ontological-a matter of 'to be or not to be'. Needs are important for the survival of human beings. Grazing land and water are not just preferences to Fulani herdsmen but a way of livelihood for their survival likewise arable land for agricultural practices and economic development.

It is well documented that the Fulani herdsmen are social migrators. During the dry season of the year which starts from December to May, they move in search of green pastures for their cattle. This is because vegetation becomes scarce and water resources become depleted. However, due to the intense desertification, the Fulani herdsmen chose to establish permanent colonies in southern regions where they migrated. This results in increased competition for these scarce resources, thus causing

violent conflicts between herders and farmers. This is in line with the Ecoviolence theory which states that ‘the depletion or diminution of resources due to mismanagement, excessive utilization, or deterioration may incite conflicts under specific circumstances’ (Homer-Dixon & Blitt, 1998).

Banditry and Cattle Rustling

Eyekepini (2016) asserts that rural banditry and cattle rustling are among the factors that encourage herders to migrate to the southern region of Nigeria. In the 1980s, bandit organizations, often referred to as ‘kwarta’, began targeting merchants and passengers on main roads. More recently, similar gangs have multiplied in significant rural areas in the north such as Zamfara, Kano and Adamawa, where they assault towns and markets and participate in cattle rustling.

In the last ten years, there has been a significant increase in the occurrence of cattle rustling, particularly in several northern regions. These rustlings are carried out by well-organized groups of bandits that operate without any hindrance from law enforcement authorities. This is due to the ineffectiveness of curbing criminal activities due to dense forests and vast landscapes (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). Cattle rustling is prevalent in Kawuka woodland in Kaduna, Dansadua forest in Zamfara, Falgore forest in Kano, and Davin Rugu Forest in Kaduna, Katsina, and Zamfara states. It operates in Kogi, Benue, Plateau, and Nasarawa (Adejumobi, 2019). According to reports by Onuoha (2022), Boko Haram has been obtaining significant financial support via the rustling of the cattle. As a result, the government prohibited the importation of cattle into Borno State to curb the financial support provided to Boko Haram. The magnitude of banditry activities has been significant, with over 70, 000 cattle taken since 2019-2023, with the number increasing in succeeding years (James, 2023).

According to Paulcraft (2024), Plateau State saw a significant loss of 350 individuals and 834 livestock between October 2023 and January 2024. In his empirical investigation, Bashir (2017) showed the existence of correlations between banditry and cattle rustling. It was suggested that the elements accountable for cattle rustling and banditry are related to the conflict between farmers and herders. It was determined that there are correlations between cattle rustling, rural criminal activity, and unemployment. It was concluded that both measures had significant ramifications for the livelihoods of farmers and Fulani herdsman. In a parallel study done by

Abdulazeez et al., (2018), they posited that banditry and cattle rustling have been significant contributors to the widespread conflict between farmers and herders, and vice versa. They said that the disputes exacerbate the poverty level of both farmers and herders. Additionally, it was observed that these disputes impede the farmers' and herders' capacity to thrive and succeed in their respective domains. The insecure environment, driven by chronic banditry, has hindered both farmers and herders (Muggah & Batchelor, 2002).

When it comes to the Ecoviolence theory, conflicts emerge because of resource scarcity caused by environmental degradation. The presence of cattle holds both economic and ecological significance, resulting in increased competition and unfortunately, incidents of cattle theft. In addition, with the decrease in grazing land, there is a rise in competition. Cattle rustling becomes a strategic approach to ensure access to suitable grazing land. According to the needs theory, owning cattle often signifies social status. Some people may resort to cattle rustling as a means to enhance their standing in society. In addition, when considering individual economic needs, poverty and limited alternative opportunities often drive individuals to resort to cattle rustling.

Population Growth and Scarcity of Resources

Population growth has exerted significant strain on the land resources used for food cultivation and grazing by herders. The population of Nigeria as seen in Table 4.1 has seen a significant increase, increasing from 144 million in 2006 to over 200 million in 2023, hence exacerbating this situation.

Table 4.1 Population Growth of Nigeria (2006-2013)

Year	Population	Growth Rate
2023	223,804,632	2.41%
2022	218,541,212	2.41%
2021	213,401,323	2.44%
2020	208,327,405	2.47%
2019	203,304,492	2.48%
2018	198,387,623	2.53%

2017	193,495,907	2.56%
2016	188,666,931	2.54%
2015	183,995,785	2.57%
2014	179,379,016	2.66%
2013	174,726,123	2.73%
2012	170,075,932	2.79%
2011	165,463,745	2.80%
2010	160,952,853	2.78%
2009	156,595,758	2.76%
2008	152,382,506	2.76%
2007	148,294,028	2.75%
2006	144,329,764	2.73%

Source: MacroTrends, 2024

Approximately 47,7% of the formerly rural regions have undergone urbanization, resulting in significant implications for livestock grazing and agricultural cultivation (World Statistics, 2023). A large population and a reduction in the amount of grazing pasture available have made the situation worse. The northern administration established 415 grazing reserves in 1960, but the majority of them have since vanished (Ademola-Oyelana, 2023). According to the Agricultural Development Project (ADP) Report for 2021, just 114 cases have been officially recorded. Due to the restricted grazing area, most herders have relocated to the southern region to expand their availability of grazing ground. This has significant ramifications since it contradicts the actions of crop farmers. The expanding population and the expansion of agricultural operations, particularly under the ADP for crop farmers, have resulted in a scarcity of land resources. This scarcity has caused conflicts between herders and crop farmers. Due to the loss of access to plentiful wetlands, herders are now encountering difficulties when their livestock stray onto farmland (Mike Sland, 2021).

According to Imo's (2017) report, Nigeria's population is experiencing fast growth which can be seen in Table 4.1, but the land remains essentially unchanged. This is the main reason for the increased strain and demand for food resources. The lack of sufficient infrastructure and population control measures by the Federal Government of Nigeria continues to be a significant factor in the geometric rise of the

population. The Fulani herders and rural crop producers are trapped in a cycle of ongoing violent confrontations due to this detrimental rivalry. Moritz et al., (2002) suggested that the conflict between farmers and herdsman is intensified by the farmers' tendency to expand the boundaries of their farms onto livestock routes, and the herdsman's practice of allowing cattle to stray into the farmers' fields to graze on their crops and defecate either on the farm or along the designated route.

Okeh (2022) discovered in research conducted in Benue state that both Fulani herders and indigenous farmers concur that the limited availability of natural resources significantly contributes to the occurrence of farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria. The absence of water sources to sustain the growing population of cattle and the scarcity of grazing land necessary to support the rising number of cattle are contributing causes of the hostile conflict between farmers and herders in Benue state. Regarding the Ecoviolence theory, it is observed that as the population grows, there is a corresponding increase in the strain on resources. Therefore, this situation can result in displacement as both farmers and herdsman compete for territories to sustain their livelihoods and ensure their survival. Consequently, conflicts may arise due to disputes over land and resources.

In addition, farmers, and Fulani herdsman both have economic needs. The absence of population control measures exacerbates the challenge of meeting these needs. Furthermore, when security needs are not fulfilled because of encroachment or damage to crops or cattle, conflicts often arise between herders and farmers. This leads to the second research question regarding the impact of this conflict on security in Nigeria.

How does the menace of Fulani herdsman impact insecurity in the North and South regions of Nigeria?

Throughout history, the threat posed by the Fulani herdsman has evolved from simple local conflicts to organized violent confrontations, indicating a clear process of deterioration (Chukwuma, 2016). The current form of this phenomenon portrays a kind of violence that is marked by extensive possession of weapons and ruthless complexity (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). Fulani herdsman freely graze in various states in Nigeria, causing crop damage, obstructing traffic, sexually assaulting women, assaulting hunters, and occasionally launching violent attacks on villagers who resist their actions (Okeke, 2014).

Nigeria has had several instances of violent clashes in various rural areas from 1999 to the present. Recorded are conflicts that have caused more than 10,000 fatalities and the internal displacement of nearly 300,000 Nigerians (Adebayo, 2022). Since late 2012, the Fulani herdsmen have engaged in a systematic and planned pattern of murdering in the Middle Belt. This pattern seems to be a premeditated strategy aimed at eliminating local ethnic groups via either murder or displacement. The goal seems to be gaining control over the farms and fields in the area. The confrontation between the Fulani and Tarok communities in Plateau State on March 28, 2015, led to the deaths of 18 individuals (Iheanacho, 2017). Also, the confrontations between herdsmen from the Fulani ethnic group and residents in the Bokkos districts of Bokko LGA in Plateau State resulted in the deaths of 18 individuals (Iheanacho, 2017).

In Benue state, the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria said that the attacks on their local farmers are a form of retaliation for the theft of one hundred cattle by members of the rural communities that have been under attack. Furthermore, throughout the year 2016, a total of 1,042 residents were killed in Benue State because of ongoing and persistent violent confrontations. In 2015, Fulani herdsmen assaulted about seven communities in Agatu Local Government, resulting in the execution of seven farmers in the Ikpele and Okpopolo districts of the state and the displacement of roughly 6,000 residents (Stein, 2016).

Approximately 15 out of the 23 local government districts in Benue, including Agatu, have seen incursions by herdsmen. These incursions have resulted in the deaths of several citizens, the destruction of houses and farmlands, and sexual assault on the wives and daughters of males residing in these towns (Opejobi, 2016). The Ukpabi-Nimbo Community in Enugu State has seen a significant influx of Fulani herdsmen, who have invaded the area with firearms and machetes. These invaders have been engaging in random shootings, resulting in fatalities, as well as setting fire to homes and cars (Mikailu, 2016).

The Fulani herdsmen's communal disputes in Benue state resulted in the deaths of over 5,000 individuals during the first half of 2014. The casualties include both women and children. The attackers have pillaged over 100 villages and forcibly displaced thousands of refugees into the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camp situated in Makurdi (Nte, 2016). A total of over 200 individuals were fatally attacked by Fulani herdsmen in the Shengev Community in Gwer West Local Government

Council. The assailants used a peculiar material resembling bio-chemical weaponry (Akevi, 2014).

The situation in Taraba is also marked by a succession of assaults and murders perpetrated by Fulani herders (Iheanacho, 2017). The southern senatorial zone of Taraba State has experienced an unexpected and sudden increase in the number of Fulani herdsman. This has led to a strained relationship between the Fulani and Tiv communities in both Benue and Taraba States. The Tiv people have been subjected to frequent and violent attacks by the Fulani, resulting in significant human casualties and property damage (Nte, 2016). The devastation of lives and properties has compelled the Tiv people from Taraba State to evacuate their homes and seek refuge in safer locations.

The Fulani herdsman staged communal disputes in Wukari have resulted in the brutal killing of several individuals and extensive damage of property. Agi (as cited in Nte, 2016) reported that the Red Cross said that a total of 77 individuals died in the recent conflict between Fulani herders and the local population in Wukari, Taraba State (Iheanacho, 2017). Over 40 individuals were receiving medical attention for injuries of varying severity resulting from the assaults perpetrated by Fulani ranchers. According to reports, a recent incident in Zamfara State resulted in the death of over 200 civilians at the hands of Fulani herdsman over three days of extreme violence. Dansadau and Yargaladima villages in the Dansadau Emirate of Maru local government region have been severely affected (Nte, 2016). Since the start of the 2015 agricultural season, Jigawa State has had over 70 incidences of disputes. These incidents were instances of cattle encroaching onto fields and farmers misusing livestock ways (Ezeonwuka & Igwe, 2016). The situation in Kaduna State is no exception. Gunmen believed to be Fulani herdsman allegedly murdered over 123 individuals in seven villages inside the Sanga Local Government Area of Kaduna State in June 2014. Before this, the Fulani herdsman perpetrated the killing of 38 individuals in the villages of Kabamu and Ankpong (Shiklam, 2014).

The issue of Fulani herders persists throughout southeastern Nigeria. The conduct of these herders in some areas of Abia State has become more concerning. This is because the cattle belonging to these herdsman have caused extensive damage to agricultural lands and crops. Instances of conflicts between farmers and herders have been extensively recorded over the whole state. There have been instances of violent conflicts between rural farmers and Fulani herders in many localities in Abia state,

including Uzuakoli in Bende Local Government Area, Ebem and Akanu in Ohafia, and Umuchieze in Umunneochi (Nwaopara & Okoli, 2015). The presence of Fulani herders in Enugu State has emerged as a significant and perilous threat. The commercial and agricultural operations in the Ezeagu Local Government Area have been impeded by aggressive Fulani herders throughout more than forty settlements. The Fulani herders possess advanced weaponry, and the government remains inactive in curbing their activities. According to research by Nte (2016), the Ezeagu village residents are refraining from cultivating and experiencing sleep difficulties due to their fear of violent assaults by herders. A seminarian was slain, and three Roman Catholic priests were wounded in Enugu state by Fulani herders.

Four individuals perished in Ayamelum and Awka North local government areas in Anambra State, and agricultural fields were devastated as a result of the aggressive actions of Fulani herdsmen (Ezeonwuka & Igwe, 2016). Residents of Imo State, including farmers and villages, have distressing stories to recount. A surge of intense emotions and a palpable sense of tension were experienced when several enraged young people from the Irete community in the state obstructed the very active Owerri-Onitsha dual road. Their purpose was to express their strong disapproval of the reprehensible actions carried out by Fulani herdsmen inside their community (Nwopara & Okoli, 2015). In Ebonyi State, the local population is very displeased with the actions of Fulani herders, who tend to exhibit extreme violence even in response to little triggers. The women of Ishiagu took to the streets to protest against the devastation of their crops by the Fulani herdsmen.

The presence of Fulani herdsmen in Obimma village in Ikwere Local Government Area in Rivers State posed a significant threat that may have led to a severe communal clash. The prompt action of the state administration successfully resolved the problem. The Fulani herdsmen were engaging in acts of intimidation against farmers and causing damages to crops in the Obimma settlement, which was met with strong disapproval from the residents. The timely involvement of the governor averted a potential large-scale communal strife.

Table 4.2 Selected Instances of Persistent Bloody Clashes in Nigeria Involving Fulani Herders and Local Farmers

Name of community attacked (State)	Date of Attack
50 Benue indigenes killed 30 injured in logo Benue	1-Jan-18
Herdsmen ambush and kill 2 police officers in Benue	10-Feb-18
20 killed in Demsa, Adamawa	27-Feb-18
11 killed in Bassa, Plateau	8-Mar-18
32 killed in Daima/ Omala, kogi	14-Mar-18
Herdsmen kill 4 soldiers in Miango, Bassa, Plateau	14-Mar-18
Herdsmen raid and kill 2 priest and 17 others, Gwer East, Benue	25-Apr-18
5 kill in Dobga, Taraba	5-Apr-18
Herdsmen attack and kill 7 in Awe, Nasarawa	25-Apr-18

Source: Mojisola, 2019

Table 4.2 depicts the consistency of the assault as well as the number of lives lost because of the clashes between herdsmen and farmers. Clashes between herdsmen and crop farmers are a key source of Nigeria's ongoing conflict and overall instability.

Within the realm of needs and Ecoviolence theory, the insecurity stemming from the Fulani herders-farmers conflict reveals a complex interaction involving competition for unmet needs, scarcity of resources, and environmental strain. The conflict has had devastating consequences, leading to loss of life and long-lasting struggles for the affected communities. The scarcity-induced tension has led to territorial conflicts, resulting in the unfortunate loss of numerous lives. In addition, when communities strive to meet their basic needs, conflicts escalate, leading to a vicious cycle of violence and loss of life. Furthermore, communities face challenges in achieving fair justice for resource sharing, resulting in conflicts that tragically cost lives. Lastly, miscommunication regarding cultural needs between both groups also contributes to the loss of lives due to the contrasting styles of the nomadic life and traditional lifestyle. Thus, it is essential to thoroughly examine the socio-economic consequences of this conflict in Nigeria.

What is the socioeconomic effect of the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmer conflict in the North and South regions of Nigeria?

The conflict resulted in a significant humanitarian disaster for those residing in their villages. Approximately 2,500 individuals were fatally wounded in the nation by 2016, surpassing the number of casualties caused by Boko Haram (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). Based on the report by the Humanitarian Needs Assessment Organization in 2016, a total of 2,069 individuals lost their lives as a result of conflicts connected to herding activities in Benue and Kaduna States. Between 2015 and 2019, a minimum of 189,862 individuals were forcibly relocated in the states of Kaduna, Benue, Bornu, Taraba, and Plateau. Many of these individuals were compelled to seek refuge in impoverished rural villages or the densely populated IDP camps (Daily Times, 2020).

Figure 4.2 Houses of Farmers Burnt in Gwer West



Source: Yaro and Tobias, 2019

The psychological trauma experienced by victims and potential victims is a significant issue, as revealed by a survey conducted on a group of IDPs in Nigeria by the Josémaria Escriva Foundation (2018). The survey found that individuals who had survived either the Boko Haram invasion or the attacks by herdsmen were still struggling to cope with their present circumstances. The main issue is that the majority of these IDP camps lack the necessary resources to adequately address the present traumas being faced (Obasanmi & Enoma 2022). There is just one certified trauma treatment Centre in Nigeria, located in Abuja. The long-term consequence will be that individuals will develop a deprivation of their personal, emotional, psychological, and societal identities.

Females of all ages are particularly susceptible to sexual and economic exploitation because of this conflict (Yaro and Tobias, 2019). Historical records indicate that the relatives of males who were slain during violent incidents often dispossess widows of their deceased husbands' agricultural property. According to the Crisis Group (2017), women's economic and social circumstances after a war make them more susceptible to sexual and economic exploitation. Some individuals engage in prostitution and other forms of illicit activities.

Conflicts between farmers and herders have resulted in a decline in productivity for both parties involved. According to the Crisis Group (2016), the post-conflict region has seen an escalation in poverty and food insecurity due to the loss of livestock and crops, as well as a rise in transportation expenses. Accurate data about the decline in output due to conflicts between herders and farmers is currently unavailable (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). However, it can be inferred that in areas affected by these crises, farmers and herders are unable to cultivate their crops and raise their livestock.

Depleting food resources and increasing expenses. States, historically recognized for their agricultural practices and ample food production, are now facing challenges in meeting the growing population's needs both locally and nationally (Mba, 2022). In the states of Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Kogi, Enugu, Ebonyi, Ekiti, and Taraba, a significant number of people are now facing challenges in obtaining food items from local markets. This is mostly due to their poor income, excessively high pricing, and insufficient distribution of food across the nation (Akanwa et al., 2023). According to media reports such as Punch (2023), throughout the year 2023, there has been a significant exodus of agricultural labourers, which is having a substantial impact on the food supply. An agricultural farmer in Benue has noted that rearing

livestock, planting seeds, and harvesting crops are getting more challenging (Okafor & Chukwuemeka, 2023).

The spread of arms and the formation of armed militias. Another relevant outcome of this pattern is the expansion of armaments (Kallah et al., 2022). The fact that several people have publicly expressed their support for self-defence indicates that there will likely be an increase in the availability of unregistered firearms. In November 2017, a 30-ton caravan was seized at the Apapa Port. The fate of the exporter and importer remains uncertain (Obasanmi & Enoma, 2022). Furthermore, the appearance of armed militia, regardless of their manifestation or disguise, would result in unparalleled destabilization of national security. Hence, the plea for self-defence necessitates utmost gravity.

The Fulani herdsman-farmers conflict has resulted in a profound socio-economic impact, including a humanitarian crisis, internal displacement, food scarcity, and social devastation. From an analytical perspective, the theory of needs and Ecoviolence highlights how resource scarcity has compelled individuals to relocate to more sustainable regions, resulting in internal displacement. As a result of this internal displacement, individuals are facing significant challenges in accessing their fundamental necessities like shelter and food, which has resulted in a humanitarian crisis. In addition, this conflict disrupts agricultural activities, resulting in shortages of livestock and food. When individuals do not receive the necessary food nutrients, it results in malnutrition, which can lead to a serious humanitarian crisis. In addition, there is a noticeable increase in unemployment and poverty within these communities. This exacerbates a humanitarian crisis.

Efforts of the Nigerian Government to Prevent the Fulani Herdsmen-Farmers Conflicts

In response to the rising level of violence, the government of Nigeria has taken action. Among these steps are meetings between top federal officials and administrators and citizens of the affected states, the deployment of additional military and police forces, the prosecution of those responsible for violent crimes, the establishment of 'cattle colonies' -groups of ranches that provide services to herders- and the launch of a National Livestock Transformation Plan (International Crisis Group, 2018).

Consultative Response

On January 18, 2018, the National Economic Council established a working group consisting of 10 individuals, with Osinbajo, a former vice president of Nigeria, becoming its head. As per Salihu (2019), the organisation's stated goals include putting an end to impunity, resolving the resource competition between farmers and herders, and addressing the problem of killings.

A stronger military presence in the states hit the most is one recommendation from the committee, along with open dialogue with all stakeholders. During February and March 2018, David Umahi, the former governor of Ebonyi State, led a subcommittee on discussion that included the governors of Adamawa, Benue, Taraba, and Zamfara. The committee quickly gathered all relevant parties, wrote up a detailed report, and sent it off to the prestigious National Economic Council (Salihu, 2019). The people were increasingly demanding that former president Buhari put a stop to the violence; therefore, he has been to the states that have been hit the hardest. These activities represent a good change from the earlier impression of coldness, even if there may not be any obvious results right now. No one knows what will happen as a result of the Osinbajo committee's suggestions. Some people believe that the government lacks sufficient innovative ideas or the motivation to implement them, particularly in light of the unresolved murder issue.

Security and Judicial Response

Furthermore, the government's approach to security has been enhanced. States experiencing instability have seen an augmentation of military and police personnel. On January 1, 2018, the Nigerian Inspector General of Police sent 663 reinforcements to support the military that was already present in the Benue State regions where the assaults had occurred. Furthermore, the Nigerian Inspector General of Police sent five more mobile police units to Nasarawa State (International Crisis Group, 2018).

The army has sent out more troops. The 'Cat Race Programme' was established. The 'Cat Race Programme' is a programme that aims to address the persistent conflicts between herders and farmers as well as combat illegal activity by the Nigerian Army. This programme seeks to successfully tackle crime and violence in the states of Kaduna, Nasarawa, Niger, Taraba, Kogi, and Benue via seamless integration with existing operations (Princewill, 2023). Operation Whirl Stroke 1 has been continuing since the exercise ended on March 31 after running from February 15 through March

31, 2018, in the states of Taraba, Nasarawa, and Benue. With the deployment of 1,300 troops and two Mi-35 helicopter gunships, the air force has strengthened the area. There are also new stations in the area (Oyewole et al., 2022). Deadly Strike and Dark Down were two major operations against armed groups in the states of Nasarawa and Benue that took place on June 19, 2018, according to Major General Adeyemi Yekini, commander of Whirl Stroke 1. A raid was conducted on a group of forty-odd 'herdsmen', some of whom were carrying AK-47 guns, who were stationed in Kwantan Gyemi, near the boundary of the two states (Agidi & Gbamwuan, 2022).

This level of deployment indicates a stronger reaction to the conflict. Nevertheless, the outcomes have been rather unexpected. Several formerly displaced people have been able to return to their homes in parts of Benue State where the violence has subsided and where militias have been driven out. Security forces have said that the villages cannot be considered secure at this time, which has led to the displacement of thousands of people and the continuation of killings. There were several reasons why the extended deployments failed to provide the expected outcomes. Units are not well-prepared to react quickly to emergency calls from remote communities, and staffing shortages persist in many areas (Akpa & Sunday, 2023).

Many rural units are being extra careful in light of the recent ambushes and officer fatalities. The militias often strike at night and hide in the woods until morning, and the sentinels are often unable to stop them. The authorities have attempted to seize illicit weapons. During 21 days beginning on February 22 and concluding on March 15, 2018, the Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim K. Idris asked the public to voluntarily surrender any illicit guns. Authorities in charge of law enforcement have recorded the voluntary surrender or recovery of almost 4,000 weapons nationwide. But in the six areas where fighting between farmers and herders has been the worst, just 453 weapons were counted. Furthermore, the exercise did not disarm the parties who were responsible for the atrocities (International Crisis Group, 2018).

National Livestock Transformation Plan

In January 2018, the government put forth a comprehensive plan for 'cattle colonies' as a viable long-term solution. The former Agriculture Minister, Audu Innocent Ogbeh, announced that each colony will be equipped with 5,000 hectares of ranches. These ranches will be safeguarded by agro-rangers and will provide essential resources such as grass, water, veterinary services, and mills for converting agro-waste

into cattle feed, schools, clinics, and marketplaces (Idris & Najmudeen, 2020). Through collaboration with the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, and other sources of funding, the federal government aims to enhance the development and conservation of state-provided land. Ranchers were required to pay a nominal fee. The government highlighted the benefits of cattle rustler protection, reduced farmer-herder conflict, improved livestock, increased meat and dairy production, and financial support from the state government (Ademola, 2020).

Ogbeh stated that different response was given to the cattle rustler protection scheme, and that the idea received support from sixteen states, primarily from the North West and North East, who offered land. These states are characterised by their expansive territory, relatively small populations, and communities centred around pastoralism. Indigenous farmers in Kogi, Kaduna, and Kwara stood against the governors' proposal. In other sections of the Middle Belt and South, state governments, ethnic pressure groups, and civil society organisations have opposed 'cattle colonies' for various reasons (Joseph, 2020).

The term Cattle colonies has received a lot of criticism. For many Nigerians, the term 'colony' evokes memories of British colonial rule (Tari & Johnah, 2022). The government needs to consider the potential consequences of using certain terms, as they can exacerbate existing tensions and bring back painful memories. Furthermore, government livestock subsidies came under scrutiny. Some critics have expressed the view that cattle owners should construct ranches without any form of incentives (Auffray & Clement, 2023). According to their perspective, it was suggested that the government should refrain from singling out cattle and herders and that there were no existing crop-farming initiatives. Farmers have received assistance from consecutive administrations, which has debunked this idea. The government livestock support programme was not exceptional or illegal. There were similar concerns regarding the type of support. Its critics argued that the government had primarily supported farmers through mobile money and services, rather than land. They suggested that the government consider offering interest-free loans, free veterinary services, and herd improvement schemes to cattle merchants and herders. Additionally, they proposed that herders be allowed to acquire land with local approval.

Three concerns revolved around the availability of land. Land constraints were reported in Benue, Taraba, Ekiti, and Abia. Given the high population density and the

pressure on farms to maximize productivity by not letting land lie fallow, it is highly unlikely that any southern state would be able to allocate 5,000 hectares for a cow colony, both from a political and practical standpoint. Establishing colonies on farms with low crop yields posed significant challenges (Goyes, 2020).

Establishing colonies on farms with low crop yields proved to be quite challenging. Numerous farmers from the Middle Belt and southern regions saw it as an indirect effort by the federal government to acquire their ancestral land and hand it over to Fulani herders. The administration countered the claim and clarified that ownership of ranches is open to all Nigerian ethnicities. Several critics of livestock colonies remained skeptical. It was speculated that colonies would have a significant influence on culture and demography, potentially becoming independent entities within larger states.

One problem that arises is that establishing cow colonies would not effectively address the issue of open grazing. This is because herders tend to willingly relocate, and many of them are multinational transhumant migrants. A significant number of West and Central Africans migrate to Nigeria during the dry season and relocate when the rainy season begins. Living in Nigeria can be quite expensive, as there are costs associated with cattle feed, water, and utilities. Therefore, colonies can help decrease uncontrolled grazing, but they cannot eliminate it.

On June 19 2019, the former Agriculture Minister of Nigeria, Ogbeh introduced a National Livestock Transformation Plan to facilitate a gradual shift from open grazing to ranching, while critics of the colonial era eagerly anticipated government intervention. According to Ogbeh, open grazing is not a viable option, so it was decided to transition to ranching. The approach from 2018 to 2027 takes a thorough and systematic approach to modernising livestock management, enhancing productivity, and improving security (Anene & Iyala, 2020).

The new programme aims to establish 94 four-cluster ranches in 24 different locations across 10 pilot states, including Adamawa, Benue, Ebonyi, Edo, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Oyo, Plateau, Taraba, and Zamfara (Gavrilova, 2020). Livestock herders should consider forming cooperatives and completing the necessary registration process to access state-owned land and avail themselves of various financial opportunities such as loans, grants, and subsidies. Private investors are projected to contribute more than 100 billion Nairas (\$278 million) during the fourth to tenth years,

while the federal and state governments will allocate 70 billion Nairas (\$195 million) for the pilot phase over three years.

The farmer-herder conflict settlement method is commendable, although it receives mixed evaluations similar to previous initiatives. The leading herder and farmer associations, namely Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria and All Farmers Association of Nigeria, have cautiously welcomed it (Nwankwo & Okafor, 2021). Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore National Secretary Saleh Alhassan expressed full support for this policy but emphasized the need for a significant transition period of at least 25 years to completely shift from open grazing to a more mechanised form of livestock production, such as ranching. States such as southern Ebonyi, Edo, and Middle Belt Benue once again express their opposition to the proposal (Nwankwo & Okafor, 2021). Despite the absence of pastures, there are concerns that the establishment of a Fulani settlement could potentially exacerbate existing conflicts. The federal government must address these concerns to overcome resistance from the states (Ojo, 2023).

CHAPTER V

Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents an overview of the key points discussed in this thesis and offers essential insights derived from the study. The recommendations suggested were derived from the conclusions and purpose of the study.

Conclusions

Agriculture can be greatly impacted by climate change, both on a local and regional scale. Weather patterns and climatic conditions have a significant impact on the agricultural sector. The rise and expansion of agricultural production in Nigeria, fueled by the expanding population, have resulted in escalating conflicts between farmers and herders regarding the utilisation of agricultural land. The presence of land disputes, religious and ethnic tensions, and social inequality has led to a rise in insecurity and presents a notable threat of exacerbating food shortages in Nigeria. Using a case study analysis, the thesis utilizes a qualitative research design to fulfil the study objectives, which are primarily to examine the causes of Fulani herdsman and farmers' clashes in Nigeria and assess how the menace of Fulani herdsman impacts insecurity in Nigeria and the region in general. This thesis effectively achieves its objectives by utilising a wide range of secondary sources, such as textbooks, scholarly publications, periodicals, official government documents, and databases. This thesis utilises document analysis to provide a historical perspective on the evolution of conflicts between farmers and herders, and the impacts of past and present policies.

The thesis examines the main causes of Fulani herdsman and farmers conflict in Nigeria. The analysis showed that climate change significantly impacts Farmers-Herder's conflict. A primary manifestation of climate change is the alteration in rainfall, prolonged droughts, and desert encroachment. These conditions significantly impact the quality of grazing land and water resources, which is a vital need. This leads to a change in the migratory pattern by the Fulani herders to explore alternative grazing routes from the north to the south of Nigeria. This is in line with the theory of conflict based on human needs which posits that 'all people possess fundamental needs that they strive to fulfill. However, when these needs are denied or thwarted by other groups or individuals, it may result in immediate or future conflicts since needs are considered ontological- a matter of 'to be or not to be'. Furthermore, the analysis

showed that cattle rustling was a cause of conflict between farmers and herders. The presence of cattle holds both economic and ecological significance, resulting in increased competition and unfortunately, incidents of cattle theft. In addition, with the decrease in grazing land, there is a rise in competition. Cattle rustling becomes a strategic approach to ensure access to suitable grazing land. Lastly, population growth was also shown to be a cause of the conflict between Fulani herders and farmers. It is observed that as the population grows, there is a corresponding increase in the strain on resources. Therefore, this situation can result in displacement as both farmers and herders compete for territories to sustain their livelihoods and ensure their survival. Consequently, conflicts may arise due to disputes over land and resources.

Furthermore, the impact of the menace of Fulani herders' insecurity in Nigeria was assessed. The analysis showed that the conflict has had devastating consequences, leading to loss of life and long-lasting struggles for the affected communities. The scarcity-induced tension has led to territorial conflicts, resulting in the unfortunate loss of numerous lives. In addition, when communities strive to meet their basic needs, conflicts escalate, leading to a vicious cycle of violence and loss of life. Furthermore, communities face challenges in achieving fair justice for resource sharing, resulting in conflicts that tragically cost lives.

Finally, an assessment was conducted on the socio-economic impact of the ongoing conflict between Fulani herders and farmers in Nigeria. The analysis revealed the significant socio-economic consequences of the Fulani herders-farmers conflict, which encompass a humanitarian crisis, internal displacement, food scarcity, and social devastation. Due to the internal displacement, individuals are encountering considerable difficulties in obtaining necessities such as shelter and food, leading to a severe humanitarian crisis. Furthermore, this conflict significantly impacts agricultural activities, leading to a scarcity of livestock and food. Insufficient intake of essential food nutrients can have dire consequences, potentially giving rise to a severe humanitarian crisis. Furthermore, these communities are experiencing a significant rise in unemployment and poverty. On balance, this intensifies the humanitarian crisis.

Land utilization and resource distribution, which result in fierce rivalry between Fulani herders and farmers, are the main causes of ethno-religious conflicts. The disagreement over land is rooted in cultural and religious importance in addition to economic considerations. Conflicts can be sparked by traditional grazing paths and adjacent lands, particularly when they are made worse by environmental deterioration

and demographic shifts. Furthermore, political elites routinely disparage ethnic and religious identities. They stir up conflict among the community, encourage violence, and deflect criticism of the authorities. A result of the manipulation is insecurity. Additionally, there is a perception of prejudice in state institutions. Allegations of partiality have been made about the way law enforcement authorities handled the dispute between Fulani farmers and herders. This is because they share the same faith as the law enforcement forces, perpetrators have been given impunity, which contributes to the high level of tension in the confrontation.

Moreover, the marginalization of herders from mainstream development opportunities, such as restricted access to healthcare, education, and economic resources, exacerbates poverty and inequality, stokes discontent, and strengthens ethnoreligious identity as a symbol of social exclusion.

Understanding the relationship between resource scarcity, conflict, and environmental degradation is possible thanks to the ecoviolence theory. Marginalized communities such as the Fulani herders migrate to established communities due to the consequences of climate change, where they engage in conflicts with farmers overgrazing pastures. Consequently, policymakers and the government should take environmental stresses into account. The violence between Fulani herders and farmers can be reduced by promoting sustainable resource management.

In conclusion, the conflict between farmers and Fulani herders can be traced back to fundamental human needs, such as limited resources and concerns about economic and security issues. In addition, the conflict is also triggered by the degradation of environmental resources. To tackle this conflict, a holistic approach is necessary in these communities, considering both the economic and social aspects.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are suggested, and it is believed that if they are implemented, there is the possibility that the crisis between the farmers and herders will decrease.

Herders should be encouraged to receive a comprehensive education or be guided towards gaining a deeper understanding of the value of human life. It is crucial to guide them in effective communication methods to express their concerns rather than resorting to aggressive actions.

Governments at all levels must prioritise addressing conflict with a high level of expertise. One possible solution is to implement laws such as land use and grazing law, cattle regulations, livestock registration, and environmental protection laws which could lead to a decrease in insecurity and the occurrence of conflicts and widespread violence. It is crucial to take a proactive approach to preventing and resolving the factors that lead to conflicts. It is advisable to involve the traditional leaders of the community in such situations. Thus, it is crucial for them to proactively pursue resolutions to the problem.

A comprehensive conflict management process should be established, involving various stakeholders such as local, state, and federal government levels, occupational unions, traditional leaders, and municipal leaders. This is extremely significant. Establishing forums, organisations, or associations dedicated to fostering peace between farmers and herders could prove beneficial for the government. Implementing this is necessary in crisis-affected areas.

Creating a favourable atmosphere for providing compensation to the victims of the disaster is of utmost importance for both state and federal governments. It is important to prevent any form of hostility that stems from past conflicts and ensure that those who participate in such behaviour are held accountable under the law. These approaches would effectively address the ongoing conflict between farmers and herders.

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Appendices
Appendix A
Turnitin Similarity Report

THE MENACE OF FULANI HERDSMEN AND FARMERS CONFLICT
IN NIGERIA (13.01.2024)

ORIGINALITY REPORT

15%	14%	7%	6%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	cscanada.net Internet Source	2%
2	docs.neu.edu.tr Internet Source	1%
3	www.researchgate.net Internet Source	1%
4	iosrjournals.org Internet Source	<1%
5	journals.aphriapub.com Internet Source	<1%
6	"Handbook of Climate Change Resilience", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2020 Publication	<1%
7	Handbook of Climate Change Adaptation, 2015. Publication	<1%
8	Submitted to Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi Student Paper	<1%

Appendix B
Ethics Committee Approval



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

13.12.2023

Dear Chioma Nze

Your project **“The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria ”** has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Prof. Dr. Aşkın KIRAZ

The Coordinator of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee