# AN ASSESSMENT OF FARMERS'-HERDERS' VIOLENT CONFLICT IN BENUE STATE, NIGERIA (2009- 2018)

**BY**

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**PhD/SOC-SCI/ P17SSSG9279**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,**
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,**
**AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,**
**ZARIA**

**APRIL, 2021**

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**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,**
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,**
**AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,**
**ZARIA, NIGERIA**

**APRIL, 2021**

## DECLARATION

I, Isaac TersooAPENDA ofthe Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, hereby declare that the study herein presented has been written by me and it has not been presented in any form for another degree or diploma in any other institution. All sources of information are duly and specifically acknowledged in the reference section.

Isaac Tersoo APENDA ---------- ----------
Signature Date

## CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled **AN ASSESSMENT OF FARMERS'-HERDERS' VIOLENT CONFLICT IN BENUE STATE, NIGERIA ( 2009 – 2018)**by Isaac Tersoo APENDA meets the regulations governing the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)Degree in Sociology of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to GOD Almighty, my parents, wife and children.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I sincerely acknowledge and appreciate GOD ALMIGHTY for giving me the wisdom, protection, good health and above all his divine mercy throughout the period of this study. I will forever remain grateful to God, despite different challenges; today it has become a history.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AFAN | - | All Farmers' Association of Nigeria |
| CHD | - | Centre for Humanitarian Dialoque |
| DCO | - | Divisional Crime Officer |
| DPO | - | Divisional Police Officer |
| ECOWAS | - | Economic Community of West African States |
| EGEM | - | Ekiti Grazing Enforcement Marshals |
| FAP | - | Fulani Amenties Programme |
| FCT | - | Federal Capital Territory |
| FMARD | - | Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development |
| GDP | - | Gross Demestic Product |
| IBRD | - | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| ICG | - | International Crisis Group |
| IDPs | - | Internal Displaced Persons |
| IMC | - | Interfaith Mediation Centre |
| LGAs | - | Local Government Areas |
| MACBAN | - | Miyyatti Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria |
| MAPO | - | Benue Based Movement against Fulani Occupation |
| NEC | - | The National Executive Council |
| NGOs | - | Non – Governmental Organisations |
| NLDP | - | National Livestock Development Project |
| NPC | - | National Population Commission |
| NPF | - | Nigeria Police Force |
| NRSP | - | Nigeria Reconciliation and Stability Project |
| NSCDC | - | Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps |
| PTFPDP | - | Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund Pastoralist Development Programme |
| SPSS | - | Statistical Package for Social Sciences |
| USAID | - | United States Agency for International Development |

## ABSTRACT

In Nigeria, particularly Benue State, farmer-herder conflicts have become widespread and increasingly assume a violent dimension.The groups involved in the violent conflicts over resources are crop farmers and herders. Both the farmers and herders are completely dependent on land for the cultivation of crops and rearing of animals respectively. The two occupations are expected to be complementary to each other but they are always in constant violent conflicts with each other in the recent times. The good relationship they used to have, had transformed into irreconcilable antagonism which always result in violent conflicts. This study was therefore, designed to assess the violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria from 2009 to 2018. In order to achieve this, the study outlined the following objectives: to understand the nature and manifestations of the violent conflict; examine factors responsible for the conflict; assess Socio-economic effects of the conflict on the farmers and herders; explore strategies adopted by farmers and herders in coping with the effects of the conflict and, to assess the role played by governments and other relevant stakeholders to forestall the reoccurrence of the conflict in the study area.To provide a theoretical base for the study, Eco-Violence and Frustration Aggression theories as propounded by Thomas Homer in 1998 and the original formulation of the frustration–aggression hypothesis by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears in 1939 .respectively were reviewed. However Eco-Violence theory was adopted for the study. It explaines the intricate linkages that have developed between resource scarcity as a result of climate change and violent conflict which to some extent explains the basis for harmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State. The study also employs multi - stage cluster sampling techniques where combinations of simple, systematic, snowball and purposive sampling techniques were used to select respondents and study participants. Data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Questionnaire was deployed in collecting quantitative data from 320 respondents that were made up of farmers and herders in the study area. While qualitative data were collected from 26 key informants using in-depth interview guide. Quantitative data collected through questionnaire were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 and was presented in form of tables, frequencies and percentages. While the qualitative data was presented in sub- themes according to the objectives of the study. In terms of the nature of the conflict in the study area, the study reveals that farmers and herders were attacking each other with sophisticated weapons. The study further shows that, some traditional rulers were having some secret financial dealings with the herders without the knowledge of their subjects. Several factors were also found to be responsible for farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in Benue State; the factors include unfavourable environmental changes, population explosion, religious intolerance, ethnic suspicion and political factors among others. In terms of Socio- Economic effect of the conflict, the study indicates that peaceful inter-groups relations have been compromised in the study area coupled with destruction of valuable property and source of livelihoods among others. The challenge of the conflict on the farmers and herdsmen in the study location, the study found that residents have adopted different strategies in order to cope with the urgly development. Some of the strategies include, migration from trouble spots to safer communities, abandonment of farming and herding as means of livelihood, receiving help from politicians among

others.The study also found that conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State has been politicized and measures taken by governments and stakeholders had not been successful. Based on the findings it was therefore recommended that the traditional authorities should be open to their subjects when it comes to issues bordering on land resources in their communities to avoid suspicion. Government should establish permanent security task force comprising of all the security agencies and marine police outpost along the riverine communities where invaders always attacked. It further recommended that both the farmers and herders should be part of the security network to help forestall conflicts and also report the presence of strange faces (foreigners) in their communities to security agents. The study also recommended the governments to address the environmental challenges that are forcing herders southward by ranching of livestock or building of dams, recharging of Lake Chad Basin , watering of grasses and trees to create more grasses for grazing of cattle in order to make herders comfortable in the far Northern Nigeria to curtail their movement southward.The study also recommended that the Federal, State and stakeholders should depoliticized the conflict. The study therefore concludes that, the conflict has become a serious national security threat that needs urgent attention of government and all stakeholders to curtail the incidence of the conflict in the area.

# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background to the Study

This study assessesviolent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State, Nigeria.The challenge of conflict between farmers and herders and its effects on their livelihoods in the world today call for attention and investigation. Generally,conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in any human society;itis a natural characteristic of mankind, resulting from interactions between people, groups and communities.The focus of this study was to assess herders'-farmers' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria. For the purpose of this study, farmers refer to individuals who cultivate crops or rear domestic livestock or practice both while herders refer to those who move about with their animals in search of grazing pastures and water. According to Marshall & Gurr (2005), farmers'-herders' violent conflict had manifested in both arid and semi-arid regions of America, Africa and Asia, among others. Historically, farmers and herdsmen have competed over the use of resources and in some cases engaged in conflicts in different continents of the world like Europe, America and Asia.While stakeholders in those continents have adopted modern technology and proper managementto checkmate the occurrence of farmers'-herders' conflict. In Africa, the phenomenon is escalating in most countries, including Nigeria.It is an age long problem in Nigeria, and it has escalated in the last decade and has assumed a very deadly dimension.In Africa, it is mostly common in the Great Lake Regions of West, East and Central Africa,in countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Cameroon among others. In East Africa, particularly Tanzania, due to increased population pressure and the diversification of rural land use patterns, access to pasture and water for livestock has diminished thus prompting pastoralists to migrate to the central, eastern and southern parts of the country and as a result conflicts always emerged (Odgaard, 2005; Mattee& Shem, 2006).

In West Africa, conflicts between farmers and herders have been a common feature of economic activities for centuries. The Northern region of Ghana has also been experiencing increased violent clashes between farmers and herders over access to land resources (Olaniyan, Francis & Okeke-Uzodike, 2015; Tonah,2006).

Nigeria has experienced and is still experiencing conflicts of grave proportions among farmers and herders. These conflicts significantly vary in dimension, processes and the groups involved. Momale (2003) observes that while some conflicts arise between same resource user groups such as between one farming community and another, other conflicts occur between different resource user groups such as herders and farmers or between foresters and farmers. Fefa and Tough (2016) also notes that in Nigeria both South and Northern States were affected. Central Nigerian States like Pleateau, Nassarawa and particularly Benue among others were seriously affected by the conflict; the groups involved in the violent conflicts over the resources were crop farmers and herders.

Genyi (2014) notes that interaction between the farming group, and the nomadic pastoralist group in Benue State, Nigeria was historically cordial but turns to be violent in the recent times.

Both farmers and herders are dependent on land for the cultivation of crops and rearing of animals respectively. The two occupations are expected to be complementary to each other but the groups in Nigeria, particularly Benue State are always in constant violent conflicts with each other. The good relationship they used to have, had transformed into irreconcilable antagonism, which always result in violent conflicts. In recent times particularly from 2009 to date, the conflict between farmers and herders have escalated, taking a political, banditry and ethnic- religious dimensions, threatening the country's security and stability, with an estimated death toll of approximately 2500 people in 2006 (International Crisis Group,

2017). These violent conflicts are becoming as potentially dangerous as the Boko Haram in the north eastern part of Nigeria, with little efforts from the Federal, State governments, non-governmental organizations, communities and traditional leaders to address the problem. Adisa (2012) opines that the farmer-herder's violent conflict has remained the most recurring resource-use conflict in Nigeria. Yahuza, (2017) attributes violent conflicts particularly in the North Central Nigeria to the direct consequences of the displacement of herdsmen from the North-East as a result of terrorists' activities and to a lesser extent the cattle rustling in Zamfara, Katsina and parts of Kaduna States. North- East alone is home to many heads of cattle and no provision was made for herdsmen and their cattle in the internal displaced persons(IDPs) camps, therefore movement to the North Central was inevitable and an obvious choice for the herders. In the past, the herders used to move their cattle to the North Central States in the dry seasons and return to their base during raining seasons and at this point in time there was insurgency at the base and they tended to remain in North Central and even advance further South coupled with the population explosion and environmental degradation of the drying up of lake Chad basin. Their large number of cattle inevitably becomes competition for land with the crop farmers in the area leading to killings and reprisal attacks(Odoh & Chilaka, 2012).

Another aspect of the conflict is the banditry dimension, where unknown gun men invade communities and kill villagers, without the villagers knowing the real identities of the invaders and their reasons for committing such acts. These violent conflicts have disrupted and threatened the sustainability of both crops and livestock production in the country and reinforced the circles of extreme poverty and hunger, destroying social cohesion, food security and affecting mostly the most vulnerable groups such as women and children.

Ibrahim (2012) observes that violent farmer-herder's conflicts have increased due to the changing patterns of land resource use and increasing population, competition for land use

and the breakdown of traditional mechanisms governing resource management and conflict resolution. Cases of herder-farmer's conflicts are widespread in Benue State in recent times particularly from 2009 to date. For instance, Azahan (2015) reports that on 11th April 2014, violent conflict erupted between herdsmen and farmers in Adaka village, Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue State. He also reports that on March 7, 2014 herdsmen attacked Guma local Government Area Headquarters, while on October 5, 2014, there was a violent conflict between herdsmen and farmers in Zongo village in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State. Vande-Acha (2014) also documents that on 25th May, 2015 herdsmen invaded Egba settlement of Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State. The major source of these violent conflicts according to authors is land, which the two groups compete over farming and grazing respectively.

Associated with this development is that land for both farming and grazing is scarce and in limited supply. The land according to Vande Acha (2014)has remained fixed while the population keeps on increasing and more land is brought under cultivation. The population of Benue State as of 1991 Population Census was 2,753,077 and 4,219,244 as of the 2006 Population Census (National Population Commission, 1991 and 2006). Abubakar (2012) also illustrates that, the population of cattle too continues to increase creating more demand for pasture for grazing coupled with the climate variability, environmental degradation, and socio-political upheaval have shifted pastoralist migration patterns and increased tensions between farmers and herders. Yahuza (2017), admits that the conflict is worse especially in North-Central Nigeria where farmers and the herders are categorized into groups relating to religion, tribe and region. As land is fixed and invariably population has been growing over time, areas that were used to be reserved for grazing have been taken over by the events either as farm lands or urban centres. Thus,differing claims to ownership of the land in the Benue valley has been established by both groups. For examples, while farmers have lay

claim to ownership of the land because they claim to be indigenous to the said land in the study area, the herders claim the constitution has provide them many opportunities to graze their cattles anywhere in Nigeria (Fefa & Tough, 2016). The claim to ownership , control of resources, and the complex land use system that have changed markedly overtime and therefore, culminating in tension and violent conflicts between herdsmen and the farmers. Farmer-herder's violent conflicts are not only seen as resource-control violent conflicts, but also represent inter- ethnic dimensions involving two groups. Since the herdsmen and farmers have different values, customs, religion, physical and cultural characteristics, disputes between them are frequently categorised as ethnic conflict (Tonah, 2006). The feeling of oneness that is extant among the members of each of the groups is primarily based around their economic interest and the protection of the values, culture and power of each group. The herdsmen being a numerical minority in Benue communities have a unique culture and a stronger sense of internal solidarity. They are often isolated from the farming population. In such cases, conflict between them and the farming population of the farming community is regarded as having an ethno-religious base (Rasid, 2011).

In an attempt to solve the problem of conflicts between farmers and herdsmen in Nigeria and Benue State in particular, various measures have been instituted right from the colonial period to date, prominent among them was the Nigerian Grazing Reserve Act of 1964, which was passed for the purpose of accessing grazing land for the herders. The Act was created and gazetted 313 grazing reserves mostly in the North –Central Nigeria, covering a total area of 2.8 million hectares representing 3% of the total mass of the country (Yahuza, 2017). This law was duly incorporated in the land Use Act of 1978. However, the law could not solve the menace,as violent conflict between the groups becomes a routine event. This failure is explained as the inability of the government in mediating conflicts and bringing

parties to mutual agreements based on trust. The government has over the years rather choose to set up Judicial Commissions whose report ends up in cupboards without whitepapers and implementation. This has inevitably pushed communities to take law into their own hands. After the initiation of the first national livestock development project (NLDP) and the enactment of a grazing law by the Northern Nigeria Legislative Assembly in 1965, the authorities tried to provide grazing lands in order to make herders comfortable for grazing (Awogbade, 1983). The government in collaboration with organizations such as the International Livestock Research Institute for productivity, demarcated 4,125 grazing lands across Nigeria, covering about 4.3 million hectares. Someof these lands were equipped with boreholes, fences, fire breaks, veterinary services, access roads, and dams (Abass, 2012). The predominant types of ranches were to be individually owned by farmers with large investments; they were few options for cooperatives and a collective management of the herds. Since 2009, grazing routes have also been marked out through Nasarawa, Benue, Plateau, Kastina, Bauchi, Abuja, Sokoto, and Adamawa. Aliyu (2004) however stated that, only 270 of these official grazing lands are functional till date.

In the recent times (from 1999- 2019), Benue State government had made several attempts at resolving conflicts between the two groups. For instance, the government constituted a Benue/Nassarawa peace committee in 2013; the traditional rulers and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association reconciliation committee was also instituted in 2014 amongst others were parts of efforts made towards ensuring peaceful coexistence between the two groups. These committees were given the mandate to mediate and arbitrate whenever there are clashes including those which regularly occur between the farmers and the herders. These committees were not able to bring peaceful coexistence among the two groups. Similarly, in its efforts to minimize the conflict, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture in the year 2016 solicited for land in all States including Benue for grazing colonies where pastoralists will be

restricted and adequate facilities were proposed to be provided for grazing but it was not possible in some States ,particularly Benue State. Rather, an anti - open grazing and prohibition law was passed into law by the Benue State House of Assembly which was gazetted and implemented in November, 2017. The enactment and implementation of this law sparked off the situation that led to more killings in the area in 2018. In June, 2019 the Federal Ministry of Agriculture also announced a policy ofRuga settlements which was voluntary for state governments but all southern states, Benue and Taraba in the North vehemently rejected the implementation of the policy and it was shortly suspended by the Federal Government.

Despite various measures taken by stakeholders in the country to forestall the occurrence of these violent conflicts particularly in Benue State, there has been an escalation of violent conflicts between the farmers on one hand, and the herders, on the other. It's therefore, imperative to assess the conflict by examining the roles played by stakeholders in forestalling the conflict, the effects of the conflict and as well as the strategies both parties used to adopt to cope with the challenges of the conflict

## 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Farmers and herders have been living together for centuries in Nigeria particularly Benue State, though used to have some conflicts but were not violent in nature but in the recent times ( 2009-2018) their conflicts have taken a political, banditry and ethno-religious dimension which have characterized with a lot of violence in the area. The government has not been able to address the violent conflicts. Farmers and herders are the main agricultural stakeholders in Nigeria, particularly Benue State. However, they (farmers and herders) are currently facing several challenges as a result of these violent conflicts; the State economy is dependent on agriculture, which contributes more than fifty percent of her people's income.

Farmers are the main stakeholders of development in the State and whenever there is conflict between farmers and herdsmen, it results in decrease in agricultural productivity, thus, a threat to means of livelihood on both sides. This conflict has displaced more than 100,000 people in Benue State and left them under the care of relatives or in makeshift Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps while many are still struggling to rebuild their lives (Idowu, 2017). The codial relationship the two groups used to enjoy is no longer in existence as well as the destruction of economic producewhich are the major challenge of both urban and rural residents in the area.

Conflicts between herdsmen and sedentary farmers in different parts of Nigeria have existed for many decades and the rudiments of the causes and effects of this violence remained significantly different and vary from one community to another. The social and economic effects, how the farmers and herders cope, the measures that have been put in place to forestall the conflicts are different in the study area with other communities to some extent because it has its own unique features. Both groups had suffered socially and economically, though several empirical studies assessing the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria and Benue State in particular have focused mainly on the effects on farmers (Genyi, 2014; Uji, 2016; Idowu, 2017; Fefa & Tough, 2016 etc) neglecting the herders and how they cope with the challenges of the violent conflicts in the study area. In addition, studies such as Uji (2016) on forced migration of Tiv people of central Nigeria, concentrated on how the Tiv people were marginalized and forced to moved away from their ancestral homes to internal displaced camps(IDPs's) camps, Genyi (2014) focused on ethnic agitations and antagonisms in Nigeria, Fefa and Tough (2016) examined the socio-economic effects of farmer-herdsmen conflicts on the farmers in Benue State and so forth. However, none of the highlighted studies paid adequate attention on the effects of these violent conflicts on the herders. Rather their attention was more on the farmers. Majority of the studies also tend to

highlight and report cases in which the herders attacked farmers but tend to ignore the reprisal attacks on the side of the farmers and particularly the losses incurred by the herders.

It is also worthy of note to state that there are few systematically gathered and compiled information on the occurrence and magnitude of violent conflicts in the study area. Hence, the required change in perspective and problems associated with the violent conflicts require new approach to these issues since the two groups are living together, there is need to understand how these violent conflicts affect both farmers and herders as well as the strategies they have been adopting to cope with the challenges associated with the conflicts.From the foregoing, this study was therefore undertaken to fill the gaps by providing empirical research on farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State.

### 1.3 Research Questions

Deriving from the statement of the research problem, the study seeks answers to the following specific questions:

1. What is the nature and manifestations of violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State?
2. What are the factors responsible for violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State?
3. What are the social and economic effects of violent conflict between farmers and herders on the farmers and herders in Benue State?
4. How do farmers and herders cope with the challenges of these violent conflicts in the study area?
5. What are the roles played by the Government and other relevant authorities to forestall violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue State?

## 1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to assess farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria from the year 2009 to 2018. However, the specific objectives are as follows:

1. To understand the nature and manifestations of violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State
2. To identify factors responsible for violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State.
3. To assess the social and economic effects of farmers'-herders' violent conflict on the farmers and herders in Benue State.
4. To explore strategies adopted by farmers and herders in coping with the challenges of farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in the study area.
5. To assess the roles played by the Government and other relevant authorities to forestall violent conflict between farmers and herders in the study Area.

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is both practical and theoretical. Practically**,** given the central economic role, played by farmers and herders who jointly guarantee food security for Nigerians, the violent conflicts portend food insecurity for the country and Benue State in particular. The study is significant because it addresses the challenges facing rural communities, which play a major role in food production in Benue State and Nigeria in general. The findings of this study are of immense importance to government officials, policy makers, security agencies, traditional rulers and other stakeholders in Nigeria. With this study, both the Federal and Benue State governments will be afforded a useful insight on how to examine and assess previous measures put in place in forestalling these violent conflicts and to re-design a more coordinated and result-oriented approach to combat the menace in the

country particularly now that the Federal government is interested in diversifying the economy through agriculture.

At the theoretical level, by examining farmers'-herders' violent conflict in communities of Benue State, the study helps to understand the insecured agricultural activities arising from these violent conflicts.The study also provides insights into some strategies that both farmers and herders adopted, as coping strategiesagainst the negative effects of violent conflicts among the groups. The study helps the government on how to provide useful interventions whenever farmer-herder violent conflict occurs. The result of this study is useful for a further understanding of farmer-herder's violent conflict in other States of Nigeria. The study provides recommendations on how to forestall the violent conflict in the area. The study also broadens the existing knowledge and forms a reference material for further research and inquiries

## 1.6 Scope of the Study

This study is geographically restricted to Benue State but its findings are useful in understanding farmer-herders' conflict throughout Nigeria. The choice of Benue State is based on the fact that it is one of the States in North Central Nigeria that are highly affected by the violent conflict. Benue State has a total number of twenty three (23) Local Government Areas namely: Gboko, Tarka, Buruku, Makurdi, Guma, Gwer, Gwer-west, Ukum, Kwande, Ushongu, Vandeikya, Konshisha, Logo, Katsina- Ala, Apa, Agatu, Ado, Obi, Ogbadibo, Okpokwu, Otukpo, Oju and Ohimini. The study is geographically limited to only six (6) Local Government Areas in Benue State, two most affected from each senatorial district. They are; Buruku, Guma, Logo, Kwande, Agatu and Apa because they are among the Local Government Areas that were most affected by the violent conflicts. Most of these local governments areas are situated along the banks of River Benue and Katsina-Ala. Benue State

is mostly dominated by farming Communities with little sparsely or scattered herding communities; the State has three (3) senatorial districts with seven (7) Local Government Areas each from the Benue North East and North West senatorial districts while Benue South Senatorial district have nine Local Government areas. The above six selected Local Government Areas were selected randomly two (2) each, from the three (3) senatorial districts based on the multi-stage cluster sampling technique. The findings of this Study in Benue State are generalized on how farmer/herder's violent conflicts had affected other communities in Nigeria.

Academically, the study examined the nature and manifestations of the violent conflicts, identify the predisposing factors responsible for conflicts between farmers and herders, the socio-economic effects of the conflicts on farmers and herders, explored coping strategies adopted by the victims of farmers'-herders' violent conflicts, evaluate the measures taken to forestall the violent conflicts and to determine the extent to which those measures have been successful as well as filled the existing gap in the literature.

The time coverage is between 2009 and 2018. This period is chosen for special consideration because 2009 was the period when conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue State started been highly volatile. This period coincides with the administration of Governor Gabriel Torwua Suswam in Benue State.

### 1.7 Definition of Key Terms

Being an empirical research, it is crucial to operationally define some key terms used for the study and they are as fellows:

**Demographic variables** refer to certain socio-economic attributes of farmers and herders. These include age, sex, marital status, and education, and place of resident

**Economic effects** refer to factors that affect livelihoods (occupations) of farmers and herders in the rural communities of Benue State. This includes effects on agricultural productivity and infrastructural facilities

**Farmers** refers to those people living in Benue State who are cultivating crops or rearing domestic livestock or doing both

**Farmers'-herders' violent conflict** represent a resource dispute over land resources by the two groups; farmers and herders in Benue State.

**Social effects** refer to factors that affect farmers and herders interaction with each other in the rural communities of Benue State, the way they relate to each other before, during and after the conflicts. For example, how it affects the marriage systems, cultural and social events as well as education among others in the area.

**Perception of farmers** regarding whether they were informed before settlement or arrival of the herders refers to expression of views or opinion of farmers. This includes knowing whether farmers were informed before arrival or settlement of herders in the communities.

**Herder refers** to those who move about with their animals in search of grazing pastures and water.

**Highly affected communities** were refers to communities that had high level of human killings and destruction of property

**Less affected communities** were those communities that killings and destructions of property did not take place but were affected indirectly

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature and theoretical frameworks that are germane to this study. The essence is to critically scrutinize the views of other scholars and make bare the thesis statement of this study. This provides an insight into the efforts made by authors and scholars over the years to explain issues concerning farmers'-herders' violent conflicts. The literature and theories presented form the basis for the discussion of findings later in this work. The literature review section is structured as follows: conceptual review of violent conflict, the nature and manifestations of farmers'-herders' violent conflict, the factors responsible for farmers'- herders' violent conflict, the social and economic effects of farmers'-herders' conflict, coping strategies adopted by farmers and herders to cope with farmers'-herders' violent conflict and interventions/policies taken by the Federal, State governments and other relevant authorities to forestall the farmers'-herders' violent conflicts. Theoretically, the study reviews Eco-violence and Frustration Aggression theories. However, Eco-violence was adopted in explaining farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in Benue State.

## 2.2 Conceptual Review of Conflict

It is imperative to conceptualized and examine conflict. The contemporary world is built around conflict. Conflict exists in all societies. No society; be it modern or traditional, is devoid of conflict. However, conflicts vary in degree and form of expression which could be verbal, ideological, psychological or physical. These conflicts according to Yecho (2006), are sometimes variously branded; political, religious, ethnic and economical in nature, depending on the most plausible and favourably acceptable variable which could be used as an explanatory note at the material time.

Onuaha(2008), defines conflict as a situation in which two or more human beings desire goals which is obtainable by one of them. Each party mobilizes the energy to obtain the desired object and perceive others as threats to be removed. Coser (1956) perceives conflict in terms of the struggle between parties over desirable values. According to Coser, conflict refers to: Struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired goals, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals and collectivities. Although conflict may be conceived from different perspectives, one crucial defining element of it is the presence of two or more actors. The benefit that goes with access to or control of the 'valuable' and the deprivation or insecurity that follows denial of access underlie all conflicts. In this wise, Mwamfupe (2015), contends that a key element of all conflicts is the existence of resource scarcity where the wants of all actors cannot be fully satisfied and where the quests for such resources result in conflict behaviour.

The focus of this research is on the social and economic effects of farmers'-herders'violent conflicts. In this situation, conflicts emerged as a result of scarcity of resources where the wants of farmers and herders are not fully satisfied. Dougherty & Pfalzgarff (1981) asserted that, "the term conflict usually refers to a situation in which one identifiable group of human beings in a given environment (whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religions, socioeconomic, political, among others) is engaged in conscious opposition to identifiable human groups because these groups are pursuing what appear to be incompatible goals".

Coser (1956) also agrees with Dougherty & Pfalzgarff (1981) when he observed that; conflict comes from an incompatibility of goals, a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponent are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Arguing in the same vein, Otite (2001:12) asserts that "conflict is a social condition which arises where two or more parties pursue goals which are compatible". This is

indeed a good description of persistent farmers' /herders' conflict in Benue State where the farmers struggle to have access to fertile lands while the herders pursue good pasture and water for their herds. Yecho (2006) sees conflict as a condition of disharmony within an interaction process. This usually comes about as a result of clash of interests between the parties involved in some form of relationship. Conflict is an inevitable outcome of human dynamics and diversity. Its major source in any given society is derivable from the pursuit of divergent interests, goals and aspirations by individuals or group in a defined socio-economic and geo- political environment (Otitte, 1999). He further illustrates that, the nature of conflict changes as the society progresses , new avenues of conflict emerged as the society advances. For example, the conflicts between farmers and herders in the study area were not violent in nature in the 1980s but today the situation is dfferent.

Okpaga (2002), sees conflicts as manifesting themselves as in the struggle to acquire wealth and positions of power, influence and prestige. According to him, conflicts are generated when individual and corporate existences are threatened. His explanation of conflict is also very important for this study because farmers and herders have been together for quite a long time but what has happened? Donald (1993) defined conflict as "the simultaneous occurrence of two or more mutually antagonistic impulse or motives". Conflict was further described by Hocker& Wilmot (1995), as "struggle involving opposing ideas, values, and or limited resources". In a behavioral term, Olabode & Ajibade (2010), sees conflict as an action, which prevents, obstructs, interferes with, injuries or renders ineffective another action with which it is incompatible. Essentially conflict connotes disagreement, dispute, or controversy in ideas or viewpoints held by two or more individuals /group which end up in disharmonious interpersonal relationship.

For the purpose of this study, farmers'-herders' violent conflict refers to violent struggles and disagreements between farmers and herders over access to fertile lands and water for farming and grazing respectively.

## 2.3 Nature and Manifestations of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict

Between December 2010 and June 2011, more than 15 attacks were recorded in Benue State, resulting in the loss of over 300 lives and over 300 homesteads destroyed with large farmlands, all in Gwer-West local government area (Kukwa, 2014). Other incidences which surprised everyone were attacks on farmers witnessed at Uikpam, Tse-AkenyiTorkula village, in Guma, and in the ransacking of Ayilamo semi urban settlement in Logo Local Government Area. The attacks on Uikpam village left more than 30 people dead while the entire village was burned down including farm produce (Ahu, 2006).

Duru (2013), also reported a similar incidence on November 5th-9th, 2013. Here, heavily armed herdsmen attacked Ikpele, Okpopolo and other settlements in Agatu, killing over 40 residents and ransacking entire villages. The attackers destroyed homesteads and farmlands displacing over 6000 inhabitants. Genyi (2014), observed that these attacks became more formidable and intense since the middle of 2013, when the major road from Makurdi to Naka, the headquarters of Gwer West Local Government, was blocked by armed herdsmen after ransacking more than six districts along the highway. For more than a year, the road remained closed as armed herdsmen held sway.

The herdsmen had retreated and camped after the attacks near Gbajimba, along the coast of River Katsina-Ala and were ready to resume attacks on the remaining residents and also attacked the then Benue State Governor (Gabriel Suswam) when he was on his way to Gbajimba, the headquarters of Guma Local Government Area to ascertain the level of destruction on March 18, 2014 (*Kukwa, 2016*). The Federal government then responded with

the deployment of soldiers and mobile police to the affected areas, as well as continued exploration of peace initiatives, including establishing a committee on the crisis co-chaired by the Sultan of Sokoto, and the *TorTiv* IV.. It is also interesting to note that while farmers count their losses in terms of houses and farm produce, the herdsmen count theirs in terms of their cattle. HarunaGarusGololo, Secretary, Miyyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association Benue State Chapter has also reported that the herdsmen have lost over 10,000 cows in the crisis with about 320 lives and their members have fled the State to neighboring States of Taraba, Nasarawa and Kwara ( Alimba, 2014) .

On June 30, 2011, the Nigeria's House of Representatives opened debate on the sustained armed conflict between farmers and their herdsmen counterpart in north central Nigeria. The House noted that over 40,000 people, including women and children, were displaced and camped into five designated temporary camps at Daudu, Ortese, and Igyungu-Adze villages etc in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State. Some of the camps included primary schools that had been closed during the conflict and were turned into camps (Kukwa, 2016). The House also established that over 50 men, women and children had been killed, including two soldiers at a Catholic Secondary School, Udei in Benue State.

In May 2011, another attack by herdsmen on farmers occurred, claiming more than 30 lives and displacing over 5000 persons (Alimba, 2014). Earlier, between 8th-10th February, 2011,farmersalong the banks of the Benue River, in Gwer west local government area of Benue, were attacked by hordes of herdsmen who killed 19 farmers and burned down 33 villages. The armed attackers returned again on March 4, 2011 to kill 46 people, including women and children, and ransacked an entire district (Azahan, 2015).

According to Okoli and Atelhe (2014), the nature of farmer-herder conflicts is connected to climate change (wet and dry seasons) which determines time and pattern of movements of the

herdsmen. The dry seasons are most demanding on the herdsmen, they move to places where vegetation is abundant and move back home when there are new grasses in the far Northern Nigeria.This practice has been made impossible as a result of the activities of Bokoharam terrorist. Herders no longer go back during the wet season and as such their grazing activities bring them into open confrontation with farmers. Momale (2014) opines that in recent times, however herders' pasture and transit routes are shrinking in the face of climate change and spreading cultivation. Genyi (2004) asserts that despite these challenges, population of the herders in Benue State continue to increase particularly along the bank of River Benue, with the communities' unable to absorb their increase. This Conflict has negatively affected the social and economic activities of the farming communities. According to Hagher (2016), the Control over social and economic means of livelihood is central to the sustainability and self-determination of any community. The Farmer/herder's Conflict is a crisis for access and utilization of land, water and pasture between the farmers and pastoralists which have affected the means of livelihood of both groups especially the farmers whose means of livelihood depends on crop production which is highly threatened as a result of this conflict (Genyi, 2004).

The nature of interaction between the farming group, and the nomadic pastoralist group in Benue State, Nigeria was cordial and turns to be violent in the recent times (Genyi, 2014). The Benue rural communities are predominantly peasant farmers, who live on the land and find sustenance from it through its cultivation for food and income. They are mostly Christians who practice agriculture as their major occupation. They started experiencing problems when inadequate rains, declining soil fertility, population expansion and conflicts resulted in low crop yields (Uji, 2016). When the farming population was relatively small compared to the available land for cultivation in the 1950s and 1960s, shifting cultivation and crop rotation were common agricultural practices. With the steady expansion of the farming

population, coupled with their customary scattered-sparse settlements for accessing and controlling land use, cultivable spaces shrunk rapidly. However, many communities have remained peasant farmers, and have maintained the cultivation of stretches of land available for food and income covering a wide variety of crops.

The Herders who are predominantly Muslims from the northern parts of Nigeria are pastoralist group who are by occupation traditional cattle herders. Their search for conditions conducive to raising their herds, keeps them continuously on the move from one place to another, and specifically to areas with pasture and water availability and no tsetse fly infestation (Iro, 1994; Blench &Dendo 1994). According to Iro (2010), herdsmen use mobility as a production strategy to access water and pasture and possibly markets. This movement takes the pastoralists to as much as 20 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The nomadic pastoralists in Nigeria move southwards into the Benue valley with their cattle seeking pasture and water from the onset of the dry season (November to April). The Benue valley has two major attractive factors—water from the Benue rivers and their tributaries, such as River Katsina-Ala, and a tsetse fly -free environment. The return movement begins with the onset of rains in April and continues through June. Once the valley is saturated with heavy rain and movement is hampered by muddy areas threatening the very survival of the herds and shrinking passage due to farming activities, leaving the valley becomes inevitable.

The majority of the nomads are settled and, as a trans - humance population with two seasonal movements in Nigeria with an estimated population growth rate of 2.8% (Iro, 1994), these annual movements have impacted conflict relations with the sedentary farmers. The relationship between farmers and herders in Africa have been incompatible, competitive and problematic (Breuserset al. 1998,Hussein, Sumberg&Seddon ,1999). All these descriptions can probably be true, depending on time and place. It is however the latter that seems to be

the most common today. The dominating view on farmer-herder relations and conflict today is close to that of a 'primitive war,' involving "two groups that are involved in the use of land as a competition over a dwindling resource resulting in violence conflict" (Adogi, 2013). The socio-economic effects of these farmers'-herdsmen's conflict is often devastating, multiple and wide ranging, and it is with this justification that this conflict has been identified over the years as a major barrier to development (Zakari& Umar, 2006).

Historically, the peasant farmers have been known to be very good friends of the herders who live together as playmates; often joked over possession of livestock. The herders would call the farmers, MUNCHI, in reference to the story that farmers were given cows, but due to their high appetite for meat ate all the cows. When their herders counterpart asked them where their Cows, theyanswered "*Munchi*", meaning "we have eaten them". All these have changed and the brotherhood nexus and relationship which these two groups had enjoyed in the past as pastoralists and farmers have been marred leading to frequent violent conflicts. What is even more worrisome is that, recently these conflicts have metamorphosed into full blown wars with very horrifying bloodshed (Hagher, 2016)

### 2.4Factors Responsible for Violent Conflicts between Farmers and Herders

There has been a long-standing debate on the factors responsible for violent conflicts. In this study, we started our review of factors responsible for violent generally and narrow down to farmers and herders. A variety of possible causes have been empirically tested. Prominent in the literature is the debate on the effects of ethnic diversity on the initiation of the conflict. Adejoh (2004) argues that diversity in ethnicity is a breeding ground for conflict. Collier and Hoeffler (1998), rejected this argument and suggested that a more polarized society has a lower likelihood of being involved in conflict. Folger, Poole &Stutman (2009) reports that, the likelihood of conflict is maximized when there are two ethnic groups. Hagher, (2016) has

observed that most countries on the African continent are ethnically divided, only a fraction of them have experienced civil war, especially that which is initiated on ethnic grounds. This observation has led Ottite& Albert (1999) to the conclusion that the core of the problem is failure of the state to reconcile differences, not ethnic diversity in itself. In summary, a rather popular argument is that, countries with moderate ethnic diversity seem to be most at risk of conflict, whereas both homogeneous and more ethnically diverse societies face lower risks.In any case, ethnic diversity is expected to have fused together the diversed ethnic groups. This is the case in so many countries such as the United States of America that has multiplicity of ethnic groups. The Nigerian case seems to be unique due to the entrenchment of ethnic diversity fostered by the divide and rule system used by the British during the colonial period. Even after independence, ethnic groups are more loyal to their ethnic cocoons than the nation itself (Ottite &Albert, 1999). The farmers'– herders' violent conflict is a further manifestation of this trend.

However for this study, review is not to be generally on causes of conflicts but farmers'-herders'violent conflict. It is observed that, where there is competition for the use of resources, some level of conflicts are likely to emerge. The drying up of lake Chad Basin has led to the migration of over 700 pastoralists from the Northeast in May 2009 while some migrated in April 2000 from Plateau State, according to local authorities (Yahuza, 2017).These expanded conflicts were mainly due to resource scarcity and divergent value systems in the places of destination. Odoh&Chilaka (2012), attributes farmers'- herder's violentconflict in Nigeria to environmental resource scarcity as being the major issue that induces conflict involving three main factors namely: the degradation and depletion of renewable resources, water and vegetation, the increased consumption of such resources, and their uneven distribution. According to them, the relationship between environmental resource scarcity and conflict is a complex one. That is, the renewable resource scarcity can

produce civil conflict; the inability of a particular group to have optimal access to the desired natural resources is likely to create conflict in a given environment.Viewing conflict in the same environmental or ecological perspective, (Blench, (2004); Onuoha, (2008); Abass; (2012) andOkunola&Ikunmola, (2016) in their various studies have attributed the cause of the prevailing farmers - herders' conflict to climate change which gives rise to certain ecological changes and outcomes. They further stated that some of the conditions responsible for farmers/herders violent conflicts are environmental degradation, desertification/desert encroachment, loss of wetlands, inadequacy of rainfall/droughts and extreme climate variability and volatility. With particular emphasis to the herders'-farmer's conflicts, Blench (2004) reports that the ecological dynamics engendered by climate change tend to drag various land users into conflictive relations in the context of resource scarcity and want. This situation has been made worse by the claims and contestations over land ownership and/or tenure rights. Hence farmers take up more of the river-bank for farms; they come into conflict with the other users, especially the herders and fishermen. The herders have been coming to the river for many years for the grass and tend to consider they have ownership rights. When they arrive and find their grazing land covered by tomatoes, they become angry. The farmers, often desperate to feed their families in a situation where the old rain-fed systems no longer work regard the herders as trespassers (Blench, 2004).Okoli and Atelhe (2014), also confirmed that the spiraling migration of pastoralists from the far North towards the central part of Nigeria has resulted in a sort of dialectical relations between the herdsmen and the settled native farmers. They observed in the case of Nasarawa State that the situation has been complicated by the rising incidence of livelihood insecurity among the farming communities as a result of the dwindling ecological fortunes of the region. This scenario has led to desperate violent conflicts for access to and control of scarce resources, a situation that has social and economic consequences for farmers and herders. The fierce and often violent

nature of these conflicts has been expressed in a vicious circle of violence attacks in the area. Ofem&Inyang (2014) observed that, the inestimable value placed on economic resource whose value have directly defined the dimensions of most conflicts involving man in Nigeria. They further argued that of all resources however, land has remained one of the major sources of conflicts among users at various thresholds. The production potential of grassland and livelihood in the arid and semi - arid region is constrained by low and variable rainfall regime.

Similarly, Olabode&Ajibade (2010), indicates some causes of herders-farmer's conflict to include;control over scarce resources**,** incompatible values, pasture searching, water scarcity, less-diseased environment. The emphasies on the incompatible values where the herders value their herds and the farmers value their farms, any attempt to encroach on one or the other is a call to war.Haro andDayo (2005), also found that the major causes of farmers-herders conflict is that most at times the herders wonder into the fields during crop growing season while their herds eat and trample on the farmers crops, hence tension rise. Hussein (1998) opined that crops, livestock, water resources and other vegetal resources play key roles in the development, maintenance and projection of socio-economic strength of a society. These conflicts therefore do arise as a result of trying to preserve and protect each others' (farmers and herders) belonging. The herdsmen strategize on the protection of their livestock while the farmers their crops.

Okoli&Atelhe (2014), posited that farmers'- herders' violent conflict in Nigeria have been informed by the desperate struggle for survival and subsistence in an environment characterized by ecological scarcity and livelihood insecurity. They observed that the situation has been exacerbated by the phenomenon of climate change, whose dynamics tend to have been aggravating natural resource conflicts across the world. They also identified

some interplay of prominent factors such religion and ethnicity, which according to them engendered conflicts between farmers and herders in Nasarawa State, Nigeria.

Tonah (2006), also identified factors that account for the increasing farmer-herder conflicts to include the southward movement of pastoral herds into the more humid and sub-humid zones and the expansion of farming activities into areas that hitherto served as grazing land. He further posited that since the 1950s there has been a growth in human and livestock population in the coastal regions of West Africa which gave rise to an increased pressure and competition between farmers and herders on the natural resources.According to Tonah (2006), most frequent cause of violent conflict between farmers and herders is the destruction of crops by cattle. These cattle enter the farm to feed on the foliage of crop even in the presence of the herders who pretend not to notice such destruction. On the contrary, Ofuoku&Isife (2009), identified rape and bush burning as the major causes of conflict. They stated that rape is a taboo in most societies in the world and in Africa in particular. The herders who mostly move about in solely male group in a bid to satisfy their sexual feelings resort to raping females they come across. Bush burning as a cause for some instances, according to them, during the dry season, grasses and forage dry up and the nomads believe that if the dried vegetation is burnt, fresh ones would sprout. In the process of burning, the fire spreads into adjourning farms destroyed by the spreading fire. Another cause of farmer-herders' violent conflict identified by Ofuoku&Isife (2009, is the disregard for the farming communities. They posit that the major roads used by farming communities, though are earth roads well cared for. As these nomadic herdsmen take their cattle through these roads, the cattle drop their dung indiscriminately on the roads. This angers the farming communities and when the nomads' attention is brought to it they show no remorse.

Cases of cattle theft (rustling) according to Adamu (2011) is also known to have caused farmer-herder's conflicts. In every community, there are miscreants. Some of these have been

caught stealing bulls and cows by the nomadic herders. This leads to the killing of the thieves. These killings enrage the farming communities showed that frequent loss of cattle to rustlers worsened the already tensed farmer-herder relationship in Nigeria. He further observed that there were cases when cattle stray away and destroyed farmers' crops and were slaughtered by the offended parties. This has caused many problems between the farming communities and the nomadic herdsmen who think less of the value of the damaged crops. It is glaring that the various causes are related to clash of interest in the sense that the herders value their cattle and they can kill for and the farmers too value their farms to a level of killing human beings whose livestock destroy their crops.

Okoli (2014), also asserted that encroachment on grazing fields and routes is one of the immediate causes of farmer-herders' violent conflict. Herders regard their herd as their life because to them life is worthless without their cattle. Therefore, encroachment on grazing fields and routes by farmers is a call to war and they can do anything possible to defend their means of livelihood.

Alimba (2014), contends that the major source of tensions between pastoralists and farmers is economic, with land related issues accounting for the majority of the conflicts. This can then be situated within the broader context of the political economy of land struggle, traceable to a burgeoning demography in which there is fierce competition for fixed space to meet the demands of the growing population (Olabode&Ajibade,Aliyu, 2015; Robbins, 2000). Ajuwon (2004), observed that both farmers and pastoralists flout the dry season farming and grazing rules. He further asserted that some farmers deliberately leave part of their harvest on the farm to lure pastoralists in attempt to get compensation that would be more than the actual worth of the crops destroyed. Ajuwon (2004), further stated that some pastoralists also are no longer paying the traditional homage or informing local leaders when they arrive in a

community. In some cases, the authorities of traditional rulers do make life difficult for herders who are sometimes even denied entry.

Moriz (2010), attributed the farmers'/herders' conflicts to land tenure and land use practices. To him, land is traditionally held on a collective basis. It was therefore used by communities and individuals on first-come first-serve by virtue of being a member of the community. On this premise, the use of fadama was not based on ownership and some fadama areas were even reserved for use by the pastoralists who would spontaneously settle on them and utilise the fadama resources. However, over the years, there had been a complex interaction between ownership rights and use rights. Justino (2006) argued that in most communities, increasing pressure on land has decreased the importance of communal rights but enhanced the significance of individual ownership of land. This situation is very common in Benue State where farmers themselves do involve in to crisis because of land.According to Tonah (2006) in his empirical studies on the triggers of farmer-herder violent conflicts in Ghana, attributes population growth and expansion of agricultural production as the major triggers of farmer herder conflicts in the area, also cited as driving forces of resource scarcity and violent conflicts. Rapid population growth increases competition over available resources. Population growth has also caused a southward migration of many pastoralists from the Sudan-Sahelian zone as a means of avoiding conflicts but in the end create the potential for conflicts with farmers in the new areas (Moritz, 2012). Similarly, Commercial crop production results in encroachment on most of the traditional cattle routes, leaving pastoralists with insufficient passage for livestock to reach drinking points, causing conflicts (West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), 2010).Expansion in agricultural production into formerly grazing areas and cattle routes increases the proximity of grazing livestock to cropped fields (Turner et al., 2011), resulting in livestock-induced crop damages. Livestock-induced crop damage, either on the field or in storage on farms, has been found to

be the most important trigger of farmer-herder conflicts in most parts of West Africa (Abubakari & Longi, 2014; Ofem & Inyang, 2014; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009; Tonah, 2006). Hussein et al (1999) emphasized the breakdown of traditional mechanisms governing resource management and conflict resolution as one of the reasons for the increasing and violent farmer-herder conflicts

Aule (2011), contends that the desire to increase production and meet economic needs has ensured that farmers reclaim farmlands. This often leads to encroachment on their neighbour's farm. An added twist to this element in the present conflict is that farmers also have encroached on lands that were used by the nomads for grazing as a result these conflicts continued occurring in Benue State. In his contributions to the causes of conflicts in Benue state, Tyubee (2006) observed that, most farmers struggle to possess larger farms each year and once they cultivate a particular area they hardly leave it. This gives rise to greater tension over land acquisition. In a contrary view Aule (2015) attributed the roots of conflicts in Benue State to the political economy of Nigeria that has given rise to a peculiar kind of society and state beset with all kinds of conflictual situations. This is a political economy that was mainly introduced with the integration of Nigeria into the world capitalist system through British colonialism. Dambazau (2016) in his own view of the conflicts between farmers and herders in Nigeria stated that BokoHarram was using the advantage of farmer/ herder clashes to terrorize the farming communities under guise.

In a different view Adogi (2013) & Gleditsch (2002), attributed the prevailing conflicts to what they calls "population explosion", due to high birth rate and immigration. According to them, people tend to move from northern and southern Nigeria into the Middle Belt region where population is relatively low and where arable land is available. The consequent rapid growth in population has caused the farmers to struggle for farmland which is becoming

scarce by the day. With this development, grazing areas that were hitherto abundant are being taken over by scattered small farms, making grazing in these areas very difficult. Arguing in the same veinGenyi (2014) asserts that farmers/nomads' violent conflict in Central Nigeria is due largely to population explosion and non-modernization of agricultural practice. He was of the view that population has been growing and less attention has been paid to modernized agriculture in the area coupled with religious sentiments among groups. Mohammed, Ismaila & Bibi (2015), attributed farmer-herders conflicts to Ethnic and religious differences. He posited that ethnic jingoists and politicians have been benefitting in these strives and without doubt have succeeded in creating a divide between the farmers and pastoralist. In a similar vein, Adisa & Adekunle (2010), reported that the key underlying causes of farmer-herdsmen conflict in Nigeria is the decline in internal discipline and social cohesion, as the adherence to the traditional rules regarding grazing periods, and the breaking down of the authority of the traditional rulers. This is exacerbated by increased rent seeking of the formal and traditional authorities in managing resource access. According to John (2014), to conceive of the conflict simply in terms of 'clash of economic interests' is, at best, reductionist. Granted that economic conditions are crucial to explicating the conflict situation, it ought to be noted that what really gives the conflicts decisive impetus is their socio-ecological underpinnings. In this sense, the issue of economic interests should be treated as secondary (symptom rather than cause) in trying to come to terms with the real essence and substance of the conflict.

A study conducted by Zakari& Umar (2006) indicated that, there were no consultations with farmers (the host communities) prior to the settlement of the herders in their farmland in Adamawa State. Without such plans the host communities felt that they had been invaded by herders with the assistance of the government and the local chiefs. A major point of complaint is that the livestock contributed to degradation of farmlands and consequently reduced their productivity. Seemingly trivial as this may appear, it has contributed to the

growth of hatred between the farming and herding communities because it has negative impacts on the livelihoods of the subsistence farmers and herders. According to Azahan (2014), the conflicts involving herders and farmers in Nigeria and particularly Benue State have taken two dimensions both of which have the effect of perpetuating rivalry between the groups; First dimension is the economic differences between farmers and herders and that the conflicts are now between the rich (herders) and the poor (farmers) or "rich invaders" (are mostly stigmatized as arrogant) against "poor hosts". In most areas affected by conflicts a herder is almost synonymous with a rich person and the farmer is considered poor and this creates a situation of Superiority on the one hand and inferiority on the other, but then discontents between parties still remain. The second dimension is that the conflicts involve groups with different cultures (particularly religion) and that the conflicts are also looked at as ethno-religious or cultural clashes. While ethnic and religious differences may not be very significant factors in explaining the persistence of the conflicts, they are often used by host communities to draw attention and organize collective support among themselves against the herders.

## 2.5 Social and Economic Effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict on the Farmers and Herders

The social activities have been given due emphasis for a long period and have religious and cultural consequences for the development of the farmers and herders in the study area. The social condition of rural communities is highly interrelated with their economic conditions because the communities depends on the agricultural productivity to make social and religious feast and ceremonies like marriage and other social activities. Adejoh (2004), opined that farmers-herders violent conflicts have reversed several consequences of progress and literally destroyed the fabric of social cohesion. Buttressing the consequences of violent conflict on farmers, a study conducted by Mattee&Shem (2006)in Uganda shows that farm

land conflict has a negative impact on the productivity of farmers which turn to affect their social activities. Thus, violent conflict between farmers and herdsmen is associated with significant economic losses. Moreover, the finding of Breusers*et al* (1998) in Burkina Faso indicates that many farmers experienced high costs, both financially and in terms of the time because of farmland conflict. Their research indicated that the community spent more than US$2,000 during conflict to cover transportation and accommodation of other necessary expenditures. Duru (2013) also opined that land related conflict is not only challenge to agricultural productivity but also a serious social problem that undermines both the faith of people in the system and their ability to achieve sustainable livelihoods.

Aule (2015), observed that conflict is characterized by "a suspension of communication between opposing parties". Likewise, Adejoh (2004) perceived conflicts as "disjunctive process which results in the disruption of the bonds of unity that may previously have existed between the disputants. Conflicts lead to the break-up of societies, socially politically and economically. This is manifested farming communities where markets, schools and places of worship were abandoned as a result of farmer/herder's conflicts. Conflict increases the perceived threat to people's well-being. For this reason, we believe that people migrate away in order to remove themselves from this threat (Davenport, Will & Steven, 2003).

One of the many ways in which conflict affects individuals and families is the physical threat that is undoubtedly an important motivation to migrate away from conflict areas. In addition, there are a variety of deleterious economic consequences both during and after conflict or violent events. This understanding is the basis upon which the study of effects of farmers/herder's conflict is based, where farmer/herder's conflicts triggered violence that affected economic development of the farming and herding communities in Benue State. It is the individual characteristics that determine how it affects them (Gleditsch, 2006). In conflict it is not just the danger that is important, but aftermath motivate individuals to migrate. Thus

in order to better understand individuals' behaviour when faced with conflict, it is necessary to have a broader understanding of how conflict affects their lives and livelihoods and the context within which they adopt strategies to cope with the conflict (Muhammed&Bibi, 2015).

According to Nathalie (2009), conflict can disrupt individuals' and households' livelihoods. It can limit their ability to go to work and to the farm. Conflict can also disrupt access to markets, to buying and selling of goods, and it can increase prices of commodities. Civilians often face destruction of personal property including homes, farms, and other assets (Justino 2006; Shemyakina 2006). In addition, conflict can bring increased taxes and required billeting for military forces. This effectively affects wages, increases the cost of living, and makes household livelihood strategies increasingly risky.

Reduction in output of crops and income by farmers occur as a result of indiscriminate destruction of crops by cattle which lead to either loss of crops by the farmers. The effect on crop yield therefore has negative effect on the affected farmer's income with its summary impact on the overall agricultural income (Oboh&Hyande, 2006). This according to Ofem and Inyang (2014) contends to negatively affect farmer's savings, credit repayment ability, as well as the food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers that depend on farmers for food supply. Thus, farming and rural/agricultural development is discouraged while displacement of farmers increased. Tonah (2006), revealed that, internal displacement of farmers and herders in communities occur as a result of the conflict, especially women, who stop going to the distant farm for fear of attack by nomads. The displaced farmers therefore become a liability to other farmers who have become providers for them and their families. This creates a vicious cycle of poverty in the affected areas.

Umeh and Chukwu (2013) opined that, economic effects of the conflict to the society is the susceptibility of the soil to erosion (land degradation) which occurs as a result of grazing worsened by the rain and accelerated by the topography of the areas. Erosion causes a lot of loss of soil nutrients and difficulty of cultivation. Uji (2016) observed that, apart from the killings by herders and reprisal attacks by the farming communities, the conflicts have contributed to some female farmers becoming widows, while other victims of the conflict are mostly children and aged farmers. All these have drastically reduced agriculture labour force in the area. This has increased the reported cases of proliferation of small arms and ammunitions since the host farming communities and the herdsmen see each other as archenemies. This is inimical to the spirit of integration of Nigerian ethnic groups for peaceful co-existence (Azahan, 2014). This agrees with a study conducted by Nweze (2005), in which he reported that twenty seven (27) people lost their lives due to conflict between nomadic herdsmen and farmers between 1996 and 2002.

It is very clear that there are extensive economic effects for the farming and herding communities due to the conflicts. According to the United Nations' *World Investment Report* [UNWIR](2013), Nigeria's foreign direct investment dropped 23 percent from 2011 to 2012, and this drop has been attributed to the activities of farmer/ herders' conflict.Nathaliel (2009), in his study considered the relationship between economic outcomes and conflicts. In his study he attributed part of the economic failure of most countries to the prevalence of conflict. Evidence has been shown by Umeh&Chukwu (2013), to convince one that the prevalence of conflict in communities could explain a greater part of its current economic situation because meaningful economic development cannot take place without peace.

Economic development and conflict are deeply interconnected, as Adisa (2011), have noted. Genyi (2014), also opined that conflict is believed to have strong adverse effects on economic

prosperity. He further stated that Conflict in general and farmers'/herders' conflict in particular, is one of the main causes of economic underdevelopment in Central Nigeria and particularly Benue State in the recent times. In addition to the killing of human beings and suffering, conflicts have had a devastating effect on the economic performance of the farmers and herders and reduce GDP and accentuated poverty (Iro, 2010).

The economic effects of conflicts can be divided into two: the immediate human effects and the long term developmental effects. Coser (2002), observed that the more peoples' greater part of the human effects of conflict does not result directly from battle deaths and injuries, but rather indirectly from the loss of livelihoods caused by the dislocation of the economy and society. Iro(2010), also noted a particularly striking effect of conflicts, that most of the casualties involved are civilians and mostly children and women. He further estimates vary widely; according to him, between 60 and 80 % of conflict-related deaths are civilians. Marshall and Gurr (2005), Farmer-herder conflicts killed far more civilians, even after the conflict is over, than the number of combatants that die during the conflict. They further stated thatbetween1990 and 1995, some fifteen million deaths were caused directly or indirectly by various types of conflicts in the developing countries of Africa.

Collier (1998),explicitly quantified the effects of conflict on growth both during and post conflict years, and established that effects on the growth rate of GDP, rather than simply on its level. Similarly, Tonah (2006) found that the effect of conflicts on economic development depends on the duration of the conflict. A five year conflict reduces the average growth rate over five years by 12 percent. Thus, per annum the average growth rate would be reduced by about 2.4%. This result is comparable to Collier (1998), who found out that during conflicts, the GDP per capita declines at an annual rate of 2.2% relative to its counterfactual. Collier (1998), further observed that after long conflicts the economy recovers rapidly, whereas after

short conflicts it continues to decline. The very fact of conflict constitutes news that the society is prone to insecurity. Further, the conflict is likely to have polarised the society, so making it easier to coordinate future rebellions. Because shorter conflicts are incomplete, confidence in the security is still fluid which might continue to affect the economy by reducing the motivation to invest in the area. Benjaminsen, Tor and Boubacar (2009) in an empirical study discovered that if conflicts last only a year, it causes a loss of growth during the first years of peace of 2.1% per annum, a loss that is not significantly different from that which the country or community will incur had the conflict continued (2.2%).

Another strong argument underlying the economic effect of conflict is that during conflicts or wars, government increase their military expenditure and this directly reduces economic growth. Fefa& Tough (2016), opined thatgovernment increases spending on security during and immediately after violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue State. A study by Collier &Hoeffler (1998), revealed that during conflicts Columbia military expenditure rises as a percentage of GDP from 2.8% to 5.0%. However, even when the conflict ends military expenditure does not return to its former level. The average country during the first decade post-conflict spends 4.5% of GDP on the military. The increase in government military spending is part of the diversion of resources into violence but also harmful to development, in that the resources controlled by rebel groups or any other group involved are also a diversion from productive activities. These diversions might be significant, and they increase with the duration of the conflict. The farmer-herders' violent conflicts in Benue State has brought expenses to be beared by the Government which such resources would have been used for infrastructural development.

Another effect of conflict on the economy is the rebel group which decreases government military expenditure per capital which is a function of the per capita taxable capacity of the

economy (Marshall &Gurr, 2005). But a rebellion, as noted by Kollmair (2006) statistically, has low chance of succeeding, and if they do, this only comes after a long and protracted struggle. Hence, an increase in the resources available to a community or government at conflict would most likely be diverted to hasten their victory, foreign aid to governments should be curtailed when they are involved in a conflict; similarly, their export revenues should be restricted. Collier &Hoeffler (2012), observed that donors reduce aid during periods of active conflict, which involves a trade off between protecting civilians.

Gleditsch*(*2001), asserts that there is strong case study evidence that countries with a high share of natural resources in their exports are more likely to experience violent conflict because resources such as diamonds and timber can be looted and used to finance the conflict. According to Gleditsch (1998), cross country regressions provide strong evidence to support this causal link between natural resources and the risk of violent conflict. There is also a wealth of evidence from case studies on the importance of Diasporas in the financing of conflicts; Odgaard (2002) presented some statistical evidence that this is a general phenomenon. There is also a new wave of empirical evidence on the effects of violent conflicts on neighbouring countries' communities; violent conflicts are not only devastating for the communities in which they are fought, but they also generate international spill over. Abubakar (2012), found that violent conflicts substantially reduce development in both the conflict torn community and its neighbours' development. This reduction, according to Umeh&Chukwu (2015) is due to multiple factors, such as the disruption to trade, heightened risk perception by investors, a reduction of input supply and resources spent on the assistance to IDPs. For example, when farmer-herders' violent conflicts were at its peak in Benue State, some states that Benue supply them with some food stuffs and oranges were lacking. In addition, Adelakun (2015), found that the risk of conflict significantly increases, once there is a conflict in one of the neighbouring states or communities and this can partly explain what is

happening in Nigeria Today, the present farmers-herders conflict and Boko harram in Nigeria aggravated after the Arab upspring or the Libya crisis. The start of conflict in the early 90s in Sierra Leone could be traced back to the Liberian conflict; subsequently, the start of conflict in Guinea in the late 90s was closely linked to the then existing conflict in Sierra Leone. This confirms the claim that conflict also has spill over effect on to neighbours, raising their risk of civil conflict, military spending, and reducing their socioeconomic growth (Anderson, 1999).

It is important to note that the physical end of conflict does not coincide with the end of human and economic suffering. Another striking consequence of conflicts, alongside the number of deaths or injuries, relates to the severe public health consequences after conflict ends (Adebayo &Olaniyi, 2008). Once a conflict has ended countries or communities face a very high risk of recurrent conflict. Varvar (2000) have estimated, there is a 50 percent risk of a conflict re-starting within five years of a settlement. In other words, once a country or community has had a conflict it is likely to have further conflict, although peace is an improvement, risk levels do not return to their pre-conflict level. Consequently, even in peace time, people may still wish to move assets to safer communities. Capital repatriation requires more than just peace (Hoeffler&Reynal-Querol, 2003). Therefore, countries or communities coming out of conflict are typically in need of both financial resources and policy advice. Their societies are often extremely fragile and so it is important that the response of the international development community should be as appropriate as possible (Collier &Hoeffler, 2002).

One can therefore conclude that there is an obvious relationship between conflict and economic effect. In fact, evidence on the relation between conflict and economic effect is consistent in establishing the strong negative effect of conflict on societal development.

However, a study on the effects of conflict on the economy needs to deal with the problem of joint reverse causality. If it is true that a high propensity for having frequent conflicts reduces economic development, it may also be the case that underdevelopment increases the probability of conflict. Collier (1999), observed that the association between political conflict and economic variables across countries/ communities is thought to be created by reverse causation, since political instability is not only a cause but also an effect of the fluctuations in economic variables.

## 2.6 Coping Strategies adopted by Victims of Violent conflicts

This section reviewed what scholars have written on the coping strategies victims of farmers'-herders' violent conflicts have adopted to cope with the challenges of reoccurring conflict over time. How the conflicts influence their behaviour to engage into some behaviours and occupations to enable them survive

According to Holzmann& Jorgensen (2001); Few (2003),coping strategies are designed to relieve the impact of the risk once it has occurred. The main forms of coping consist of individual dis-saving/borrowing, migration, selling labour (including that of children), reduction of food intake, or the reliance on public or private transfers. Rodgers, Joseph, Craig &Ronnie(2005), draws a rough distinction between coping strategies focused on making better use of internal household Non-monetary resources include activities by household members to meet their own needs, informal relations of mutual support or the exchange of services, and goods or services supplied by official agencies' resources and coping strategies focused on mobilizing external resources provided by the state, the local community, relatives, friends, private organizations such as the church and so forth.

Smith & Mc Cart (1996), also stated that in any type of coping strategy there are two philosophical dimensions i.e. monetary and non-monetary resources: Monetary resources

include earnings from formal or informal labor or financial support provided by the local or national authorities.

Iván&Dil (2015), identified four types of coping strategies as, Limiting household expenditures. This can be done in many number of ways: by consuming less, cutting down on expenditures perceived as luxuries (holidays, entertainment, transportation, the newspaper), or trying to maintain the same consumer level with less money by purchasing cheaper items. The second kind of coping strategies has to do with more intensive use of internal household resources. A classical example of intensive use of internal household resources, according to Iván&Dil (2015 ), is the self-supporting household that grows its own vegetables, makes its own clothes, does its own repairs or even builds its own house (a sort of forms of subsistence economy). The third type of coping strategy pertains to market-oriented activities. Here again, a conglomerate of activities is involved, including selling home-grown vegetables and other products at the market, as is quite common in developing countries, to participating in the formal labour market or, if that is not feasible or lucrative, in the informal economy. The fourth type of coping strategy entails seeking the support of powerful external factors such as the state, local authorities or private organizations. In the context of highly developed Western welfare states, this type of coping strategy is by far the most important. These countries have an extensive social security system that gives people a certain guarantee of income security in times of need, and in many cases there are also extra provisions for the most vulnerable groups. Examples of these special provisions include Medical and the food stamps in the United States, which are meant to provide the low income groups with medical and health care and food (Iván& Dil,2015).

The capacity to cope with the effects of conflict is increasingly seen as an important short-term measure for households and communities. Community resistance and resilience are seen

as key elements in coping with the ravages of violent conflict events (Adisa, 2011c). Coping mechanisms could take the form of actions to prevent the extension of conflict through physical measures, or actions to reduce the adverse effects of conflict through such things as the relocation of belongings, livelihood diversification, or temporary resettlement (Abebayo&Olaniyi, 2008).

Genyi (2014) in his study asserts that some farmers had left farming for other petty businesses in the urban centres for their dear lives and this has affected farming negatively. In the same vein, Hagher (2016) complained of the rate at which the younger generation of farming households were not willing to farm as a results of insecured environment in the rural areas due to farmer-herder conflicts. Another coping strategy adopted by victims of farmer-herders' violent conflict is their abandonment of farming and herding for petty businesses in urban centres. Mwamfupe (2015), has stated that farmers have encouraged their members with capabilities to engage themselves in businesses. Such business people do carryout farming activities only on part time basis since all their time is used for business. Businesses do enable them to take care of their families and send some money to their relatives in the rural areas. The decision to engage in business and do farm work on a part time basis according to Momale (2003), is to cope with the difficulties and hardship associated with farmers'-herders' violent conflicts. The involvement of farmers in multiple non-farming economic activities is an indication that farming as an economic activity is no longer satisfying the needs of farmers. Farmers therefore diversify so as to raise enough money to cope with other pressing needs that are challenging them after the conflict. Uji (2016) notes that, in many rural communities where they experienced farmer-herders' violent conflict, the victims cope by surviving on the remittances from some of our people their people that migrated to urban or safer communities. He noted that many of the victims that left to the cities send money to their families for their feeding. Though money may be sent to

families left at home, the pertinent question is how much of this money that can be enough for their feeding in the face of many other pressing demands. Momale (2014) observed that this survival strategy limits the extent to which farmers would cultivate and plant land thereby limiting quantity of crops produced. This is because their attention is divided and most of them do pay more attention on the business more than farming for fear of insecurity.

The engagement of farmers and herders in underpaid jobs of taking care of cows and farming for people in the safer communities respectively has been found to be a good coping strategy used by both farmers and herders. As noted by Ibrahim (2014), instead of taking care of their own cows they decided to be doing it for others while many farmers farm for others in order to meet their daily needs. The advent of party politics further encouraged others to survive by engaging in politicking. The youth become party thugs instead of working on their farms. Yet others take to kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery, banditry, assassin, and even Advanced Fee Fraud (419). Other victims of farmer-herders' violent conflict take to roadside fuel retailing which has become more characteristic of streets, roads and highways in Benue State (Uji, 2016).

## 2.7 Government Policies/ Interventions Aimed at Forestalling Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Nigeria

This section of the study is dedicated to reviewing various measures adopted by various governments from the colonial period to date, towards addressing violent conflicts between farmers and herders before and after they escalated. The aim is to ascertain to what extent each policy/ intervention has been successful and recommend appropriate alternatives and actions. These policies/ interventions were reviewed into two eras: From pre-colonial era to 1998, from 1999 to 2019.

### 2.7.1 Government Policies/ InterventionsAimed at Forestalling Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Nigeria during the Colonial Era to1998

In the pre-colonial period, disputes and conflict were peacefully resolved through the well established structures of traditional leadership, particularly in the Northern part of Nigeria where the caliphate system was well entrenched (Jiddere, 2016).According to Idowu (2017) these measures include: dialogue, negotiation, mediation, arbitration, adjudication, expulsion and application of laws that could forestall these conflicts. For instance, Fasona et al (2016) avered that in Sepeteri and Ikoyi-Ile communities of Oyo state, agro-pastoralist conflicts which can be traced to the colonial era have often been resolved through dialogue as narrated by the community leaders. The then traditional institution demarcated cattle routes to avoid trespassing by both farmers and herdsmen. This demarcation continued throughout the colonial period and into the independent era. In addition, Blench (2004) asserted that the pre-colonial era Grazing Area known as *hurmi*(communal grazing areas) were preserved around townships and large villages throughout what now constitutes most of North Western Nigeria and in some of the Northeast, especially in Borno, Adamawa and Taraba State. He stated further that during the raining season when most farm lands were cultivated, the *hurmi* were the primary sources of natural pasture to nomadic herds when all livestock had to be kept away from farmlands. So also the cattle routes (*burtali*) were well protected by traditional leaders against possible encroachment by farmers. Milligan and Binns (2007), posited that the traditional rulers were also more interested in revenue accruing from cattle tax (Jangali) therefore; they always preserved and protected the communal grazing areas to attract more herds. In the colonial period, the colonial administration preserved the *hurmi*as well as the cattle routes (burtali) in all the provinces of Northern Nigeria where they existed and left their management to the traditional institutions through the policy of indirect rule (Adisa, 2011b). Within these *hurmi*, the sewing of nutritious pasture, such as Gumba (Androppogongayanus) and other varieties were introduced to increase their carrying capacity. Hadejia

(1993),supported that colonial administration acquired additional lands to extend the sizes of *hurmi*and floated the idea of resettling nomadic pastoralist as a means of improving their productivity. The reason then was that the traditional pastoralist system involving mobility was a primitive system of production that needed to be modernized as well as simultaneously prevent conflicts between herders and farmers.

According to Jiddere (2016), the first attempt by the colonial administration to settle the Fulani herdsmen was in 1914 when a company called the African Ranches Limited was registered by a group of Fulanis. It established 16,500 acres ranches at Allagarno in the present Yobe State and a 9,000 acres ranch at Kaduna. The main objective of the project was to improve local breeds of cattle, sheep and horses and expand ostrich and tobacco farming. It was hoped that the operations and management of the ranch would serve as a model and demonstration for pastoral nomads to emulate. However, the poor economic rate of return from the investment led to the closure of the Ranches by 1931 (Momale, 2014).

In 1942, the idea of settling the nomadic pastoralist was revived and actually put in practice on the Jos Plateau. Each pastoral household was allocated four acres of pastoral land with hope that they would settle permanently and engage in mixed agriculture involving farming. However, the lands were taken over by mining companies that sprang up following the discovery of tin in the Jos Plateau, thereby aborting the program. Between 1949 and 1954, the international Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), now the World Bank Mission, was in Nigeria to specifically examine the livestock sub-sector of the economy in the context to bring about improvements in the pastoral production system. The mission recommended that pastoralist should be discontinued and pastoralists settled to adopt mixed farming agriculture. In line with the recommendation of the mission, a pastoral development program termed “Fulani Amenities Program” was established by the colonial administration.

The program offered among other things, of supplementary feeds for dry season feeding. However, according to Momale ( 2014), the programme also failed. If only these programmes had succeeded and the pastoralist adopted and emulated the settle-system would have dramatically reduced the ugly experience of conflicts between farmers and herdsmen.

In the post-colonial era, precisely in 1965, the Northern Regional Legislature passed the grazing Reserves Law to provide a legal framework for the acquisition and protection of grazing reserves. The law empowered the Ministry of Animals and Forest Resources and the Native Authorities to acquire lands and constitutes them into grazing reserves. Provisions were made for the development of pastures, permanent water supplies and animal health services. These were aimed at the gradual settlement of pastoralists and systematically prevent conflict between them and farmers (Jiddere, 2016). Some of these grazing lands included the Rum-Kukar-Jangari(Katsina), Kachia and BirninGwari (Kaduna), Udubo and Yautate (Bauchi), JauroYaya and Jakusko-Nasari (Yobe), Wase (Plateau) and Souau (Taraba), among others.

Efforts to settle pastoralists with the aim of improving livestock production and prevent their perennial conflicts with farmers continued up to 1996-1999 when the federal Government established the Petroleum (special) Trust Fund (PTF) to rehabilitate facilities across all the sectors of the economy, including the agricultural sector. Twenty two (22) grazing reserves were earmarked for development throughout the country, including south western Nigeria. However, the PTF Pastoralist Development Programme could not go beyond the initial planning and design.The PTF was then terminated with the inauguration of democratic governance in 1999 (Momale, 2014).

### 2.7.2 Government Policies/Interventions Aimed at Forestalling Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Nigeria from1999 to 2019

#### A. Federal GovernmentPolicies/Interventions

The federal government has, over the years, explored various measures. According to International Crisis Group [IGC] (2017) in April 2014, the then President Goodluck Jonathan's government inaugurated an inter-ministerial technical committee on grazing reserves, tasked with proposing strategies for ending the farmer-herders' violent conflicts and at the same time set up a political Committee on Grazing Reserves, chaired by then Benue state Governor Gabriel Suswam. The report issued by Suswam's committee called for the recovery and improvement of all grazing routes encroached upon by farmers and recommended that the Central Bank of Nigeria release a total of N100 billion ($317 million) to the country's 36 state governments for ranch construction. The National Executive Council (NEC) approved these recommendations but Jonathan's defeat in the March 2015 elections interrupted their implementation. Although the central bank released N100 billion to state governments, they failed to construct any ranch (ICG, 2017). On 19 January 2017, the House of Representatives set up a committee to investigate accusations that the funds had been looted and report back within four weeks. The committee's findings remain unpublished to this day.

Soon after assuming office in 2015, President Buhari directed the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) to formulate a comprehensive livestock development plan including measures to curb farmer-herder clashes. In August 2015, a FMARD committee recommended short-, medium- and long-term strategies, including development of grazing reserves and stock routes. On 25 January 2016, the government announced it was presenting a plan to the Nigerian Governors Forum to map grazing areas in

all states as a temporary solution for cattle owners until they could be persuaded to embrace ranching (Buhari, 2016).

Most central and southern states, however, opposed the plan, which they viewed as favouring Fulani herders. According to Ogbe (2016), On 3 March, seeking to mollify this opposition, the Minister of Agriculture announced the government was sending a bill to the National Assembly to prohibit cattle from roaming in cities and villages. He added that the government had ordered fast-growing grass from Brazil to produce "massive hectares of grasses", which would be ready for consumption "within the next three months'' More than a year later, there has been no further word about the cattle banning bill and the promised grass. Ejembi (2019) asserts that the Federal Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development(FMARD), in June, 2019 has announced the introduction of Ruga Settlement as a policy where States that are interested will provide land for the Federal Government to provide necessary facilities for herder settlements where herders will be restricted to those particular areas for grazing but all Southern States and some Northern States like Benue and Taraba vehemently opposed the policy leaving Government with no any other option than to suspend the policy.

**B. State Governments Intervention/Policies**

ICG (2016) asserts that in the absence of clear federal guidance, state governments' measures to forestall and manage these conflicts vary. Several have established state and local peace commissions or committees to promote herder-farmer dialogue and resolve conflicts. States like Ekiti in the south west and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Abuja in the centre have passed laws regulating grazing activities. In Benue and Taraba States, governments have introduced laws banning all open grazing. In Edo state, the government said it would create fenced grazing areas with watering facilities, requiring herdsmen to feed their cattle there and

pay for the service (Tyoakaa, 2017). Herders, who consider these regulations restrictive, often fail to comply. In the Federal Capital Territory, herders still roam their cattle widely; in Taraba state, the cattle breeders' association has rejected the grazing ban law, vowing a legal challenge. Some local reactions have been more forceful. In Borno, Niger and Plateau States, authorities occasionally have expelled herder groups from specific areas, following local protests. ICG (2017) opined that, in May 2016, the governor of Abia state, OkezieIkpeazu, revived a local vigilante outfit popularly known as the Bakassi Boys. He directed all community chiefs to nominate ten youths for a two-week intensive training with "reformed" Bakassi vigilantes before deployment to rural communities. Two months later, the Cross River state government announced plans to set up a 3,000-member "Homeland Security Service". Local officials said the members would not carry firearms, but carry out activities such as providing intelligence on herders' movements and activities.

According to ICG (2017), these measures may have reduced clashes in some areas, but elsewhere; they have made the situation worse. The expulsion of herder groups has only deepened their resentment. If community-based vigilante groups attack herders in the south, herders might take revenge against southerners residing in the north, thereby further widening the conflict.

**C. Security Agencies and Judicial System Intervention/Policies**

ICG (2017) advanced that the, federally-controlled Nigeria Police Force (NPF) and the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) were thinly deployed in rural areas and often lack early warning mechanisms. Even when community and civil society groups get involved, both herders and farmers say the response to distress calls is often late. Herders say they sometimes have to seek revenge because security forces take no action against attackers who kill them and steal their cattle. According to Ayuba (2017), farmers say the agencies'

failure to respond promptly to distress calls and punish aggressors emboldens the herders. Kukwa (2016) asserts that the more typical response has been to deploy the police, and sometimes the army, after clashes take place. In a few cases, police have arrested and prosecuted both herders and vigilantes bearing firearms. More often, the country's dysfunctional law enforcement and criminal justice system fails to arrest or prosecute any perpetrators. Moreover, authorities have generally treated these crimes as political rather than criminal acts, arguing that sanctioning suspects could spark further violence.

Even when commissions of inquiry were established, they were typically used as instruments to temper tensions rather than pursue justice. These responses, however well meaning, create a climate of impunity. According to Kukwa (2016), under the Buhari administration, the security response has been particularly questionable. In February 2016, following public outcry over attacks by herders that killed scores of people in ten farming villages in the Agatu area of north-central Benue state, Buhari ordered an investigation. Nothing has been heard about it since. Lai (2016) stated on 24 April 2016 that, the government was working "silently" toward ending the violence, promising: "In few weeks from now, we will begin to see the result of that". Again, there was no follow up. In April 2016, after widespread condemnation of an attack on UkpabiNimbo in Enugu state, the president ordered the police and military to "take all necessary action to stop the carnage", pledging that stopping herder attacks had become a priority. Since then hundreds have died in more clashes. On 15 July 2016, the chief of defence staff, General Gabriel Olonisakin, announced "Operation Accord" to stop the violence. Nothing more was heard of that campaign. Following clashes in southern Kaduna in late 2016, which killed between 200 to 800 people, the army deployed troops to the area. Still, attacks have continued (Zakari, 2017).

**D. Federal Legislature Interventions/Policies**

The federal parliament also has failed to respond effectively. In 2011, Niger state Senator Zainab Kure sponsored a bill to create a National Grazing Reserves Commission and establish national grazing reserves and livestock routes, but it was not passed and eventually expired when the Seventh Senate lapsed in May 2015 (NGRE Bill, 2011). From 2015 to 2016, three new bills were introduced to create grazing reserves, livestock routes and ranches across the country. After much wrangling, all three were dropped in November 2016 on the grounds that land use was exclusively a state government prerogative. According to Musa ( 2016), the Senate was unable to enact new laws, the federal legislature has limited itself to holding public hearings and passing resolutions. On 9 March 2016, the Senate passed a resolution declaring Boko Haram insurgents were behind attacks on farming communities across Benue, Taraba, Plateau and several other states. Unsupported by any public evidence, that resolution was widely seen as a diversion, particularly as spokespeople for the herders' association had admitted committing some of the attacks in reprisal for previous wrongs. On 10 May 2016, the Senate Committees on Agriculture, Intelligence and National Security held a public hearing on herder-farmer violence. The hearing was not followed by any policy recommendations or action toward ending the violence (Musa, 2016).

**E. Civil Society Interventions**

Civil society measures have varied. Ethnic and community-based groups defending farmers' interests typically have organised press conferences and protests, seeking to draw national – and even international attention to their plight. Some have instituted legal actions; for instance, in May 2016, the Benue-based Movement Against Fulani Occupation (MAFO) filed a suit at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Court based in Abuja, demanding the federal government pay N500 billion (about $1.6 billion) as compensation for

failing to protect its citizens. Others, such as the pan-Yoruba socio-cultural organisationAfenifere, have set up arrangements to monitor both herders and cattle thieves). In turn, livestock producers' groups and pastoralists' organisations strenuously defend herders' interests and insist media reports of incidents were often politically motivated ( Nev, 2016 ). Fulani umbrella groups, such as Miyetti Allah KautalHore, also tend to downplay herders' involvement in the violence. The back and forth between highly partisan positions further complicates the search for common ground.

Non-governmental organisations generally have been more conciliatory and constructive in response to the violence. They have focused on post-conflict reconciliation and peace building, improving early warning and strengthening relations between communities and security agencies. According to Nev (2016), international partners are encouraging herder-farmers' dialogues through various local initiatives. For instance, in June 2016, the British Council-sponsored Nigeria Reconciliation and Stability Project (NRSP) supported the Bayelsa state Peace and Conflict Management Alliance in organising a dialogue between farmers and herders. Likewise, on 27 April 2017, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) sponsored and hosted a conference on herder-farmer dialogue, involving the All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN), MACBAN, the Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC) and others (Haruna, 2017).

There are some encouraging results. Representatives of herding and farming communities pledged to continue working for peace at a November 2016 mediation forum in Shendam, Plateau state, organised by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (CHD) with support from the German embassy. And, in April 2017, a herder-farmer dialogue in the Udege and Agwada Development Areas of Nasarawa state, facilitated by some local politicians and community leaders, produced a peace agreement. But results remain limited and fragile (Ayuba,

2017).Abubakar (2012), in his study in Katsina State also foundthat Traditional Leaders were most efficient and effective in conflict management between farmers and herders in the communities.

## 2.8 Theoretical Framework

This section of the study covers theoretical review. Eco-violence and frustration aggression theories were reviewed. However, Eco – Violence theory was adopted for the study in order to guide our understanding on farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria.

### 2.8.1 Eco-Violence Theory

Eco-Violence theory began in the 1990s with conflict theorists suggesting complex causal links between environmental pressure, defined as scarcities of renewable resources, and the outbreak of violent conflict. Their strategy was to collect case studies substantiating the claim that, particularly in overpopulated developing countries, environmental pressure can lead to the outbreak of violence. Two ample collections of case studies were produced roughly at the same time, one by a Canadian team (Homer-Dixon 1994, 1998) and the other by a team based in Switzerland (Bächler, 1998). Both of these teams focused on developing countries, and both had the aim of tracing the social processes leading from environmental scarcity, eventually combined with population pressure, to the outbreak of violent conflict.

The Eco-violence theory was postulated by Thomas Homer-Dixon in 1998. This theory has engaged the minds of scholars such as Baechler (1998), Percival (1998), Odoh and Chilaka (2012), Gleditsch (2001),Mwamfupe (2015) to extensively explain the issues of violent conflicts and environmental resources.The fundamental theoretical assumption of the theory is that resource scarcity is the product of an insufficient supply, too much demand or unequal distribution of a resource as a result of environmental hazards or degradation will force some sectors of a society into a condition of deprivation and violence. Homer-Dixon and Percival

(1998) argued that large populations in many developing countries are highly dependent on four key environmental resources that are very fundamental to herding and crop production: fresh water, cropland, forests and fish. Scarcity or shrinking of these resources as a result of misuse, over-use or degradation under certain circumstances will trigger off conflicts.

According to Homer-Dixon (2007), decrease in the quality and quantity of renewable resources, population growth, and unequal resource access act singly or in various combinations, lead to increase in the scarcity, for certain population groups, of cropland, water, forests, and fish. This can reduce economic productivity, both for the local groups experiencing the scarcity and for the larger regional and national economies. The affected people may migrate or be expelled to new lands. Migrating groups often trigger ethnic conflicts when they move to new areas, while decreases in wealth can cause deprivation conflicts.

These four sources of scarcity are in turn caused by variables such as population growth, economic development, pollution and obviously climate change. Thus, environmental resource scarcity will constrain agricultural and economic productivity, further inducing the disruption of economic livelihoods, poverty and migration. Migration can occur either because the environmental quality of a habitat has become unlivable or, more commonly, because the migrant's economic outcome is likely to be better in areas with greater resources availability. Both constrained productivity and migration are likely to strengthen the segmentation around already existing religious, class, ethnic or linguistic cleavages in a society and thus precipitate conflicts.

In this study, the Eco-Violence theory is applicable in the sense that it explains the intricate linkages that have developed between resource scarcity as a result of climate change and violent conflicts among farmers and herdsmen in Benue State. This is because the four

environmental resources (fresh water, cropland, forests and fish) as earlier identified by Homer- Dixon are resources that are affected by climate change at the lake Chad Basin. The lake has dried up leading to shortage of fish and fresh water. Drought and desertification have dried up crop lands and forest in the far Northern Nigeria thereby making these environmental resources in short supply. To cope with these challenges, herders migrate to North Central Nigeria particularly Benue State where they can get moderate weather, market opportunities, green–vegetation, forage and food, thereby threatening the means of production and reproduction of farmers in thearea, who also depend on these resources for their livelihood. This in itself engenders violent conflicts in the area. And when they (farmers and herders) agreed to live together according to Odoh & Chilaka ( 2012), the long term effect will be pressure on land, food shortage, conflict of interests, cultural differences, over population, social disorganization, religious, social, and cultural intolerance which are in themselves conflict triggers. On one hand, farmers as a result of low yield and environmental factors which has made land infertile, coupled with the population increase cultivate more lands now than they do before, living little land for grazing of cattle particularly in the River Benue valley. It is within this context that the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue State communities can be understood.

This theory has been criticized for analyzing violent conflicts between farmers and herders paying more attention to climate change and resource scarcity without giving equal consideration to socio-political and ethno-religious factors. According to Mwamfupe (2015), ethnic and religious differences may not be very significant factors in explaining farmers'/herder's violent conflicts, but are very important in understanding the persistence of the violent conflict. They are often used by individuals and groups to draw attention and to organize collective support among themselves against the 'invaders'.This conflict involve two groups of different ethnic and religious identities and this is a situation where Hahger

(2016) asserted that these violent conflicts have the potentials of escalating and transforming into an ethnic and/or religious conflict if not properly managed. Therefore, in order to better understand the social, political and ethno-religious dimensions of the conflict Frustration-Aggression theory was also reviewed for the study.

### 2.8.2 Frustration-Aggression Theory

The Frustration - Aggression theory dates back to the works of Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears (1939) cited in Homer Dixon & Percival, 2007).The theory has been expanded and modified by scholars like Leonard Berkowitz (1962) and Aubrey Yates (1962) as cited in Odgaard(2002), they have a common explanation for violent behaviour stemming from inability to fulfil needs. The major assumption of the theory is that aggression is always a function of frustration and the occurrences of aggressive behaviour always presuppose the existence of frustration. The Theoryreferred to aggression as any behaviour which is intended to injure, cause harm, pain to the individual to whom it is directed. According to Zillmann (1979), the other tenets of the theory are as follows;

a. Frustration instigates behaviour that may or may not be hostile or aggressive;
b. Any hostile or aggressive behaviour that occurs is caused by frustration.

   The psychological concept of frustration and its effects deserve close examination not so much as an explanation of international war but rather because of widespread assumption that the high conflict potential of the developing areas is a function of frustration caused by economic deprivation
c. That the presence of frustration is often manifested in the aggressive nature with which people react to events in their environment. Adisa and Adekunle (2010) also notes that, the nature of these conflicts are often multi-facted and as such may

manifest in various ramifications which include ethno-religious and resource based conflicts which often lead to destruction of lives and property.

d. That when conflicts occur, several bodies and organizations may intervene with the aim of proffering solutions. According to Idowu (2017), these interventions include; dialogue, negotiation, mediation, arbitration, adjudication, expulsion and laws that could avoid these conflicts. In the present study interventions and mediatory roles towards amicable resolution of the conflicts came in form of the constitution of Benue/Nassarawa peace committee in 2013, traditional rulers in farming communities and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association reconciliation committee in 2014 and so forth. These committees were given the mandate to mediate and arbitrate whenever there were clashes including those which regularly occur between the farmers and the herders.

The Frustration-Theorists who rely on this explanation use the psychological theories of motivation and behaviour, as well as frustration and aggression (Anifowose, 1982). In an attempt to explain aggression, Faleti (2005), states that scholars point to the difference between what people feel they want or deserve to what actually they get - the "want-get-ratio" and difference between "expected need satisfaction" and "actual need satisfaction", according to Davies (1962), it is believed that where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. This, Faleti (2005) say is the central argument of Ted Robert Gurr's relative deprivation thesis. He said that "the greater the discrepancy, however marginal between what is sought and what seem attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result".

The main thrust of the explanation that frustration-aggression theory is not just undertaken as a national reaction or instinct as realists and biological theorists assume, but that it is the outcome of frustration.Where the legitimate desire of an individual is denied either directly or by the indirect consequences. Which may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed at those he holds responsible (Faleti, 2005). When the feeling of frustration become excessive among the people and perhaps the feeling that people are getting less than they feel they deserve or require it may lead to conflict.

Faleti (2005), Advanced that the best thing political leaders can do is to find out what the expectations such individuals and groups have and to seek ways of negotiating with them. He further stated that those in authority however, believe that giving in to public demands or entering into negotiation is a sign of weakness. This is not the case and sometimes, the fact that an official of the state or community leader is showing some concern is enough to make people believe that something is being done

The theoretical significance of this theory is its ability to explain the reasons for violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State apart from environmental factors. Farmers'-herders' violent conflict from the understanding of this theory is a product of the frustration of herders as a result of severe ecological changes, and Boko Haram incessant attacks in the far Northern States with the resultant effects such as killing of cattle which are their most treasured possessions, cattle rustling, blocking of grazing routes. The herders have being affected bythe insecurity and ecological challenges in the far northern Nigeria and in order to cope with the challenges they have no other option than to move southward where they can have access to favourable weather, green vegetation and water for their livestock. Upon migration in the Benue Valley they( farmers ) used to farmeverywhere and the herders believe the land used to be their grazing routes and as a result of the frustration they faced in

the Northern part of the country they left with no any other option than to be aggressive because they are already frustrated coupled with the cultural and religious differences of the two groups. Where the herders are discriminated on the basis of ethnicity and religion as settlers without minding the number of years they stay in the area to qualify them for being indigenes.All of these makes the herdsmen put on aggressive behaviour which is a derivative of the previous frustration they have encountered as a result of grazing in the face of adverse weather condition, scarcity of environmental resources and security threats from Boko Haram, Cattle rustlers and Bandits. Down to North Central States particularly Benue State they are regarded as settlers despites the years some of them have stayed in the State. The grazing areas they used to graze had taken over by farming activities and urbanization.

The herders are also on the opinion that, they are part and parcel (indigenes) of the Benue State based on the Nigerian constitution which states that, once you stay in a particular place for ten years then you are entitled to be indigene in that particular area, they are supposed to be indigenes in the area and their grazing routes have been taken over by the farmers where their farms and houses are occupied and still yet they don't want them (herders) to graze in the few available areas, they feels they can graze in order to earn a living. Therefore, the destruction of crops, property, houses and massive death toll that are usually reported inthe front-pages of our national dailies are the product of aggression that evolves from frustration and sense of deep loss on the side of the herdsmen. This is being done generally to create problems for those they believe are directly or indirectly responsible for their predicaments and poverty. On the side of farmers, their ability to resist these attacks,protect their land, property always result in to violent conflicts between them and the herders in the area.

The crucial question to this theory however is whether all aggression is traceable to frustration. The frustration-aggression hypothesis has been criticized on the grounds that

there are other causes of aggression besides frustration. The conflicts between farmers and herders have been in existence before the security threats in the Northern Nigeria and the environmental challenges such as the drying up of Lake Chad, what used to frustrate the herders then? Well, one can observe that then the conflicts were not violent in nature.

Despites the criticisms, the Eco-violence theoretical premises was adopted for the analysis of farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State because its premises fit into major aspects of the objectives of the study. The ability of the theory to explain the nature and dynamics of the violent conflict underscores its explanatory value to the study. It's also identified factors responsible for conflicts between farmers and herders. Again, the ability of the theory to identify effects of the environment and the violent conflict on the farmers and herders which particularly make herders to migrate and furthermore, identifying movement of herders down South as coping strategies is an added asset to the study which underscores the choice of the theory. This study, therefore adopts this theory in understanding farmers'-herders' conflict in Nigeria and Benue State in particular

## CHAPTER THREE

# METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes methods employed to conduct research on farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria. It consists of the description of the location of study, population of study, sample size and sampling procedure, sources of data, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis, variables, problems encountered during the field work and the measures employed to overcome them as well as ethical issues that were considered during the research.

## 3.2 Research Design

The research was design in such a way as to collect data that helps the researcher to answer research questions and achieve objectives of the study. The quantitative data were collected using questionnaire which were designed in closed and open ended format and administered to farmers and herders in Benue State communities. The qualitative data were collected from informants using indepth interview (IDI). The population of the study included affected household heads and their wives in the selected affected communities in Benue State. Also included in the population were the executive members of the Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria Benue State Branch, traditional rulers and the Nigerian security agencies particularly the Nigeria Police, Benue State command. Crop farmers' association was not included because they were not active in the rural areas and therefore consider not being a major stakeholder. The data collected was then analysed and presented in tables, percentages and frequencies.

## 3.3 Location of the Study

This study was conducted in Benue State, Nigeria. The reason for the choice of Benue State for this study is because; it is one of the most affected States by the farmers'-herders' violent conflict in North Central part of Nigeria as herders and farmers most frequently clash with each other in the course of making use of land and water resources in the river banks of River Benue and Katsina- Ala. Another reason is the familiarity of the researcher with the study location

Benue State is named after the Benue River and is one of the six States in North central geo-political zone of Nigeria which was created in 1976 during General Murtala Mohammed regime. The State was carved out of the former Benue Plateau State along with Igala and some parts of Kwara and Kogi States and named after River Benue. In 1991, some areas of Benue State (mostly the Igala speaking area), along with areas in Kwara State, were carved out to become part of what is known today as Kogi State. Traces of Igbo people are found in the boundary areas of Ebonyi and Enugu States in Local Government Areas such as Obi and Oju. The State has a projected population of 6,253,641 according to National Population Commission. The State's capital city is Makurdi. Benue State is a rich agricultural region. Some of the crops grown in the State include; potatoes, cassava, soya bean, guinea corn, yams, beneseed, rice, ground nuts and fruits such as Oranges and Mangoes of different varieties). Benue State is generally referred to as "Food Basket of the nation". Agriculture is therefore the mainstay of the economy of the State; more than 75% of the State populations are farmers (Dzurgba, 2006)

Tiv and Idoma are the predominant ethnic groups in Benue State, followed by Igede. Other ethnic groups in the State include Etulo , Abakwa, Jukun, Hausa, Akweya and Nyifon. Benue State has 23 Local Government Areas. The Tiv communities are indigenous to fourteen (14) Local Government Areas which include Gboko, Tarkaa, Buruku, Makurdi,Guma,

Gwer,Gwerwest,Ukum,Kwande, Ushongu, Vandeikya, Konshisha,Logo and Katsina- Ala while the Idomas are indigenous to seven (7) Local Government Areas, they are include Otukpo , Agatu, Okpokwu, Apa, Ado,Ogbadibo and Ohimini. The Igedes are indigenous to Oju and Obi Local Government Areas.

The State is divided into three Senatorial Districts made up of (Zone A) Benue North East Senatorial Zone which has seven 7 local government areas. These are Kwande, Logo, Katsina-Ala, Konshisha, Ushongu, Vandeikya and Ukum. (ZoneB) The Benue North West Senatorial Zone also has seven Local (7) Government Areas comprised of Gboko, Buruku, Guma, Tarka, Makurdi, Gwer West and Gwer East. (Zone C) The Benue South Senatorial Zone which has nine Local Government Areas comprising Apa, Agatu, Ado, Obi ,Ogbadibo, Okpokwu, Otukpo, Oju and Ohimini which are dominated by Idoma and Igedes.

Benue State lies within the lower river Benue and Katsina-Ala trough in the North Central region of Nigeria. These rivers attract a lot of farmers and herders. The Local Government Areas that are found on the River Benue bank include Logo, Katsina-Ala, Kwande, Ukum in the Benue North East Senatorial district and Tarka, Makurdi, Guma, Buruku, Gwer and Gwer West in the Benue North West Senatorial district. Agatu, Apa and Okpokwu in Benue South Senatorial. These Local Government Areas harbour Fulani herders and were affected by these conflicts.

Benue State shares boundaries with five other states namely: Nasarawa State to the north, Taraba State to the east, Cross-River State to the south, Enugu State to the south-west and Kogi State to the west. The State also shares boundary with the Republic of Cameroon on the south-east. Benue occupies a landmass of 34,059 square kilometres (Dzurgba, 2006).




**Figure 3.1: Map of Benue State showing six (6) Local Government Areas Studied**
**Source: Map Gallery, Geography Department, ABU Zaria, 2019**

## 3.4 Population of the Study

The target population of the study consists of farmers' and herders' households affected by farmers' – herders' violent conflict in Benue State. This is because two major objectives of the study intends to assess the socio- economic effects and the factors farmers and herders have been adopting to cope with the challenges of the violent conflict in the area. Some people, households or areas were not affected by the violent conflict. Therefore, there was no need of considering the entire population of Benue State as a target population but only those who were affected. And there are inadequate official statistical figures of people or households affected. Another aspect of the population targeted was the executive members of the Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria Benue State Branch, traditional rulers and the Nigerian security agencies particularly the Nigeria Police, Benue State command. Crop farmers' association was not included because they were not active in the rural areas and therefore consider not being a major stakeholder

The main reason for the inclusion of executive members of Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria Benue State Branch as part of the population was to remove the element of bias, to hear from only stakeholders of the farmers and conclude the real factors responsible for the violent conflicts, and since one of the objectives of the study was to examine the factors responsible for these violent conflicts, it became imperative to hear from the stakeholders on the side of farmers as well as herders. Another was that, the Association is always involved in standing on behalf of the herders in Benue State and it was better to include them to even solve the problem of suspicion by encouraging their members (herders) to respond. The reason for inclusion of officers of Nigeria police was to cross validate the findings that were obtained from the field from both groups (farmers and herders) and their stakeholders with that of the security agents. This provided the research with alternative

views to make a critical assessment of the issue under study and conclusions were drawn in the light of other existing evidences.

### 3. 5 Sources of Data

Data for this study were collected from primary sources. The primary data were obtained through questionnaire and in-depth interview. Copies of questionnaire were distributed to members of the affected communities in the study area by the trained research assistants. Interpretation and clarification were done by the trained research assistants in the local languages (Tiv, Idoma, Fufulde and Hausa) except where respondents were literate, they were allowed to tick themselves. If not their responses were ticked by the researcher or the trained research assistants. An interview guide was provided for easy flow of the interviews to keep the researcher better focused on the issues needed to intensify probes.

### 3.6 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

#### 3.6.1 Sampling for Survey

For the survey, the population of the study consists of all farmers' and herders' households affected by farmers' – herders' violent conflict in the twenty three (23) Local Government Areas of Benue State, namely: Gboko, Tarka, Buruku, Makurdi, Guma, Gwer, Gwer-west, Ukum, Kwande, Ushongu, Vandeikya, Konshisha, Logo, Katsina- Ala, Apa, Agatu, Ado, Obi, Ogbadibo, Okpokwu, Otukpo, Oju and Ohimini. All farmers' and herders' households affected in Benue State had equal chance of being selected to respond to the questionnaires and to be interviewed. However, it was practically impossible for every wife or heads of household affected to be consider as respondents for the study due to time and financial factors, therefore sampling was necessary. Multi-stage cluster sampling technique was used for the selection of farmer's household respondents. This was because farmers needed to be divided into two groups, those affected and those who were not affected to ascertain the

socio- economic of the violent conflict and strategies they adopted in coping with the violent conflict. The choice of this method was due to the fact that the study was community based and respondents were widely dispersed and there was need for representation. Secondly the factors of material and financial resources were also taken into consideration for the choice of this method.

In this study, the procedure of getting farmers' households was carried out in phases, which involved more than one technique. For the herder's respondents, they were selected on availability sampling method because of the nature of their occupation which makes them difficult to stay in a particular location for a long period of time.

Therefore, selection of farmers' households needed for the study was done using the following procedures:

For the first stage, all the twenty three Local Government Areas in Benue State were divided into three (3) Senatorial districts and were classified according to how they were affected with the conflicts as highly and less affected in order to arrived at respondents that were really affected by the conflicts (see appendix 8) .

For the second stage, six (6) Local Government Areas were randomly selected, two (2) each from the highly affected Local Government Areas in each of the three (3) Senatorial districts of Benue State. In Benue North East Senatorial district (Zone 'A'), Katsina-Ala, Logo, Ukum and Kwande Local Government Areas were the most affected, while Vandeikya, Konshisha, Ushongu Local Government areas were low affected (see appendix 8). Kwande and Logo Local Government Areas were randomly selected where the most affected Local Government Areas' names were written and dropped in a container and the first two that were picked automatically became the Local Government Areas to be considered. These Local

Government Areas are also located on the banks of river Benue and Katsina-Ala where most of these violent conflicts frequently occur.

In Benue North West Senatorial district (Zone 'B') Makurdi, Gwer West, Gwer East, Buruku and Guma Local Government Areas were the most affected, while Gboko and Tarka Local Government Areas were listed as the low affected (see appendix 8). Guma and Buruku Local Government Areas were randomly selected,. River Katsina- Ala runs through the territories of these selected Local Government Areas and they always experienced these violent conflicts. Another reason was that the Tivs are dominated in the Benue North East and West senatorial districts. Traditionally the Tivs are divided into four (4) major areas for political zoning that is Jemghgbagh, MINDA, Kwande-Jechira and Sankara. From these zones Buruku was selected from Jemghgbagh, Guma from MINDA, and Kwande from Kwande-Jechira and Logo Local Government Area from Sankara axis respectively.

In the Benue South Senatorial district; Apa, Agatu and Okpokwu were the most affected while Ado, Obi, Ogbadibo, Otukpo, Oju and Ohimini Local Government Areas were low affected. Agatu and Apa Local Government areas were also selected through a simple random technique.

At the third stage, two (2) political wards were selected from each of the six (6) selected Local Government Areas. This was done using simple random sampling technique. The names of all the affected political wards in the selected Local Government Areas were written on pieces of paper then squeezed and dropped; any first two political wards that were picked were selected for the study. This gave us a total of twelve (12) political wards (See appendix 9)

At the fourth stage, from the twelve (12) selected political wards, two villages were selected from each of the twelve (12) political wards using simple random sampling technique. The

names of all the affected villages in a particular political ward were written on pieces of paper then squeezed and dropped; any first two villages that were picked were automatically selected for the study, bringing it to a total number of twenty four (24) villages (See appendix 10)

At the fifth stage, five (5) farmers' households were selected from each of the selected twenty four (24) villages through snow- ball sampling technique. This technique of sampling was used because there was no adequate (exhaustive) list of the households, which will be used as a sample frame and we needed to get only households who were directly affected by the conflict in the study area. This was done through the help of traditional rulers / gatekeepers in those affected villages where the traditional rulers / gatekeepers were used to identified households that were affected, where they were not affected we jumped or passed to the affected household to select the affected ones. Five (5) farmers' households from each of the twenty four (24) villages provided with a total number of one hundred and twenty (120) households.

In each household, 2 copies of the questionnaire were administered; one to the head of household; another to a woman or a house wife of the house where they were present because women, children and the aged were mostly affected by the violent conflicts as was shown in IDPs' camps ( see page 126 ). Some of the respondents in those villages were contacted in the internal displaced persons' (IDPs) camps. In totality two hundred and forty (240) copies of questionnaire were administered to farmers.

For the herders, respondents were selected using availability sampling technique. Any where they were found within the selected Local Government areas in the State, they were approached for the study. justification being that they are nomadic and hardly settle in one community, particularly as at the time of data collection when there was a high level of

insecurity in Benue State as a result of implementation of Anti open grazing and prohibition law in the State. Twenty (20) copies of questionnaire were administered to herders in each of the selected six (6) Local Government Areas. A total number of Eighty (80) respondents were considering for the herders.

A total number of two hundred and forty (240) farmer respondents were considered, while Eighty (80) herders were considered for responses, making a total number of three hundred and twenty (320) questionnaires for the study. Two hundred and forty (240) respondents for farmers and Eighty (80) for herders is the ratio of 1:2 which is justified by the population size of the residents in the study area.

### 3.6.2 Selection of Participant for in-Depth Interview

For qualitative data, purposive sampling technique was used to select key informants for the study. One Second Class Chief (traditional ruler) from each of the six selected Local Government areas, one Divisional Police Officer or Divisional Crime Offer (DPO/DCO) from each of the selected six (6) Local Government Areas were chosen, Two (2) members of Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, Benue State Branch were also interviewed. One farmer and one herder were selected purposively from each of the six (6) Local Government Areas selected for an in-depth interview separately (1x6 =6, 1x6=6). A total of twenty six (26) in-depth interviews were conducted in all. The reason for this selection was to cross validate farmers and herders views with that of their leaders.

## 3.7 Methods of Data Collection

For the purpose of collecting data, one (1) research assistant was recruited from each of the Local Government Areas selected for the study, who were knowledgeable and familiar with the areas affected to assist the researcher for collection of data concerning farmers'

respondents while six (6) Hausa/Fulani research assistants, one from each of the selected Local Government areas who were residing in those areas affected were recruited to help the researcher during collection of data concerning herders. They were trained for two weeks on the objectives, significance and methods of the study. Six (6) research assistants for collection of data on the side of farmers and six (6) on the side of herders making a total number of twelve (12). They were people who were conversant with the terrain and the language of the farmers and herders respectively. They assisted the researcher in their various areas with the collection of data for the study.

### 3.7.1 Quantitative Data

Quantitative data were collected through the administration of questionnaires to the farmers and herders in the six selected Local Government Areas. Copies of questionnaire were of two sets; one for the farmers and another for the herders. Open and closed - ended questions were used in the questionnaire format (see appendix 1 & 2).

Two hundred and forty (240) for the farmers and Eighty (80) for the herders making three hundred and twenty (320) copies of the questionnaires which were administered by the researcher with the help of research assistants. Literate respondents were offered the opportunity of completing the questionnaire themselves in the presence of the researcher. For those that were not literate, upon request, the questions were read out with interpretation in their languages and their responses were recorded. This choice was made to provide the participants with the setting that would be most comfortable so that they may understand and respond to each question as accurately as possible. The questionnaires were administered in the languages of both farmers and herders except where a respondent was literate. This means that, the English version of the questionnaire was discussed on how to explain to the language of the farmers and herders by the research assistants with the researcher who ascertained

accurate explanation of the meaning of all the questions from English to both languages of the farmers and herders. The completed questionnaires that were given to those literate respondents to fill themselves were retrieved from them as soon as possible after completion.

### 3.7.2 Qualitative Data

The qualitative data were gathered through in-depth interviews with knowledgeable key informants; farmers, herders, traditional rulers, Executive members of Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association Benue State branch and Nigeria Police. Semi–structured in-depth interview were conducted with one (1) farmer each from the selected six Local Government areas, one (1) herder each from the selected six Local Government areas, one (1) traditional ruler each from the selected six Local Government areas, two (2) executive members of Meyiti Allah Cattle Breeders Association Benue State branch and one (1) DPO or DCO from each of the selected Local Government areas of Benue State Command. A total number of twenty six (26) key informants were therefore interviewed for the study.

All the interviews were conducted by the researcher. Trained research assistants were responsible for interpretation of English language to Hausa and Hausa to English language to probe participants' answers to enable them provide other necessary information relevant for the study. Each session of the interviews lasted between 30 minutes to one hour. The interviews took place where it was convenient for the participants. Notes and tape recorders were used to record the interviews with the permission of the participants.

## 3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

This section essentially examines the various techniques that were adopted in analyzing the data that were collected in this study. The various techniques and forms of data collection

clearly suggest different techniques of analysis. The data generated from the field were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

### 3.8.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative data generated through questionnaire were processedinvolving the codification of responses. Code sheet was used to filter and sort the data using computer readable materials; Special Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)version 20.0 software. Descriptive statistics, which include percentages and frequency countswere used to present the data obtained.

### 3.8.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

For analysis of qualitative data, the data collected through interviews were transcribed to support the data from the quantitative method. It was grouped in themes, presented and discussed in line with the objectives of the study. This means that each interview that was conducted was recorded and transcribed within 24 hours before the researcher could move on to the next group of participants. Tapes (digital recorder) were numbered and coded to differentiate the interviews of each set. This helped the researcher reflect on the ideas of the interview. Attention was paid to some verbatim statements of both farmer's and herder's respondents. The analytical details were reported and conclusion drawn in appropriate stages of the study.

## 3.9 Problems Encountered in the Field

In a study of this nature, one is bound to encounter some difficulties. The first set of challenges encountered were the ones in the field. This was one of the most difficult and risky challenge the researcher experienced. The field work was at the peak of the violent conflicts in the area where the researcher left to Anyiin in Logo Local Government Area and

on his way back, one of the villages was attacked by gun men and he passed in that particular village 30 minutes after the incidence, in some areas respondents were contacted in the IDPs camps and when the researcher visited those camps there were expectations by the IDPs as well as camp officials. The researcher had no option than to donate little money he had and with proper introduction couple with the connections of some of his friends to some staff of Benue State emergency management agency in the camps , he was allowed to have access to the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the camps. The statistics of the IDPs were also taken with the help of the staff.

The farmer informants' resistance to information due to the sensitive nature of the issue investigated was another challenge encountered. The researcher solved this problem by explaining the importance of this research as well as convincing them with the letter of introduction that was issued to him by the Department of Sociology Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. This same challenge was faced from the herders. The researcher used research assistants that were Hausa/Fulani and at the same time liaised with the Secretary of Miyetti Allah cattle breeders' association Benue State chapter. Same challenge was faced in respect of Nigeria Police in the Local Government Areas. This challenge was solved by showing the letter of introduction that was issued to the researcher by his department, the Department of Sociology Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Another constraint faced in the field was reluctance to respond to strangers since majority of the people in the affected areas were semi-literates, their exposure and knowledge of the English language was a militating factor. The researcher solved this challenge by using the local language and local research assistants that were drawn from the Tiv, Idoma and Hausa/Fulani, who helped respondents by explaining in the local languages and as well as explained the research questionnaire.

## 3.10 Ethical Considerations

The issues of confidentiality of information collected were observed and assurance was given to the respondents that the researcher is not working for any agency. A letter of introduction obtained from the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria for the field work was used as a proof to convince them to participate. The consent of the individual respondents, household heads, interviewees' participants were obtained. No participant was forced to participate in the study; their confidentiality and privacy were guaranteed by the researcher. The researcher also put aside his personal prejudices throughout the period of data collection for the study. The researcher also has a good public relation skills that enable him have a good rapport with the community gate keepers and individuals that were important in getting information to facilitate access to primary data on the subject matter.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. Two sets of questionnaire were administered; one for farmers and the other for herders because of their different oocupational characteristics. Two hundred and forty (240) copies of questionnaire were administered to farmers while eighty (80) were administered to herdsmen. In all, the researcher administered three hundred and twenty (320) copies of questionnaire to both farmers and herders in the communities under study in Benue State. However, three hundred and nine (309) were duly completed and retrieved. Eleven (11) copies of questionnaire were not retrieved and all efforts to retrieve them proved abortive as some literate respondents insisted to fill the questionnaire themselves and were not easy to manage.Seven (7) copies of questionnaire that were not retrieved were from the farmers and four (4) were from the herders. The number of the respondents from farmers therefore reduced from two hundred and twenty (240) to two hundred and thirty three (233), while that of herders reduced from eighty (80) to seventy six (76). The analysis was done based on the retrieved questionnaires.

The presentation is therefore based on the two hundred and thirty three (233)copies of questionnaire retrieved from farmers and seventy six(76) from herders respectively. The pattern of presentation involves presenting the data of each objective from farmer respondents on one hand and that of herders on the other hand while the socio- demographic characteristics has been done jointly. The discussion of findings then followed. The presentation begins with a summary of socio-demographic profiles of farmers and herders respondents.

## 4.2 Socio-Demographic Profiles of Famer and Herder Respondents

The research obtained data on socio-demographic characteristics of farmers and herders in the study area. These included sex, age, religion, educational attainment, marital status, ethnic affiliation.

**Table 4.2.1: Socio-Demographic Profiles of Farmers and Herders in the Study Area**

| **Sex** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** |
| Male | 147 | 63.1 | 74 | 97.4 |
| Female | 86 | 36.9 | 2 | 2.6 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |
| **Age** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
| | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** |
| 18-28 years | 46 | 19.7 | 25 | 32.9 |
| 29 -38 years | 64 | 27.5 | 37 | 48.7 |
| 39 – 48 years | 98 | 42.1 | 9 | 11.8 |
| 49 years and above | 25 | 10.7 | 5 | 6.6 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |
| **Religious affiliation** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
| | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent(%)** |
| Christianity | 227 | 97.5 | 0 | 00.0 |
| Islam | 4 | 1.7 | 76 | 100.0 |
| Traditional | 2 | 0.8 | 0 | 00.0 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |
| **Level of Educational attainment** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
| | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** |
| No Formal Education | *56* | 24.0 | 0 | 00 |
| Qur'anic Education | *3* | 1.3 | 68 | 89.5 |
| Primary Education | *103* | 44.2 | 3 | 3.9 |
| Secondary Education | *40* | 17.2 | 5 | 6.6 |
| Tertiary Education | *31* | 13.3 | 0 | 00.0 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |
| **Ethnic affiliation** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
| | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** |
| Tiv | 167 | 71.7 | - | - |
| Idoma | 65 | 27.9 | - | - |
| Igede | 1 | 0.4 | - | - |
| Hausa/ Fulani | - | - | 76 | 100.0 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100** | **76** | **100.0** |
| **Marital status** | **Farmers** | | **Herders** | |
| | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** | **Frequency** | **Percent (%)** |
| Single | *59* | 25.3 | 21 | 27.6 |
| Married | *132* | 56.7 | 44 | 57.9 |
| Divorced/Separated | *11* | 4.7 | 6 | 7.9 |
| Widows/ Widowers | *31* | 13.3 | 5 | 6.6 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.2.1 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of farmers and herders respondents in Benue State.The data shows that 63.1% of the respondents were males and 36.9% were female farmers. It also shows that 97.4% of the herder respondentswere male and 2.6% were females. The percentage of females on the side of herders was lower compared to that of farmers due to accessibility problem. Another was due to unsecured nature of the area, some herders no longer move about with their families. This could partly explain why there were issues of rape being complained by the farmers.This finding agrees with the study of Ofuoku & Isife (2009) who stated that raped of farming women in Delta State is one of the causes of farmers'- herders'conlict.

On the age of the respondents, 19.7% of the farmer respondents were between the ages of 18 and 28 years, while 27.5% were between the ages of 29 – 38 years, 42.1% of the farmer respondents were within the ages of 39 – 48 years. This shows that interest was more on the head of households and their wives to ascertain the effects of the violent conflicts on the respondents. 10.7% were within the ages of 49 years – above. On the side of herders, it also shows that 32.9% of the herder respondents were between the ages of 18 – 28 years while 48.7% of the respondents were between the ages of 29 – 38 years, the researcher observed that, at this period of crises the younger herders were more likely to have access to more than the elder ones because they still have the strength to move about with the cattle. 11.8% of the herder respondents were between the ages of 39 – 48 years while 6.6% of the herder respondents were between the ages of 49 years or older.

On the religious affiliation of the respondents, 97.5% of the respondents in the farming communities were Christians while 1.7% of the farmers were Muslims and 0.8% of the farmers were worshippers of traditional gods. This clearly shows that the farming communities in Benue State are dominated by Christians. On the religious affiliation of

herders in the herding communities, 100% of the herders were Muslims. This shows that the two groups have different religious backgrounds.

On the educational attainment of respondents, 24.0% of the farmers had no formal education, 1.3% had Qur'anic education, 44.2% of the farmers had attended schools while 17.2% of them attended school up to secondary level. 13.3% of the farmers attained Tertiary education.On the educational attainment of herders, 89.5% had attended or had Qur'anic education, 3.9% of the herders attended primary schools while 6.6% had attended or acquired secondary school certificates. This shows that farmers' respondents had acquired more western education than the herders in the area while the herders had acquired more of Islamic education than the farmers.

On the ethnic affiliation of the farmer respondents, the percentages and ethnic distribution of farmers respondents in the area is 71.7%,27.9%,0.4% for Tiv, Idoma and Igede respectively. While the herders were 100% Hausa/Fulani. This shows that Hausa/Fulani are not involved in the farming activities and Tiv, Idoma and Igede are not also involved in the herding activities in the area.

On the marital status of the respondents, 25.3% of farmer respondents were single. While majority 56.7% were married, 4.7% were either divorced or separated from their spouses while 13.3 % of the farmers lost their husbands or wives. It can be observed that some lost their wives or husbands due to these violent farmer/herders' conflicts in the area. On the side of the herders, 27.6% of the respondents were single, 57.9% were married, and 7.9% were either divorced or separated from their spouses while 6.6% of the respondents lost their husbands or wives probably as a result of the violent conflicts or other reasons in the area.

## 4. 3 Nature and Manifestations of Farmers'- Herders' Violent Conflict in Communities of Benue State

This section of the study covers the presentation on the nature and manifestations of farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in communities of Benue state. A number of questions were posed to farmers and herders in order to ascertain the nature and manifestations of violent conflicts in Benue State between farmers and herders. The first set of questions relate to how the conflict had being manifested in the area,then follow by the nature of farming and herding activities and the interactions between farmers and herders regarding farming and herding activities in the area,

The study made first attempts to assess the manifestations of violent conflict between farmers and herders as follows;

First attempts were made to know the actual perpetrators of attacks in Benue State communities from the farmers.

**Table 4.3.1: Views of Farmers on the Actual Attackers/Invaders of Benue Rural Communities**

| Views of farmers on attackers | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Settled herders | 57 | 24.5 |
| Unknown persons | 160 | 68.7 |
| Foreigners | 16 | 6.8 |
| Farmers | 0 | 00.0 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.1 shows that,68.7% which represents a majority of the farmers' respondents reported that, those who attacked their communities were unknown persons while 24.5% of the farmers said that those who attacked their communities were herders that settled in Benue State. 6.8% of the farmers were of the view that those attackers were not Nigerians. 00.0% of the farmer respondents declined responsibility for attacks in Benue rural communities.

Supporting this, an IDI with a farmer in Yelewata, Guma Local Government Area, he said:

> You see, these attacks sometimes we don't think they are carried out by herders that we know here but we believe they are the ones inviting their people else where to come and kill us

The researcher observed that some the farmers were not really sure of those commiting such acts but still assumed that the attacks were being carried out by the herders. There was much confusion among the farmers due to the kinds of attacks being perpetuated

The study also attempts to find out the kinds of weapons being used by the attackers to kill human beings and destroy property in the area.

**Table 4.3.2: Views of Farmers on the Kinds of Weapons Used in the Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State.**

| Weapons used | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Traditional weapons such as bows and arrows, machetes | 26 | 11.2 |
| Locally made pistols and dane guns | 35 | 15.0 |
| English guns such as AK47 and machine guns | 159 | 68.2 |
| Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) | 8 | 3.4 |
| Chemical weapons | 5 | 2.2 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.2 shows that majority of the farmer respondents 68.2% said that, attackers were using English guns to carry out their destructive activities in Benue State while 15.0% of the farmers were of the opinion that the attacks were being carried out using locally made rifles and dame guns. 11.2% of the farmer respondents reported that traditional weapons such as arrows, bows and machetes among others were used in the killings and destruction of property in the area. While 3.4% of the farmer respondents said that, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) were used in the violent conflict while only 2.2% of the farmers' sampled said that chemical weapons were also used in the conflict in the area.

The researcher observed that based on the kind of destruction of property and the number of lives that were lost during the violent conflict; it is possible that both weapons particularly English guns may have been used during the attacks.

Another attempt was made to find out the strategies used by attackers to carry out their violent acts.

**Table 4.3.3: Views of Farmerson the Strategies Used to Carry out Attacks in Benue State Communities**.

| Strategies used | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Guerrilla warfare | 209 | 89.7 |
| Face to face combat | 24 | 10.3 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.3 shows that 89.7% of the farmer respondents said that attackers used to fight a kind of guerrilla warfare (they used to come when they are not aware and hit them before they know they would run away). While 10.3% of the farmers sampled were of the opinion that they know the attackers, they used to fight and stay not that they fight and run away.

In an IDI with a farmer in Adogo, in Mbaya council ward of Buruku Local Government Area, he said:

> You see, these people don't used to come when we are aware, most at times we even used to think that this security people are supporting them or they have some informants among us because they can't dare us, if we know that they are coming or if we know where they really are, we can confront them seriously and they will never think of coming to Tiv land again

Reacting in the same vein, another farmer in Ugba, Logo Local government headquarters said that:

> The herders always come to attack us in the nights when most people are asleep or on the market and wake-keep days when many men are not around, before you know serious damage has being done by the herders and they will either run to nearby Nassarawa or Taraba States villages to hide.

Attempts were also made to know the actual perpetrators of the killings and destruction of property in Benue State communities from the herders.

**Table 4.3.4: Viewsof Herders on the Actual Perpetrators of the Coordinated Attacks in Benue Rural Communities**

| Actual Perpetrators | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Known farmers | 51 | 67.1 |
| Unknown persons | 20 | 26.3 |
| Herders | 2 | 2.6 |
| Foreigners | 3 | 3.9 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.4 shows that67.1% which represents a majority of the herders sampled, said that it is farmers that they know that are attacking Benue communities.While 26.3% of the herders said that it is persons that they did not know that were attacking the communities. While 3.9% of the herders were of the opinion that foreigners were responsible for attacks in the Benue State communities. 2.6% of the herders admitted that they were the ones committing such acts in Benue State communities.

An IDI conducted with a herder close to Udei in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State confirmed that:

> *Look some of us, we don't even know those that are really attacking farmers in these communities but any time there is an attack, the farmers will said we are the ones and any time they attack us we just believe that they are the ones because they started accusing us and we used to believe they are the ones that used to retaliate. Therefore, we don't need to doubt who is attacking us, there are farmers in these villages and we used to see some of them carrying out these attacks.*

This means that there is distrust between the two groups in Benue communities. They are accusing each other of the attacks being committed. The researcher observed that in situations like these there is every possibility of other criminal elements to take advantage of the situation and commit crimes in the name of the two groups.

The study also sought to find out the kinds of weapons being used by attackers to kill human beings and destroy property in the communities.

**Table 4.3.5: Views of Herders' on the Types of Weapons used by the Attackers**

| Type of weapons used by attackers | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Traditional weapons such as bow and arrows, machetes etc. | 3 | 3.9 |
| Locally made pistols and dame guns | 10 | 13.1 |
| English guns such as AK47, machine guns | 49 | 64.4 |
| Improvised explosive devices | 5 | 6.5 |
| Chemical weapons | 3 | 3.9 |
| Both weapons | 6 | 7.8 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.5 shows that majority of the herders sampled 64.4% said that the attackers/invaders made use of English guns such as AK47 and machine guns for attacks in the area while 13.1% of the herders said that the weapons the attackers confront them with were locally made rifles and dame guns. 7.8% of the herders said that both weapons mentioned were used for the coordinated attacks in Benue rural communities while 6.5% of the herders said that improvised explosive devices were used for attacks in the area. 3.9% of the herders reported that traditional weapons such as arrows, bows and machetes among others were used. 3.9% of the herders said that chemical weapons were also used for attacks.

The researcher observed that majority of the respondents from both groups that is 68.35% and 64.4% of farmers and herders respondents agreed that English guns such as AK47 and machine guns were used for the attacks. This could be the reason for the collateral damage in terms of lives and property that are lost during these violent conflicts.

The study also made an attempt to find out from herders the coordinated strategies used by the invaders/attackers in the area.

**Table 4.3.6: Views of Herders' on the Coordinated Strategies Used by the Attackers/Invaders in Benue Rural Communities**

| Do they attack and run? | Frequency | Percentage % |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 15 | 19.7 |
| No | 61 | 80.3 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.6 shows that majority of the herder respondents 80.3% said that the attackers don't used to attack and run away while 19.7% of the herders' said the attackers/invaders do attack and run away, in other words, they do fight a guerrilla war. This means that the herders know the attackers since they don't attack and run away. This is contrary to the views of the farmers whom majority said; they did not really know their attackers but believe attackers to be herders. This suggests that, farmers were not fighting a guerrilla war compared to herders. An IDI with a herder in a village called Aila, Egba council ward of Agatu Local Government of Benue State, close to Nasarawa State confirmed this by saying:

> *You see, any time there is an attack around here they used to say we are the one and anytime they attack our cattle and our people we just know they are the ones (farmers) and we used to see them and we do defend ourselves and cattle sometimes with the few weapons we have.*

Supporting this, an IDI conducted with a farmer in Udei, Guma Local Government Area of Benue State close to Nasarawa State; he said:

> *This Fulanis (herders) used to attack us particularly when we are not prepared and run away, they can not engage us into fight, they used to hit and run away. Sometimes we used to know that they are herders from those that do survive the attacks, who used to tell us that they do speak in Hausa and Fulani language.*

In terms of the nature of farming and herding activities, the study first attempted to find out the type of farming practiced in the area that created pressure on land that has brought about these violent conflicts.

**Table 4.3.7: Types of Farming Practiced by Farmers**

| Type of farming practiced | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Large Scale Farming | 101 | 43.4 |
| Small Scale Farming | 132 | 56.6 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.7 shows the reaction of respondents when the question on type of farming practiced was posed to them. In Table 4.3.7, 43.4% of the sampled farmers were practicing large scale farming for their survival and commercial purposes while 56.6% of the sampled population were practicing small scale farming for their subsistence and commercial purposes. This suggests that majority of the farmers in the study area are small scale farmers and strictly lived on their farm produce and are seriously affected by these violent conflicts because their means of livelihood are destroyed. It's also implies that they depend on land for survival and anything that will affect their land they will not take it lightly just like the herders with their cattle.

The study further sought to know from respondents how they acquire their land.

**Table 4.3.8: Mode of Land Acquisition by Farmers**

| Mode of land Acquisition | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Bought | 2 | 0.9 |
| Hire | 6 | 2.6 |
| Inherited | 225 | 96.5 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

In Table 4.3.8, 0.9% of the sampled population bought their land, 2.6% hired their land from the owners to use for a particular period, while 96.5% inherited their land, from their ancestors. This clearly suggests that land in the study area is mostly acquired through inheritance and that is why land issues are always complex in the area. It was found that, land is a valuable asset in the area to an extent that conflicts often arise even among family members because of land. This partly explains why farmers do claim ownership of land in the Benue valley. They believe that their land has been given to them by their ancestors and any attempt to dispossess them of their land is visited with stiff resistance.

Subsequent attempts were made to ascertain from farmer respondents the season in which violent conflicts mostly occur in Benue State.

**Table 4.3.9: Views of Farmers on Seasonal Occurrence of Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflictin Benue State**

| Seasonof Occurrence | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Dry Season | 213 | 91.4 |
| Raining Season | 14 | 6.0 |
| Both Seasons | 6 | 2.6 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.9 shows the distribution of farmer respondents on the seasons violent conflicts mostly occurred in the study area. Table 4.3.9 revealed that majority 91.4% of the sampled population stated that these violent conflicts mostly occur during dry season, 6.0% of the sampled population indicated that these violent conflicts also occur during the raining season while 2.6% of the respondents indicated that the violent conflicts occurs during both seasons. This clearly shows that these violent conflicts are mostly common in the area during dry seasons when most of the herders had moved down to the area in search for pastures and water. This has also confirmed to the fact that, these violent conflicts in the area are resource based.

The study further sought to know from farmers whether they were consulted prior to the settlement of herders in their communities.

**Table 4.3.10:Views of Farmers on whether they were Consulted Prior to the Settlement of Herders in Benue Communities**

| Consultation before settlement | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 44 | 18.9 |
| No | 189 | 81.1 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.10 shows the reaction of farmer respondents when the question of whether they were consulted before the settlement of herders in their communities was posed to them. Table 4.3.10 revealed that 18.9% of the respondents had been consulted prior to the

settlement of herders in their communities while the remaining majority 81.1% of them said they were not consulted prior to the settlement of herders in their farming communities. This means that majority of farmers in Benue State were not comfortable with the settlement of herders in their communities right from the time they (herders) came to settle because they felt they were not consulted prior to their (herders) settlement in the area.

Efforts were further made to ascertain from farmers whether their traditional rulers were consulted prior to the settlement of herders in their communities.

**Table 4.3.11: Whether Traditional Rulers were Consulted Prior to the Settlement of Herders in the Communities**

| Consultation of Traditional Rulers | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 31 | 13.3 |
| No | 86 | 36.9 |
| Don't know | 132 | 49.8 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.11 shows that 13.3% of the sampled respondents indicated that ,the herders consulted traditional rulers prior to their settlement in the farming communities while 36.9% of the sampled respondents said traditional rulers were not consulted prior to herder's settlement and majority of the sampled respondents 49.8.3% said they did not know whether traditional rulers were consulted or not.

Attempts were also. made to ascertain from farmer respondents whether anything was paid to the traditional rulers before the settlement of herders in their communities.

**Table 4.3.12: Whether anything was given to Traditional Authorities before Herders Settledin their Communities**.

| Settlement of Traditional Authorities | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 132 | 56.6 |
| No | 78 | 33.5 |
| Don't know | 23 | 9.9 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.12 revealed that 56.6% of the sampled respondents agreed that something was given to the traditional rulers before they allowed herders to settle in the communities. 33.5% did not agree that something was given and the remaining majority of the sampled respondents 9.9% claimed ignorance as to whether something was given to the traditional rulers or not.

An IDI conducted with a farmer in Gbajimba headquarters of Guma Local Government Area confirmed some underground deals between some traditional rulers and herders. He stated that:

> Some of our traditional rulers used to collect money or cows from these Fulanis and allow them to settle without our knowledge and when their cattle begins to cause trouble they don't use to take decisive actions.

This clearly revealed why there is a communication gap between traditional rulers and their subjects regarding settlement of herders in their communities

The researcher sought to find out from farmers whether herders had brought weapons prior to their settling in the communities.

**Table 4.3.13: Perception of Farmers as to whether Herders brought Weapons when coming to settlein the Benue Communities**.

| Farmers' Perception of weapons | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 207 | 88.8 |
| No | 26 | 11.2 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.13 show that majority of the sampled respondents 88.8% said that herders brought weapons before settling in their communities. While 11.2% of the sampled respondents said they did not bring weapons on arrival to their communities. An IDI with the farmers revealed that herders had an intention of causing crisis prior to their settlement in their communities that is why they used to come with weapons, while herders were of the opinion that they were coming with weapon for self and cattle defence against wild animals.

Attempts were also made to find out from farmers the period herders have stayed in the communities in Benue State.

**Table: 4.3.14:Perception of Herders' on how Long they have Lived in the Communities in Benue State**

| No of years stayed | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1 -5 years | 35 | 46.0 |
| 6 -9 years | 30 | 39.5 |
| 10 years and above | 11 | 14.5 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.14 show that majority of the herder respondents 46.0% had stayed in Benue State within the period ranging from one to five years. The researcher observe that in the recent years more herders have been moving southward without intention of returning northward during raining seasons. This could be as a result of insecurity and climate challenge in the east and western part of northern Nigeria. Followed by 39.5% who stayed between six and nine years, 14.5% of the herder respondents reported that they have stayed in Benue state for more than ten (10) years. The researcher observe that going by the Nigerian constitution, 14.5% of the herder respondents were supposed to be indigenes of Benue State but they were still being regarded as settlers who have no traditional rights to own land in the area. Supporting this, an IDI with the Secretary of Miyyati Allah cattle Breeders Association revealed that:

> Some of us were born and brought up here in North Bank Makurdi and they are still regarding us as non-indigenes here in Benue State, in the State Civil Service how many of us are there?..... they have even denied our people that are educated opportunities to have State and Local government jobs…….

Subsequently, attempts were made to ascertain from the herders the season the violent conflicts mostly occur in Benue State.

**Table 4.3.15:Views of Herders' on Seasonal Occurrence of Farmer/Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State**

| Seasons of occurrence of the conflict | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Dry season | 73 | 96.1 |
| Raining season | 3 | 3.9 |
| Both season | - | - |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.15 shows the distribution of the sampled respondents by the seasons these violent conflicts mostly occur intheir communities. Majority 96.1%of the sampled respondents revealed that these violent conflicts mostly occur during dry seasons while 3.9% of the sampled respondents indicated that the violent conflicts mostly occurred during raining seasons. No respondent indicated that these conflicts did occur during both seasons. Majority of herders also agreed that these violent conflicts do occurred mostly during dry seasons. This means that there is agreement between the two groups on the seasons these violent conflicts occur in the Benue State communities. This clearly shows that these violent conflicts are as a result of lack of resources notably water and land for farming and grazing.

Attempts were made to find out from herder respondents whether they consulted farmers prior to their settlement in Benue State.

**Table 4.3.16:WhetherHerders Consulted Farmers Prior to Their Settlement in Benue State Communities**

| Consultation of Farmers | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 20 | 26.3 |
| No | 56 | 73.7 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.16 indicates that majority73.7% of the sampled herder respondents did not consult farmers prior to their settling in those communities in Benue State. This revealed that the situation in the area became tensed right from the arrival of herders in these communities because the farmers felt threatened. The remaining 26.3% of the herder respondents indicated that they consulted the farmers before settling in the area. An IDI conducted with a herder supported this where he stated that:

> Do we herders need any permission from the farmers before we can move with our cattle on our grazing routes?.....is just like saying you need permission from somebody before moving on the roads. These areas are our grazing routes, they farm everywhere and even build houses on them. Where did they want us to graze and even pass to other places?.....

This shows that both groups were claiming rights of occupancy on the land. The farmers were claiming ownership of land while herders were claiming ownership of grazing routes.

Efforts were also made to ascertain from the herders whether they consulted traditional rulers prior to their settlement in the communities.

**Table 4.3.17: Whether Herders Consulted Traditional Rulers Prior to Settlement in the Benue State Communities**.

| Consultation of Traditional Rulers | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 46 | 60.5 |
| No | 19 | 25.0 |
| No response | 11 | 14.5 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.17 revealed a higher percentage of herder respondents, that is 60.5% indicated that traditional rulers were informed prior to their coming to settle in Benue State. 25% of the herders revealed that they did not consult traditional rulers prior to their settling in Benue State. This shows that they came and decided to settle where they wanted without minding whether somebody was using the piece of land for farming. The remaining 14.5% of the

sampled respondents simply refused to comment on the issue.The researcher observes that there is disagreement between farmers and herders responses on this matter. This is because, majority of the farmers earlier indicated in Table 4.3.10 that, they had no prior knowledge of the arrival of the herders but here the herders are saying that, they informed the traditional rulers. This means that there is a communication gap between the ordinary farmers and traditional rulers concerning the settlement of herders in the study area.

Attempts were also made to ascertain from herders whether they gave anything to the traditional rulers before they were allowed to settle in the communities.

**Table 4.3.18:Viewsof Herders' on Whether they gave anything to Traditional Authorities before they were Allowed to Settledin the Communities**.

| Whether Herders Paid before allowing to settled | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 45 | 59.2 |
| No | 19 | 25 |
| No response | 12 | 15.8 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.18 indicates that 59.2% of the herders said that they had given something to the traditional authorities before they were allowed to settle or graze in the area. While 25% of the herders reported that they did not give anything to traditional authorities before settling or grazing in the communities. The remaining 15.8 % of the herders simply did not respond. An IDI conducted with a herder in Guma Local Government Area close to Nassarawa State confirmed some underground deals between some traditional rulers and herders. He stated that:

> Some of us used to pay something to traditional rulers or give them cowsand continue to take care of it for them in order to allow us to graze in their domains but most at times when we get to some areas some farmers will not allow us to graze after our arrangements with their leaders.

This clearly revealed why there is a communication gap between traditional rulers and their subjects regarding settlement of herders in their communities.

The researcher also sought to find out from herders whether they brought weapons when coming to settle in the communities in Benue State.

**Table 4.3.19: Views of Herders' on Whether they Brought Weapons when coming to Settle in Benue State.**

| Whether they bought weapons | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 13 | 17.1 |
| No | 63 | 82.9 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.3.19 shows that majority of the herders which constitutes 82.9% denied coming to settle in Benue State with weapons. The remaining respondents made up of 17.1% of the herder's population said they came with weapons. This suggests that they perceived danger while coming to graze in the area. The IDI conducted also supported that herders refuted bringing weapons to Benue State when they were coming to graze or settle there. A herder stated in an IDI that:

> We only carry sticks and machetes for directing, separating and slaughtering of any dying cow as demanded by the Islamic Custom. This is to avert any double loss of the animal and its meat

Another herder in Udei in Guma Local Government Area also supported the view of their not coming with weapons where he stated:

> We use cutlass to cut down trees for the cattle to feed on especially during dry season when the grasses are dry and inedible to the cattle."

Supporting 17.1% of the herders, another herder in Logo Local Government Area stressed the importance of carrying weapons as a professional requirement. He said;

> It is necessary for every herdsman to carry weapons such as cutlass, sticks and guns to protect themselves because the nature of our "profession" is to move in the bush where there are dangerous animals and even cattle rustlers. We do not carry weapons around to harass farmers

In the same vein, an IDI conducted with a herder in Agatu Local Government Area at a border village in Nasarawa State called Aila in Egba council ward asserted that:

> We use both local and English guns to defend and protect ourselves and cattle from rustlers and wild animals like hyenas and wolves

Supporting this, anIDI conducted with a herder close to Udei in Guma Local Government Area also said

> we are human beings and we value our lives and our cows and any time our cows enter any farm by mistake they will want to kill them and one cannot just allow ones cows to be destroyed while one watches and is armed. Sometimes you have to protect your cows and yourself and therefore you make use of the weapon to your own advantage

The implication of the herders response is that almost all of them agreed on the bringing of weapons to settle when they were going to settle in area, , what brought about the point of divergence is the purpose the weapons were meant for or were being used for or what one refer to as being weapon.

An IDI conducted with a farmer in Jato Aka in Kwande Local Government Area, emphasised this point stressing that:

> The Police used to arrest us whenever we are having weapons such as machetes and even locally made guns but whenever they see Fulanis in the bush with their own weapons they don't arrest them. Why?.....

This shows that Nigeria is really a complex State, what constitute a weapon would have been clearly defined but due to diversity in cultures some groups still move around with cutlasses and sticks as working tools whereas in some situations may be regarded as weapons.

### 4.4 Factors Responsible for Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State.

The second objective of this study sought to examine the factors responsible for violent conflicts between the herders and farmers in Benue State. It was observed that farmers and herders shared a common cause. Both parties depended on land and water for their livelihoods and assumed differences in terms of religion, culture and traditional practices as well as language. This made it easier to put the questions for the predisposing factors

responsible for these violent conflicts between the two groups in a similar manner but analyses were done separately for the purpose of clarity.

The categorization was done by the use of the preference ranking and scoring methodology in order to prioritized. Respondents were asked to state to what extent they thought a number of listed factors were responsible for farmers-herders' violent conflict on a four point scale of Agree = 4, strongly agree =5, undecided = 3, disagree =2, strongly disagree = 1. A mean of 3.5 was determined and any factor with mean value of 3.5 and higher was considered a major Cause while any factor with a mean of less than 3.5 was considered minor.

Table 4.4.1 presents a summary of factors responsible for farmers'- herders' violent conflict in Benue State. This includes the total descriptive statistics obtained for all the factors with their corresponding mean score. The major factors were discussed with relevant qualitative data to support them.

**Table 4.4.1 Views of Farmers on Factors Responsible forViolent Conflictbetween Farmers and Herders in Benue State**

| Factors Responsible forViolent Conflicts | Mean $\overline{X}$ | Rank | Remark |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population explosion | 3.94 | 4 | Major cause |
| Unfavourable ecological changes | 4.09 | 3 | Major cause |
| Religious intolerance | 2.58 | 13 | Minor cause |
| Ethnic factor | 2.98 | 12 | Minor cause |
| Political factor | 3.65 | 8 | Major cause |
| Break down of traditional mechanism governing land resources usage | 3.64 | 10 | Major cause |
| Corruption of traditional rulers in handling disputes | 3.75 | 7 | Major cause |
| Corruption of security agents in handling cases | 4.36 | 2 | Major cause |
| Destruction of food crops and farmland by the herders | 4.58 | 1 | Major cause |
| Ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation | 3.63 | 9 | Major cause |
| Contamination of water by herders' cattle | 3.80 | 5 | Major cause |
| Encroachment of farmland by herders | 3.76 | 6 | Major cause |
| Herders' disregard for traditional authority in the area | 3.58 | 11 | Major cause |
| Harassment of women by Herders | 1.84 | 14 | Minor cause |

**Cutoff score: 60% (≥3.5 = major cause), (<3.5 = minor cause)**

**(1) Population Explosion**

Data in Table 4.4.1 show that, population explosion is one of the major causes of farmer-herders' violent conflict in Benue State as its ranked fourth among the fourteen other causes with the mean score of 3.94.This finding is in accordance with all the interviews conducted with all the traditional rulers and farmers in the Benue State farming communities. An IDI with the District Head of Binev, Buruku Local Government intimated that:

> You see in those days we used to allow Fulanis here to be grazing freely in the areas where people don't use to farm but now we don't have enough land as you can see for yourself. When you were coming, did you see any place they have never farmed on? In those days people were not many compared to now. The population of our people now compared to twenty years back has doubled but land is not increasing.

In addition to the above, the kindred Head of Mbashian, from Binev District of Buruku Local Government Area also supported this by saying that:

> Our population is now very much and we cannot afford to spare land for herders (Fulanis).Even then we were not reserving land for them permanently, they only used to come and graze in those areas that we did not farm but now our population has increased and we cannot afford to squeeze ourselves to leave land for herders (Fulanis).

In the same vein another farmer had this to say:

> Our population has doubled but land remained fixed. Land is no longer enough, you are a Tiv man and you know how our people are even killing one another because of land in some parts of Tiv land where disagreement on issues of land are not properly managed. I don't want to mention those areas you know you are one of us.

This shows that population has been increasing while the land remained fix and therefore, conflict arise as a result of the competition for land resources.

**(2) Unfavourable Ecological Changes**

Table 4.4.1 shows that unfavourable ecological changes are also some of the major remote causes of farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in the farming communities in Benue State which ranked third out of fourteenother causes with the mean score of 4.09 as indicated by

the farmers. This is in consonance with the interview with a female farmer in Aila Village in Egba Council ward of Agatu local government area of Benue State. She said that:

> In those days, the number of herders ( Fulanis) live or come to graze here were not much but these days, the herders ( Fulanis) used to come in large numbers and we too, some of the areas that we used to farm due to ecological or climate change we cannot farm in those areas again and particularly in some areas, water is very scarce, we have to go to Fadama areas to farm where the herders (Fulanis) also used to graze and as a result cows usually enter our farms and problems oftenbegin.

In like manner, a farmer in Gbajimba, the head quarters of Guma Local Government Area also supported this cause as being a major remote cause. According to him:

> Before now due to the fertility of the land we used to farm in a small areas but produced much but now the situation is not the same due to ecological changes and despite modern agricultural practices we are farming in large quantity and some areas that we used to farm are no longer fertile and we are always looking for fertile land while herders (Fulanis) too have been coming down here looking for better pastures to graze on but before they don't used to be many like this, they used to come and graze and go back to their places during the raining season and now they are not even interested to go back to their places

In support of unfavourable ecological changes, a farmer in Anyiin in Logo local government area also stated that:

> My rice farm was flooded, I did not get anything this year and the small portion that was left these Fulanis came and entered and finished everything.

This shows how these violent conflicts between farmers and herders can be attributed to the environmental factors, changes in environment have to some extent has a lot to influence human behaviour

**(3) Religious Intolerance**

Table 4.4.1 shows religious intolerance as one of the minor causes of farmers'/herders' violent conflicts in the farming communities of Benue State which ranked thirteenth position out of the fourteen possible causes with the average mean score of 2.58. This means that

farmers did not consider religion as one of the major causes of farmer/herders' violent conflicts in the area.

In support the above, an IDI with a District Head in Jato Aka in Kwande Local Government Area, he stated that:

> The herders (Fulanis) we use to see these days are different from the ones we used to know, we used to know them (Fulanis) as people who were God fearing and they used to respect us and our religion as well, but whenever they are talking about religion I don't understand. Where are these people killing us from?

This means that some farmers believe that these people killing them were not Fulani herdsmen as they claim.

In the same vein another farmer in Udei in Guma Local Government Area expressed his bewilderment by saying:

> Which religion allows killing of human beings even that their religion I was told did not allow killings?

On the contrary, a farmer interviewed in Ugba, Headquarters of Logo Local Government Area of Benue State said:

> Hausa/Fulani said they must chase us away from the Benue valley, Usman Danfodio did not succeed in his Jihad in Benue valley so they will come and make sure they take away this fertile land and islamise us.

Following these revelations by the farmers, the researcher observed that, majority of the farmers interviewed from the interior villages who had personal contact with the herders were of the opinion that, religion was not a factor responsible for the conflicts but their interests were more on the immediate causes, those things that usually cause conflicts with them and the herders in the process of their interaction during their businesses of survival where as those who were living in the villages but literate attributed the conflcts to religious and political factors.

**(4) Ethnic Factor**

Table 4.4.1 also indicated ethnic factor as one of the factors responsible for farmers'/herders' violent conflicts in Benue State. This according to the farmers' respondents sampled ranked

twelveth as a minor cause out of the fourteen causes of violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State with the average mean score of 2.98. This means that majority of the farmers sampled disagreed that ethnicity is responsible for farmers'/herders' violent conflicts in Benue State.

In corroboration with this, an IDI conducted with Tiv traditional ruler in Guma Local Government Area affirmed that:

> Tivs and the Fulanis have been known to be friends for quite a long period of time and the two tribes have been known as friends in Nigeria.We used to wonder what is happening now. The Fulanis we used to have here were very peaceful ones, they used to give us milk (Nono) and we used to give them food stuffs. Whenever they killed bush meat they used to give us and whenever any of their cows died they will give us. They know us for meat and we have a joken relationship that anywhere we meet one another, they will called us 'Murnchi' and we will call them our slaves(Ankpanev asev) we don't know what has gone wrong.

A farmer in Abeda Shitile of Logo Local Government Area also supported this:

> We the Tiv people until these violent conflicts between us and the Fulanis in Benue State started. We used to consider these Hausa/Fulani as our best friends that we used to relate with until now that they have shown us their true colours.

This shows that ethnicity is not just a major factor responsible for this conflict but may just be one of the factors fuelling the conflicts in the area

**(5) Political Factor**

Political factor was also considered as one of the major factors responsible for farmers'/herders' violent conflict in Benue State. It was ranked eighth out of the fourteen possible causes with the mean score of 3.65. This suggests that political influence is one of the major causes of farmers/herders violent conflicts in the area.

This view was supported by a key farmer informant who said:

> This crisis in Benue between farmers and Fulanis is political. Did you see anything like this or Boko Haram during the military regimes? Why is it that now? The issue of Boko Haram has waned

> but the farmer/herdsmen violent conflicts have increased in Nigeria?

Reacting in the same vein, a key informant in Logo Local Government Area also said:

> This farmers/herders violent conflict is a political disagreement between Governor Ortom and President Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari did not want Benue people to implement anti-open grazing and prohibition laws made by the Benue State Assembly because he is a Fulani man. That is why he is allowing herders to be killing people in Benue State

The researcher observed that the conflict has been politicized in the area and the Benue State Government seems to have been using this to some cheap political score points against the Federal Government therefore fueling more hatred between the two groups.

**(6) Breakdown of Traditional Mechanism Governing land Resources Usage.**

Table 4.4.1 also identified breakdown of traditional mechanism governing land resource usage as one of the major factors responsible for farmer/herders' violent conflicts in Benue State by the farmers, it was ranked tenth position out of the fourteen causes responsible for violent conflicts in the area with the mean score of 3.64. This means that farmers were not satisfied with the way traditional rulers oversee land resources and distribution issues in the study area.

An IDI with a key informant in Mbaya, Buruku Local Government Area commeted thus:

> Our traditional rulers these days are not doing things the way our traditional rulers use to do in those days. Our king, Kurgh Baka use to carry everybody along whenever there was an important decision regarding giving out land or sharing it among us, but these days, our traditional rulers give out land at will and manipulate families when it comes to sharing of land and this has been causing problem with farmers and herders here.

Corraborating this issue is the interview with a traditional ruler in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State thus.

> These days we are not being respected by our subjects sometimes our decision to bring peace as traditional rulers in our domain is not been respected by our subjects. The youths know better than we do and most at times whenever we take decision of giving land

> to foreigners and we show them a particular place to settle the owner of those places will refused, but in those days all the land resources belong to kings and nobody dared questioned their decision, these things are causing us problems with the Fulanis.

This revealed that there is breakdown in land administration and resource usage by the traditional authorities in the study area which is causing most of these violent conflicts in Benue State farming communities.

**(7) Corruption among Traditional Rulers in settling Dispute**

Table 4.4.1 shows that, corruption of traditional rulers in handling disputes farmers and herders is another major factor responsible for violent conflicts between farmers and herders in the Benue State farming communities. Farmers ranked this seventh as the major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the study area with a mean score of 3.75.

An IDI with a farmer in Nonguv in Guma Local Government Area, he said:

> Some of our traditional rulers do collect money and cows from Fulanis in order to give them land to graze without the knowledge of the real owners of these land and anytime they (Fulanis) step their feet on these areas the owners begin to harass them and this has being really causing problem between we and the Fulanis here

This means that the farmers were not satisfied with the manner in which land cases involving herdsmen had been handled by the traditional rulers. The general belief by the crop farmers was that herders used to bribe the traditional rulers. This made some farmers to disrespect their traditional authorities.

**(8) Corruption among Security Agents in Settling Cases**

Table 4.4.1 shows that, improper ways of settling cases between farmers and herders by the security agencies are also responsible for these violent conflicts in the study area. Farmers ranked this as the second major factor responsible for these conflicts in the study area out of fourteen other possible causes with mean score of 4.36. This clearly shows that farmers have been highly dissatisfied with the way the security agencies are handling cases involving herdsman.

In corraboration with this finding, an IDI with a District Head in Logo Local Government Area, he stated:

> They killed twenty two (22) people here yesterday, the Fulanis are there close to the riverbank and they haven't arrested anybody till today, they knew the Fulanis who did that but no arrest have been made, 'kai' during this government, we have seen wonders. The Fulanis are carrying AK47 guns that the police do not have. Meanwhile, they came here last week to disarm some of our boys who owned single-barrel guns we used to kill grass cutters …….. They arrested our people but refused to go and arrest the foreigners who are killing our people daily.

Supporting this view an IDI with a farmer in Daudu IDPs Camp, recounted how he escaped death after reporting a case to the Police for an arrest of some Fulanis in his village. According to him, before he could get to his village after the police arrested the accused person, he was released on bail. He alleged that, the accused retaliated, he went with his gang to his house raped his wife and killed her including his children and set their corpses ablaze.

In the same vein, a key informant interviewed stated that:

> What are the police doing about this illegal possession of weapons by the Fulanis? This government lacked commitment and this is the same way Boko Haram started in Borno State.

In a contrary view, an IDI with the divisional police crime officer in Gbagimba Headquarters of Guma Local Government Area of Benue State refuted all these allegations and stating that:

> We are committed to maintaining peace and tranquillity in Benue State particularly here in Guma Local Government Area; we have been trying to protect lives and property from any attack by anybody without minding the group involved. Though there is lack of logistics for our operations, because herders live in the bush and is very difficult to locate them whenever a case is reported at the station.

It was observed that, whatever could be responsible for lack of logistics for the police operations, the farmers generally believe that the security agencies were working together

with the herders to kill them. Infact, the conflict was politicized to a point that federal security agencies were tagged anti Benue State

**(9) Destruction of Food Crops and Farmland by the Herders**

Table 4.4.1 shows that destruction of food crops and farmland by the herders is one of the major and immediate causes of these violent conflicts in the area as it ranked firstamong the fourteen possible causes with the mean score of 4.58. This clearly means that all farmers' respondents sampled agreed or strongly agreed that destruction of food crops and farmland by the herders is a major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the area.

This finding is in line with an IDI with a District Head in Binev District of Buruku Local Government Area of Benue State. He intimated as follows:

> The most complaint we always received is the destruction of crops by Fulani's cattle. When they first came here, they were not behaving like this but now they even graze in the night destroying crops and whenever there is any reported case to me and I send for them these days, they don't come. Even as a king, I keep on seeing new ones coming down to this district and whenever I send for their representative these days, they don't come. I can show you some of the pictures of some destroyed crops and some of the people that these Fulanis had killed for the past years and you will be surprise. Here are the pictures you can even make photocopy, if you need them.

Reacting in a similar way, the Divisional Police Crime Officer in Buruku Township also acknowledged destruction of crops by cattle as a major problem in the area. He said:

> Obviously, crop destruction is the main cause of most of these violent conflicts reported here. If the Fulanis conduct their activities without interfering with farmers' crops, I believe there will be no problem. But a situation where they always trespass on crops, farmers will always react and most of these conflicts in this area always start when crops are destroyed, records are here.

In addition to the above, a farmer in Guma Local Government Area recounted what he went through last year 2016:

> I cultivated my yams and soya beans about two or three kilometers away from my house and I travelled to Makurdi to visit one of my brothers, I stayed there for three weeks thinking that my brother will give me money so that when I come back I would buy fertilizer and apply for the farm. To my greatest surprise, when I finally returned with the money, and the fertilizer I bought on my way back to the village I was told by my wife that Fulanis have taken over the whole of the farm. The following morning when I went there, I saw them there and when I started asking them, they brought out an AK47 and I ran away.

The farmers alleged that there were times when herders will deliberately take their cattle into their farms to freely graze driving farmers away with guns.The researcher observed that even the harvested crops were also destroyed in their homes.

**(10) Ineffective Institutional Mechanism of Conflict Mediation**

Table 4.4.1 also indicated institutional failures as another major factor responsible for violent conflicts in the study area. The farmers ranked this as theninth cause of conflicts in the area with the mean score of 3.63. Generally the farmers were not satisfied with the manner in which cases involving herdsmen and them were being handled by the appropriate institutions saddled with the responsibility of protecting them and bringing peace between the two groups.

An IDI with a farmer in Dandu IDP camp supported this by saying:

> Forget these people called the police and even some of our traditional rulers, because when these conflicts were not so volatile they used to collect something from the herders and allowed them to stay but now both the police and traditional rulers are affected.

Another farmer in the same IDPs camp lamented that:

> Let me tell you something you don't know before now some traditional rulers and even prominent Tiv people used to be owners of some of these cattle the Fulanis move about with including some highly placed security officers in Makurdi but now nobody will talk about it. Whenever there is a meeting to bring peace between the two groups in earnest these people will not support it. Let for us alone, we are tired of these people let them go where they came from or restrict their cattle to a particular place.

The researcher observed that the farmers no longer have confidence in the institutions such as the police and traditional authorities that are saddled with the responsible of bringing peace between the two groups.

**(11) Contamination of water by the Herders**

Contamination of rivers and streams by the cattle was another factor responsible for these violent conflicts indicated by the farmers. It was ranked as the fifth major factor which is responsible for the conflict with the mean score of 3.76.

Supporting this view an IDI with a farmer in Logo Local Government Area lamented that:

> Most of us are not having wells we use to drink water from the river where the point of entry is neat but these Fulanis are always coming in these same points with their cattle to drink water. Can you imagine human beings drinking with cows and sometimes these cattle use to drop their dung in the water and when you complain then problem will start. They value these animals more than we human beings.

Following this revelation by the farmers, the researcher's personal observation was that, most of these areas affected with the conflicts were areas that were close to the banks of Rivers Benue and Katsina Ala where most of them were not even having local wells talk less of boreholes. The communal used of these same source of water for agricultural purposes and for domestic use is actually a major challenge for both groups.

**(12) Encroachment on Farmland by Herders**

Table 4.4.1 indicates that encroachment of farmland is closely related to the destruction of crops and farmland. This was a major cause as identified by the farmers; it ranked sixth position among the fourteen possible other factors with the average mean score of 3.76. In corroboration with this, one of the farmers in Agatu Local Government Area alleged that the herders had taken over their lands completely, he recounted that:

> Some of us had to abandon farming and left to Otukpo for something else because these Fulanis had taken over our land and even with the anti-open grazing law, that made many of them to move to Nasarawa State, the place is not still safe for us because

> they do come to our area for attacks at anytime, the best thing for us is to relocate to safer places and find something else for our dear lives.

A personal observation enroute to Anyiin in Logo Local Government Area as you cross River Benue to the boundary between Nasarawa State and Benue State.

An IDI with a traditional ruler in Anyiin in Logo Local Government Area said:

> Any attempt by the farmers to drive herders away from their farms always incur the wrath of the herdsmen. The only option available for farmers is to leave the farm for the cattle or engage herders in fighting.

This means that farmers claim that encroachment of farmland was one of the frequent issues they had being experiencing in the area which forced them (farmers) to engage in conflicts with the herders.

**(13) Herders Disregard for Traditional Authority**

Disregard for traditional authorities was one of the major factors indicated by the farmers as being responsible for violent conflicts in Benue State which ranked eleventh among the fourteen possible other factors. Their responses indicated the mean score of 3.58. Majority of the farmers said that herders were not having regards for the traditional authorities in the area. One of the farmer key informants in Guma Local Government Area asked a question by saying:

> How can these herders respect them when they collected their money to give them land to settle against the wishes of their own people?

In a contrary view, in an interview with the District Head of Binev District of BurukuLocal Government denied all the allegations and stated that:

> You see our people are very difficult to handle whenever they want to do something and you advice them against it, then, you have collected money, but look, (angrily) this is the place you are seated, I invited Fulanis here last year almost two to three times trying to see there is peace in my district but anytime we arrived at a particular decision here these Fulanis will go back and the situation will get worse. Now it has gone to a level that only the

> government can arrange for such meetings for security reasons. We are trying our best to see that there is peace in this land.

This shows that there is no trust between farmers and traditional authorities in the area concerning this particular conflict

**(14) Harassment of Farming Women by Herders**

Table 4.4.1 shows that, lives of the women in the farming communities were at risks. This indicates that harassment of women ranked the last, that is fourteenth position out of the fourteen other possible causes. This clearly means that farmers consider it as one of the minor factors that do cause violent conflicts between them and the herders in Benue State with the average mean score of 1.84. This finding revealed that women suffered death, various degrees of injuries and sexual harassment by herders.

Reacting to this, an IDI with a female farmer in Ugba Headquarters of Logo Local Government Area stated that:

> All these rape cases that you used to hear are true … last year Tyoakaa and his wife was in the farm when some Fulani men came and beat him up and raped his wife in his presence at gunpoint. Tyoakaa was helpless and had nothing to do. Many of us women don't go to farms far away from our homes particularly when we are not in company of our husbands.

When asked by the researcher whether such cases of rape were reported to the security agencies? But quickly said: "what did they do?" This clearly indicated lack of confidence in the security agencies particularly the police because according to her many cases had been reported but nothing has been done to avert the occurrences.

In an IDI with the police in Ugba Headquarters of Logo Local Government Area, the Divisional Police Crime Officer denied allegations and showed the researcher the complaint book that no such reports were received in their police station.

This shows that harassment of women in the farming communities may not really be a cause of conflicts between farmers and herders in the study area but can be found among deviant ones.

The herders were also asked to state in their own views on what they think were the precipitating factors responsible for the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue state.

**Table 4.4.2: Views of Herders on Factors Responsiblefor Violent Conflict between Farmers and Herders in Benue State.**

| Factors Responsible for Violent Conflicts | Mean $\overline{X}$ | Rank | Remark |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population increase | 2.59 | 11 | Minor cause |
| Unfavourable ecological (environmental) changes | 4.45 | 1 | Major cause |
| Religious intolerance | 1.72 | 13 | Minor cause |
| Ethnic factors | 3.63 | 7 | Major cause |
| Political factor | 3.45 | 10 | Minor cause |
| Break down of traditional mechanism governing land resources usage | 3.60 | 8 | Major cause |
| Corruption of traditional rulers in settling disputes | 3.46 | 9 | Minor cause |
| Corruption of security agents in settling cases | 2.18 | 12 | Minor cause |
| Ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation | 4.14 | 5 | Major cause |
| Restriction of herders by farmers to particular areas | 4.39 | 3 | Major cause |
| Encroachment of farmers on grazing routes.( Search for better grazing pastures). | 4.43 | 2 | Major cause |
| Theft/killing of cattle by the farmers | 4.10 | 6 | Major cause |
| Harassment of herdsmen and their cattle by farmers youth | 4.30 | 4 | Major cause |

**Cutoff score: 60% (≥ 3.5 = major cause), (<3.5 = minor cause)**

**1) Population Increase**

Table 4.4.2 however, the herders' view on population increased, as being a factor responsible for farmers'/herders' violent conflict in Benue State was different with the views of the farmers in Table 4.4.1, with an average mean of 2.59, which ranked eleventh out of thirteen other possible causes. The herdsmen, also accepted population increase as also one of the causes of this conflict but recognized it as a minor cause. Maintaining this, an IDI with a herder in the bush around Udei in Guma Local Government Area pointed to the fact that;

> What the cattle eat is the pasture and the only thing we use together is water. If they (farmers) are more, there will be more farm produce and we will have more chaff to use. If there are more in population and they are farming and cooperating with us we can have more grasses for our cattle even, what we need is their cooperation.

Reacting in the same vein, another herder was of the opinion that;

> Our cattle have also increase but we are managing them within our grazing routes why are farmers farming on the routes we initially used to graze. They also have to manage themselves within their available resources and to me this cannot be regarded as a major source of this conflict here.

To herders, population increase is not one of the major factors that trigger this conflict in the study area but lack of cooperation between the two groups.

It can be easily understood from the above that population increase of farmers and herders with a corresponding increase in the sizes of farm and herds is responsible for violent conflicts in the study area. This is because both the herders and farmers had land use practice that competed with one another. As a result, crops cultivated close to where herders settled or used to pass were eaten by the cows, thereby leading to anger and frustration. While the nomadic lifestyles of the herders pushed them to farm lands. The farmers as well do kill cattle found on their farms which called for reprisal from the herders. These conflicts would have been avoided if the cattle were not grazed in the farmlands or close to crops and if the crops were not grown on the grazing routes as well.

**2) Unfavourable Ecological Changes**

Table 4.4.2 shows the herders' views on the unfavourable ecological changes as a factor responsible for farmers/herders' violent conflict which was not too different from that of the farmers' views on Table 4.4.1 but more emphasis was laid on this by the herders than the farmers. The herders ranked it first out of the thirteen other factors with a mean score of 4.45. They also regard this as a major factor responsible for violent conflicts in the study area. The herders claimed that, if not because of environmental changes such as the drying up of Lake Chad Basin and desert encroachment which made pastures difficult in the far Northern States; they would not have been moving southward.

Confirming this, an IDI with a herder in a village in Guma Local Government Area close to Awe Local Government in Nasarawa State called Tyada stated that:

> Our business now is very risky here. Anytime I'm going out with cattle, I think of a possible attack, I wish we would go back to Yobe State where we came from but the problem there is pasture and water. Pasture and water are enough here but it has dried up in areas we came from. This is what made us to be suffering; the weather has changed, pastures had dried up and water.

It was noted that, herders were desperate but had no choice than to stay in the area for their survival because moving back to some far northern States may be risky for the survival of their livestock as a results of cattle rustling, insecurity, desertification and the drying of up of lake child they may still not find good pasture and water back home.

**3) Religious Intolerance**

However, the herders' views on religion being responsible for these violent conflicts in the area was also considered as a minor factor with the mean score of 1.72 with the ranking of thirteen the last out of the thirteen other possible factors. Herders were of the opinion that religion did not really cause these violent conflicts in the area to an extent.

It is observed that though both groups agreed to some extent that religion plays a minor role in the precipitation of the conflict. However, the farmer elites were quick to attribute these violent conflicts to religion. While non-elite farmers in the villages were realistic on otheir views on what is practically causing these violent conflicts without thinking of the remote causes which the elites were attributing it to.

**4) Ethnic Factor**

Table 4.4.2 shows that herders had a different views from that of the farmers in Table 4.4.1 on the ethnic factor, which the herders consider as a major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the area with an average mean score of 3.63 which ranked seventh out of the thirteen other factors .The herders claimed that other ethnic groups now hate the Fulanis for

no reasons. Confirming this, an IDI with a herder in Ayilamo, Logo Local Government Area stated that:

> Oh! These people really hate us (Fulani) now when we are going about with our normal business they will be insulting us, (angrily) calling us several names.

It is observe that, the ethnic friendship that used to exist particularly among the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herders has now been replaced with acrimony.

**5) Political Factor**

Table 4.4.2 indicates that the herders' view political factor as one of the factors responsible for the conflict in the area was different with that of farmers in Table 4.4.1. Herders were of the opinion that political factor though one of the factors responsible for the conflicts was not a major factor with a mean score of 3.45 which ranked tenth out of the thirteen other factors. Though both groups agreed with political influence as being responsible for the conflicts they disagreed been the major or minor factor. The herders were of the view that, Benue State government escalated the violent conflicts by instituting the anti-open grazing and prohibition law while the farmers on the other hand attributed the violent conflicts to the backing of herders by the Federal Government and the security agencies.

It is observed that, both views mentioned above may not be causal factors but may be some of the factors which have escalated the conflicts in the area.

**6) Breakdown of Traditional Mechanism Governing Land Resources Usage**

Table 4.4.2 shows that, herders were of the similar opinion with the farmers in Table 4.3.1 regarding this factor as being responsible for farmer/herders' violent conflicts in Benue State. Herders agreed that breakdown of traditional mechanism governing land resources usage is responsible for these violent conflicts and at the same time rated it as one of the major factors responsible for violent conflicts in the area. The herders indicated an average mean score of 3.60 which ranked the eighth in position.

Supporting this view, an IDI with a herder close to Kadarko in Nasarawa State who had fled Guma Local Government Area of Benue State two months ealier as at the time of the field work emphasized that:

> These conflicts are really frustrating, there was a time last year I paid money for grazing in a particular area close to Daudu in Guma Local Government Area to the traditional ruler as tax, unfortunately when we started grazing there Tyowase and his children did not allow us to graze and our money was not given to us back.

The findings revealed that both farmers and herders were victims of poor administration of land by the traditional authorities which most times precipitated these violent conflicts in the communities.

**7) Corruption among Traditional Rulers in Handling Disputes**

Table 4.4.2 shows that herders were also of the opinion that corruption by traditional authorities was a factor responsible for violent conflicts between farmers and herders but were not rated as a major factor precipitating the violent conflicts in the area as was indicated by farmers in Table 4.4.1. It was ranked ninth position with a mean score of 3.46 which shows that there were some manipulations by the traditional authorities which precipitates some of these violent conflicts in the area.

An IDI with the secretary General of Miyatti Allah Association Benue State Branch, revealed that though their members sometimes pay '*Jika*' tax to traditional rulers as their subjects but not really bribes, but most at times when farmers get to know they begin to criticize their traditional rulers for being bias of saying the truth or doing the needful, that they have collected money from their members. He emphasised that:

> The youths have overpowered the traditional rulers and the elders and the traditional ways of living is no longer there in Benue State and that is what is causing these problems.

The findings revealed that herders were to some extent satisfied with the way traditional authorities settled disputes in their domain but were highly dissatisfied with the behavior of

the youths in the communities. This shows that the traditional rulers' views were not well respected by the youths

**8) Corruption among Security Agents**

Table 4.4.2shows that herders on the other hand indicate a different opinion with the ones of the farmers on Table 4.4.1. The herders rated it as a minor factor responsible for violent conflicts in Benue State which ranked twelvethposition out of the thirteenother possible factors with a mean score of 2.18. This means that herders were satisfied with the roles security agencies were playing in the crisis to some extent while the farmers were not.

An IDI with a herder informant support this opinion, he said:

> You see, these security people are trying their best but the Tibi (Tiv) are not being satisfied because Buhari is the president, what they want is for us Fulani to leave Benue State, and go where? I have been here for more than twenty years. Where do they want me to go? Some of us don't even know those that are killing people. The best we can do is to come together and see how we can settle this problem. 'Gaskiya' (truly), police and the soldiers are trying.

The researcher observe that, the farmers believed that only the Federal Government (thus President, Muhammadu Buhari) could solve the problem and not the security agents, therefore, whatsoever efforts that were made by the Federal Government were not appreciated by the farmers, coupled with the politicization of the whole issue by the elites and politicians in Benue State

**9) Ineffective Institutional Mechanism of Conflict Mediation**

Table 4.4.2 shows that herders in their opinion rated ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation as the same with that of farmers as being a major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the area but to some extent made more emphasis on it than the farmers as indicated in Table 4.4.1. It was ranked the $5^{th}$ major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the area with a mean of 4.15. This means that herders were highly dissatisfied with the conflict resolution mechanism in the State.

An IDI with a herder informant said:

> The traditional rulers used to hide the truth in the presence of farmers; they used to be very careful before their people will begin to accuse them of collecting bribes from us. Therefore, anytime there is a meeting between the two groups nothing used to come out of it in earnest.

This shows that there is high level of insincerity in managing this conflict in the area

**10) Encroachment on Farmlands/Grazing Routes**

Table 4.4.1 on the other hand, indicates that farmers were complaining. Herders were also complaining as well, as indicated in Table 4.4.2. Farmers were complaining of encroachment on their farmlands and herders were also complaining of encroachment on their grazing routes. The herders shared the same view with farmers on this issue; they all rated encroachment on farmland and grazing routes as a major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in Benue State. The herders ranked it as the second position out of other thirteen factors with the mean average score of 4.43. This clearly indicates that land resources are major problem in Benue State. Both groups were claiming ownership of land or rights to the use of land and therefore conflicts emerged.

Supporting this, an IDI with the Secretary General of Miyatti Allah Association Benue State Branch, he stated that:

> Look, this Anti-open grazing law in Benue State will not work, how do they want our people to move down to the Southern States, particularly Southeast and South-South without passing through Benue? (Angrily) It is highly impossible: our grazing routes that were gazzeted for many years back cut across Benue State.

From the findings, it can be observe that, the rapid expansion of farms due to population increase, urbanization and modernization of agricultural methods on the side of the herders, increase in sizes of herds of cattle and mass movement of herders has led to these violent conflicts in the area.

**11) Theft/Killing of Cattle by Farmers**

Table 4.4.2 on the other hand shows that, herders were of the opinion that stealing and killing of their cattle is a major factor responsible for these violent conflicts in the Benue State. This was ranked sixth among other thirteen possible factors, with mean score of 4.10. This finding indicates that while farmers vehemently complain of the destruction of their crops in Table 4.4.1, herders were not left out. They were both affected by the violent conflicts.

An IDI with a herder informant reveals that it takes them time and a lot of energy to raise cattle and anything that will affect their cattle; will not be taken likely because the source of their livelihood is at stake. He further stated that:

> This people will kill our cattle and they will want us to remain quiet for what? They will kill our cows and eat and when we are reacting they will be asking why are we equating animals with human lives? You kill our own cattle and eat and when we don't have anything to eat, then why are we alive? (angrily).

This shows that this conflict has affected livelihoods of both farmers and herders and whenever one's livelihood is affected is bound to respond with a very high of aggrssiveness..

**Harassment of Herdsmen and Cattle by farming Youths**

Table 4.4.2 shows that, on the side of the herders, they were complaining of being harrassed and cattle by the youths of the farming communities while the farmers complained of sexual harassment of their women by the herdsmen. Their views differ on these two issues. The herders rated their harassment and cattle as a major factor responsible for these conflicts in the area which they ranked it as the fourth position with the mean score of 4.30. The farmers ranked harassment of their women by herders differently as seen in Table 4.4.1

The herders were of the opinion that youths in the farming communities do harass them without any cause. An IDI with one herder, he respondent said:

> These people are always finding our trouble. We use to go about our business in the bush when there was peace in Benue State, but whenever farmers see us they will stop whatever they are doing

> and began to watch us. The next thing they will begin to shower abuses on us.

In the similar vein, another herder maintained that, youths were always finding issues with their people (herders) and he further said:

> Sometimes the youths in our host communities used to demand money from us even when somebody died in their villages. They will use the money and drink alcohol on the burial day and anytime we refuse to give them money problems will start.

This shows that there is no longer cordial relationship between herders and the youths in the farming communities.

**12) Restriction of Herders' livestock by Farmers to Particular Areas**

Table 4.4.2 reveals that herders were of the opinion that restricting them to some particular areas against their wishes by the farmers is one of the major factors responsible for the violent conflicts in the area. It was ranked as the third major factor with the average mean score of 4.39. The findings reveal that herders were highly dissatisfied with the way they were restricted by the farmers to particular areas; they felt that they are part and parcel of these areas, their grazing routes had been encroach upon by the farmers and at the same time they are dicting to them as to where to graze and where not to graze.

An IDI with the Secretary General Miyatti Allah Benue State Branch confirmed this. He stated that:

> We are all entitled to this land. You cannot bring a law that Fulanis should be restricted from particular areas and state that they should buy land to graze. Who will sell them the land in the first place when all the traditional rulers are even afraid of their subjects or youths in their various domains?

Reacting in a similar vein, a key herder informant maintained that:

> Once Tibi (Tiv) people farm in a particular place, they don't want us to go close to the area even when they harvest their crops and they are farming everywhere without reserving an area for us for grazing, as you can see we decided to relocate to this area close to Nasarawa State for fear of losing our dear lives.

The finding reveals that herders were restricted from particular areas and due to implementation of the Anti-open grazing and prohibition laws in the State when tension and serious killings arose they had to relocate to the border areas of Benue State particularly nearby States of Nasarawa and Taraba States.

## 4. 5 Socio-Economic Effects of Farmers'- Herders' Violent Conflicts on the Farmers and HerdersinCommunities of Benue State

These violent farmers'/herders' conflict had brought several social and economic effects on both groups. In order to identify these effects, several questions were posed to respondents in order to elicit answers from them.

The first area investigated relates to the relationship between farmers and herders. Respondents were asked to state whether they perceive each other as partners in progress.

**Table 4.5.1 Consideration of Farmers and Herders as Partners in Progress**

| Consideration of Farmers and Herders as Partners in Progress | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Yes | 71 | 30.5 | 12 | 15.8 |
| No | 162 | 69.5 | 64 | 84.2 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.5.1 reveals that the relationship between the farmers and herders in Benue State is no longer cordial, 69.5% of the farmers did not consider herders as their partners in progress, and only 30.5% still consider them as partners in progress. While on the side of herders, the findings from the Table 4.5.1 revealed that majority of the herders 84.2% were of the opinion that farmers were not their partners in progress, only 15.8% agreed that farmers were their partners in progress. The researcher observe that the implementation of anti-open grazing law by the Benue State Government which was intended to resolve the violent conflicts has rather worsened the situation in the Benue State. The herders and farmers in the State used to

relate very well particularly among the Tiv farmers where they had a long standing joken relationship for centuries, they use to share common markets, health facilities and even schools for those herders that their children were interested, attending social events such as weddings and naming ceremonies on either side. The farmers use to be hospitable and as a result herders invite many of their people to the State, then the number of cattle increased coupled with the increase of the herders and farmers in the area the situation has degenerated to these violent conflicts. The researcher observe that, herders see farmers now as impediments to their survival and progress while the farmers consider herders as a very wicked group of people who are ready to kill without any provocation. This situation manifested itself due to mistrust and animosity between farmers and herders. This has created suspicion and tension which threatened the peace, security and progress in Benue State.

An IDI with a farmer informant also agreed with Table 4.5.1, saying:

> We don't want to see anything 'Agwai' (Fulani) here let them go back to where they came from.

On the other hand, an IDI with a herder informant, he said:

> Our people loss cattle every time there is violent conflict here, sometimes this 'Tibi' (Tiv) killed our cattle out of hatred and jealousness not because they eat their crops, apart from the ones they used to steal and even kill to eat, oh 'Tibi' (Tiv) like meat.

Efforts were further made to determine from respondents the effects of the violent conflicts on income of farmers and herders before and after the conflict in Benue State. The study reveals that these violent conflicts had brought poverty and food insecurity to the State. This is due to decrease in both crop and animal production in the area. Farmers are often victims of crops destruction which resulted to decrease in agricultural production. This had great impact on both famers and herders' levels of income in the State. The inability of the farmers to go to farm for fear of attack during violent conflicts, killings of the younger population,

destruction of crops, killing of cattle and rustling, all led to the decrease of crops and animal production in the State.

The study also made attempts to estimate annual income of farmers and herders before and after the conflict in the study area to enable us to know whether their incomes' were affected or not. The effects of crops and livestock were valued in quantity and estimated in monetary value by the current market prices.

**Table 4.5.2: Views of Farmers and Herders on Estimated Annual Income before and after the Conflict in Benue State**

| Annual Income (₦) | Farmers | | | | Herders | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Before | | After | | Before | | After | |
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| < ₦200,000 | 100 | 42.9 | 156 | 66.9 | 10 | 13.1 | 18 | 23.1 |
| ₦201,000 - ₦400,000 | 120 | 51.5 | 71 | 30.5 | 34 | 44.7 | 18 | 23.7 |
| ₦1,000,001 - ₦1,200,000 | 09 | 3.9 | 04 | 1.7 | 32 | 42.1 | 15 | 19.7 |
| ₦2,000,001 - ₦2,200,000 | 04 | 1.7 | 02 | 0.8 | 16 | 21.1 | 09 | 11.8 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **240** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

The results on Table 4.5.2reveals that 42.9% of the farmers use to earn less than two hundred thousand naira (<₦200,000) annually while majority of the farmers 51.5% were of the opinion that they used to earn between two hundred and one thousand naira (₦201,000) to four hundred thousand naira (₦400,000). 3.9% of the farmers were earning between one million and one naira (₦1,000,001) to one million two hundred thousand naira (₦1,200,000) while 1.7% of the total sampled respondents used to earn between two million and one naira (₦2,000,001) to two million two hundred thousand naira (₦2,200,000) before the conflicts.

The post conflicts findings indicated that, majority of the total farmers' population 66.9% were estimated to be earning less than two hundred thousand naira (< ₦200,000). 30.5% were estimated to be earning between two hundred and one thousand naira (₦201,000) to four hundred thousand naira (₦400,000). After the conflicts, 1.7% were estimated to be earning between one million and one naira (₦1,000,001) to one million two hundred

thousand naira (₦1,200,000). 0.8% were estimated to be earning between two million and one naira (₦2,000,001) to two million two hundred naira (₦2,200,000).

The above findings reveal that majority of the farmers were earning higher before the conflicts. This clearly shows that the conflicts had affected the income level of farmers negatively in Benue State.

On the other hand, Table 4.5.2 also reveals that 13.1% of the herders use to earn less than two hundred thousand naira (< ₦200,000) while 23.7% use to earn between two hundred and one thousand naira (₦201,000) to four hundred thousand naira (₦400,000) before the conflicts in Benue State. Majority of the herders estimated that they use to earned between one million and one naira (₦1,000,001) to one million two hundred thousand naira (₦1,200,000) before the conflicts. 21.1% use to earn between two million and one naira (₦2,000,001) to two million two hundred naira (₦2,200,000) before the conflicts.

While after/during the conflicts, 23.7% of the herders were estimated to be earning less than two hundred thousand naira (< ₦200,000) per annum while majority of the herders who used to earn higher before the conflicts were estimated to be earning between two hundred and one thousand naira (₦201,000) to four hundred thousand naira (₦400,000). 19.7% were now earning between one million and one naira (₦1,000,001) to one million two hundred thousand naira (₦1,200,000). 11.8% of the herders estimated that they were now earning between two million and one naira (₦2,000,001) to two million two hundred naira (₦2,200,000) after the conflicts.

This shows that the total number of the herders' population for those that were earning higher dropped after the conflicts. This by implication means that the conflicts had negatively affected the income of herders in Benue State.

One can observe here that the violent conflicts in Benue State have affected both farmers and herders' income. Another observation is that, from Table 4.5.2 the percentages of herders' earning were higher than that of farmers even before the conflicts. This shows that herders use to earn more income compared to farmers. This could partly explain why farmers always feel cheated whenever they had a case with herders involving the police; they believed that the herders used to buy their ways and even when compensations are paid, little used to be given to them.

An IDI with a farmer in Tomatar, Guma Local Government Area confirmed this. He stated that:

> Most at times when you take this Fulani (herders) to the police before you know it, they will pay small compensation to you and they will give the police huge amount of money and they (the Police) will force you to agree but we don't know what to do they are richer than us, the sales from one cow can buy ten (10) bags of rice or more.

Efforts were also made to determine the effects of the violent conflicts between farmers and herders on the farms and herds in the area.

**Destruction of Farms and Cattle**

Violent conflicts in Benue State have resulted to damage to several farm products, livestock and cattle. The farmers' survey indicates destruction of crops in many hectares which led to low harvests, destruction of economic trees and livestock. While on the side of the herders, it is indicated that many cows, goats and sheep were destroyed and also taken away by the attackers. A herder close to Udei in Guma Local Government recounted his losses in an IDI:

> As you can see for yourself, I used to have many cattle, goats and sheep but there was a day when we were grazing close to Gbajimba, these people came and attacked us and killed some of our cows and others were taken away. We reported to the police station and nothing was done until we left that area when the crises went out of control.

Reacting in the same direction, an IDI with a District Head in Binev District of Buruku Local Government Area, he said stated that:

> I don't understand what is happening here anymore because every week my people keep on coming to my palace to complain about the damage done to their crops. I sent for the Fulani representatives and we had a meeting here and when they left, the same thing continued. Now with this anti-grazing law many of them left and the destruction is still going on. Let me show you some of the pictures of the crops destroyed by the herders.

These findings show that both parties had suffered losses as a result of these violent conflicts in the area. This is because the destruction of crops and cattle had a direct impact on the livelihoods of both groups. The conflicts have direct link to their major economic activities. This can also be observed as one of the major effects of these conflicts as it affects the livelihood of both parties. It was also observed that, both parties rated crops and livestock destruction as one of the major causes of these violent conflicts in the area as seen in Table 4.5.1 and 4.5.2.

**Destruction of Lives and Property**

The study reveals that both farmers and herders lost their lives as a result of farmer-herders' violent conflicts in Benue State.

**Table 4.5.3: Farmers and Herders views on Lives lost as a result of Farmer – Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State**

| Number of Lives Lost | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage |
| No Life | 73 | 31.3 | - | - |
| 1 Life | 66 | 28.3 | 69 | 90.8 |
| 2 Lives | 50 | 21.5 | 7 | 9.2 |
| 3 Lives and above | 44 | 18.9 | - | - |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.5.3 reveals that 31.3% of farmers indicates that they did not lose any member of their families while the same number 28.3% reported that they lost one person in each of their families. 18.9% of the farmers also reported they lost two persons each in their families while 18.3% reported they lost four persons and more in their families.

On the other hand, all the herders sampled had a bitter experience of farmer-herder violent conflicts in the State. This shows from Table 4.5.3 as all of the herders lost a family member as a result of farmer-herders' violent conflicts.This finding could also be attributed to the definition of family by Africans where they refer to any related member of the family as one family.Majority (90.8%) of the herders reported that they lost one person in their families while 9.2% of the herders said they lost two persons each in their families

The findings revealed the level at which killings have become so common in Benue State as a result of farmer-herders' violent conflicts. It also shows that no particular group is left out; both the farmers and herders were affected. An observation here is that, all herders reported that they lost someone at one point or the other during the violent conflicts. This could be because they are more vulnerable, they move in the bush and are prone to attacks by rustlers, thieves and even farmers. The researcher witnessed mass burial of seventy six (76) people organized by the Benue State Government in January, 2018 during his field work. This shows that farmers and herders really lost their loved ones as a result of farmer-herders' violent conflict.

Attempts were also made to investigate the farmers and herders that sustained injuries during the violent conflicts in Benue State.

**Table 4.5.4:Viewsof Farmers and Herderson the Injuries their Family Members Sustained during the Crises**

| Number of People Sustained Injuries | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage |
| 0 (No body) | 39 | 16.7 | 1 | 1.3 |
| 1 – 3 People | 84 | 36.1 | 75 | 98.7 |
| 4 – 6 People | 78 | 33.5 | - | - |
| 7 – 8 People | 33 | 13.7 | - | - |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.5.4 reveals the estimated number of victims of both farmers and herders that sustained injuries in their families. On the side of farmers, 16.7% reported that none of their family members had sustained any injury during the violent conflicts in the area while majority of the farmers 36.1% had about one (1) to three (3) persons injured in their families, followed by 33.5% whose family members ranging from four (4) to six (6) had sustained injuries. While 13.7% of the farmers also estimated that about seven (7) to eight (8) of their members sustained serious injuries during the conflicts.

On the other hand, 1.3% of the herders indicated that none of their family members sustained any injury, while majority 98.7% of the herders reported that people ranging from one (1) to three (3) sustained injuries in their families. One observe here that the number of people sustain injuries in the herders' families were not up to four (4) and more because they are always mobile and do not settle in a particular place for long once they are attacked in a particular area, they may move to safer communities and come back for reprisal attack, while the farmers will be there defending their farms which are not movable like the livestock.

Efforts were made to investigate the level at which the violent conflicts had affected agricultural productivity in the area .

**Agricultural Production**

The study reveals that farmers-herders' violent conflicts had created setback to the agricultural sector in the area which is the major mainstay of the people in the area.

**Table 4.5.5: Views ofFarmerson Whether there were Any Part of their Land they could not Cultivate**

| Any part of land you could not cultivate | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 198 | 84.9 |
| No | 35 | 15.0 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** |

Table 4.5.5 shows the views of farmers as to whether they were not able to access their most fertile part of land they use to cultivate their crops before the advent of these violent conflicts in the area. Majority 84.9% of the farmers agree that they did not access their most fertile land they use to cultivate their crops before the violent conflicts.While 15.0 % of the respondents agreed that despite the conflicts in the area they still cultivate their crops in their most prefered land without fear of being attacked. This clearly shows that agricultural productivity in Benue State has been negatively impacted upon, as majority of the farmers indicated that they could not farm on their most fertile pieces of land for fear of being attacked in such areas. This has resulted to low production of agricultural produce in the area which has led to food insecurity.

On the other hand, herders were also asked whether they can graze in those fertile or prefer areas they used to grazed before the conflicts.

**Table 4.5.6: Views of Herders on Whether they Still Graze in their Most Prefer Communities in Benue State**

| Herders' views on whether they still graze in their preferred communities in Benue State | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| No response | 14 | 18.4 |
| Yes | 12 | 15.8 |
| No | 50 | 65.8 |
| **Total** | **76** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Survey (2018)***

Table 4.5.6 reveals that majority of the herders 65.8% were not having access to their prefer communities where they used to graze for fear of being attacked while 15.8% reported that they still manage to graze in their preferred areas despite these violent conflicts in the area. 18.4% of the herders did not indicate to the question raised. This shows that the level of production of cattle and milk has dropped in the study area. One can observe here that both farmers and herders need each other if food security is to be guaranteed because the farmers in the Benue State like meat so such an extent that they hardly have a meal without meat and the herders also need food for their survival.

Efforts were made to also find out whether farmers and herders were displaced and the responses were presented in Table 4.5.7

**Displacement**

These violent conflicts had led to the displacement of many persons in the affected communities. As at the time of fieldwork, from January to March 2018, the Benue State Government had established about seven Internally Displaced Persons Camps; namely Daudu, Anyin, Abeda, Gbajimba, Ugba, and Abagena/Agan Camps which the researcher visited and took statistics of the victims with the aid of Benue State Emergency Management Board's staff to ascertain the effects of the violent conflicts on the victims and also observe the situation the victims were passing through. Table 4.4.7 shows the total number of IDPs per camp in Benue State.

**Table 4.5.7: Number of Internally Displaced Persons per Camp at the Seven (7) IDPs Camps in Guma, Makurdi and Logo Local Governments of Benue State as at 1st March, 2018**

| Category of persons displaced | Guma L.G.A | | | Makurdi L.GA | Logo L.G.A | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Daudu Camp | Tse-Ginde Camp | Gbajimba Camp | Abagena/Agan Camp | Anyiin Camp | Abeda Camp | Ugba Camp |
| • Women | 8,024 | 6,431 | 8,649 | 12,041 | 9,342 | 3,419 | 8,765 |
| Pregnant Women | 304 | 532 | 349 | 492 | 582 | 104 | 79 |
| Nursing Mothers | 226 | 581 | 131 | 616 | 776 | 165 | 271 |
| • Male | 5,149 | 4,476 | 5,977 | 6,362 | 7,030 | 2,671 | 6,284 |
| • Children | 10,871 | 10,021 | 9,393 | 16,583 | 19,283 | 6,730 | 7,569 |
| Male Children | 6,527 | 4,468 | 2,941 | 8,778 | 9,438 | 3,688 | 5,312 |
| Female Children | 4,344 | 5,553 | 6,452 | 7,810 | 9,845 | 1,677 | 2,623 |
| • Aged | 82 | 241 | 480 | 258 | 1,337 | 96 | 331 |
| • Disabled | 41 | 167 | 68 | 234 | 664 | 38 | 35 |
| **Total** | **24,044** | **20,928** | **20,019** | **34,986** | **35,655** | **12,820** | **22,618** |

**Total number of women displaced = 56,671**

**Total number of men displaced = 37,949**

**Total number of children displaced = 80,450**

**Total number of persons displaced = 175,070**

The findings revealed that majority of these persons were still in the camps during the farming season for fear of being attacked. This shows that in the event they are unable to return to their homes throughout the farming season, they will depend on government and people's goodwill for their feeding and other exigencies as long as the crisis lingered on. It was also revealed from Table 4.5.7 that, majority of the displaced persons were children follow by women. This shows that this farmer-herders' violent conflicts have taken a lot of

children out of school and many of these women have lost their husbands , left with a burden of taking care of their children alone.

An IDI with one of the farmers in NKST Secondary School Ugba Camp, he narrated his experience saying:

> This is how we left our houses for our dear lives without taking anything with us, everything we had has been destroyed by the herders(Fulanis) and all we were harvesting for this season have been destroyed. I always wonder where we are going to start after this conflict. Where are we going to get yam seeds to start all over again? O Lord! You know better.

On the other hand, the herders were also displaced as a result of the implementation of anti-open grazing and prohibition law by the Benue State Government. As at the time of fieldwork, almost all the herders in the State were leaving to the nearby States of Nasarawa and Taraba and those who were found in Benue State were only at the border villages grazing on both sides.

The findings reveal that even the indigenous herders who had lived in the State for many years had to flee for their safety. An IDI with the Secretary General of Miyatti Allah Benue State Branch confirmed this saying:

> You see there is serious tension in Benue State, as you can see many of our people around. The only place now that we can go in Makurdi apart from this North Bank is Wadata another Hausa dominated area in Makurdi town but is it suicidal to go to other places like Wurukum and High level. Many of our members have left to Taraba and Nasarawa States but their cattle are getting sick particularly the ones in Taraba because of Tse-tse flies.

The researcher observes here that there was no internally displaced persons' camp established for the herders in Benue State. This by implication means that Benue State government did not recognise herders as being part and parcel of the State

The study further investigated the number of livestock of herders lost due to the violent conflicts. In order to do this, the mean number of livestock such as cows, goats and sheep

reared by the herdsmen before the conflict and during/after the conflicts were determined and the mean differences ascertained. The mean differences represent the number of livestock lost during the conflict. The presentation is shown in Table 4.5.8.

**Table 4.5.8 Mean Number of Livestock Lost during the Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State**

| Livestock | Mean number before conflict | Mean number after conflict | Mean difference | Percentage mean difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cows | 24.45 | 15.71 | -8.74 | -55.63 |
| Goats | 13.37 | 8.72 | -4.65 | -53.33 |
| Sheep | 12.23 | 7.88 | -4.35 | -55.20 |

Table 4.5.8 shows the mean number of livestock owned by herders before and after the conflict. The mean number of cows reared by herders before the conflict was 24. 45 while the mean number of cows reared after the conflict stood at 15.71. The mean differenceis -8.74 with a percentage mean change of -55.63%. For goats, the mean number reared before conflict was 13.37 while 8.72 was reared after the conflict. This represents a mean difference of -4.65 with a mean percentage change of -53.33 %. Also the mean number of sheep reared before the conflict was 12.23 while 7.88 was found to be reared after the conflict with a mean difference of-4.35 and a mean percentage change of -55.20 %. The presentation in the table has indicated that the number of livestock reared by herders has dropped significantly. It means that, herders have lost lots of livestock to the violent conflicts as well.

A herder during one of the IDI in Guma Local Government Area close to Nassarawa State said;

> We lost a lot of cows, goats and sheep as a result of these violent conflicts. These were all lost to thieves who took advantage of the situation to steal our livestock. Some were killed during the attacks and yet some ran away and were not found even after the attacks

From the data presented on the table 4.5.8 and the IDI report above, it is obvious that herders lost a lot of their livestock to the violent conflicts in the area.

Further efforts were also made to ascertain the effects of farmer-herder violent conflicts on the area of land cultivated by farmers. In order to do this, seven crops were considered namely; Yam Soya beans, Rice, Maize,Guinea Corn, Ground nut, Millet .The mean area cultivated before the conflict and during/after the conflicts were determined and the mean differences/percentages were ascertained. The mean differences represent the area not cultivated during/after the conflicts .

**Table 4.5.9: Determination of Effects of Farmers' – Herders' Violent Conflict on Cultivated Land by Farmers for Seven Crops**

| Crops | Mean area cultivated before conflict (hectares) | Mean area cultivated after conflict (hectares) | Mean difference | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yam | 2.36 | 1.71 | -0.65 | -38.01 |
| Soya beans | 0.91 | 0.64 | -0.27 | -42.19 |
| Rice | 2.20 | 1.43 | -0.59 | -41.26 |
| Maize | 0.86 | 0.33 | -0.53 | -160.61 |
| Guinea Corn | 0.78 | 0.42 | -0.36 | -85.71 |
| Ground Nut | 0.82 | 0.31 | -0.51 | -164.52 |
| Millet | 0.77 | 0.25 | -0.52 | -208.00 |

Table 4.5.9 shows the mean area cultivated for seven crops before and after the conflict in Benue State. The crops include yam, soya-beans, rice, maize, guinea-corn, ground-nut and millet. Table 4.5.9 shows the mean area cultivated for yam before the conflict was 2.36 hectares while the mean area cultivated after the conflict is 1.71 hectares. The change is -0.65 while the percentage change is -38.01%.

The pre conflict area cultivated for soya-beans was 0.91 while the post conflict area cultivated was 0.64. The mean difference was- 0.27 with a percentage difference of -42.19%. The mean area cultivated for rice before the conflict was 2.20 hectares while the mean area cultivated after the conflict was 1.43. The mean difference was -0.59 with a percentage difference of -41.26%. The pre conflict area cultivated for Maize was 0.86 hectares while the post conflict area cultivated was 0.33 hectares. The mean difference was- 0.53 with a

percentage difference of -160.61%.The mean area cultivated for Guinea Corn before the conflict was 0.78 hectares while the mean area cultivated after the conflict was 0.42. The mean difference was -0.36 with a percentage difference of – 85.71%. The mean area cultivated for Groundnut before the conflict was 0.77 hectares while the mean area cultivated after the conflict was 0.25 hectares. The mean difference was -0.52 with a percentage difference of –208.00%.

Table 4.5.9 shows that the area cultivated for the various crops has over the period declined drastically. This trend is attributable to the fact that farmer-herders' violent conflict has created insecurity such that farmers do not feel safe working on the farm. Most farmers reduced their farm size because cultivated crops were not usually harvested as attacks were more rampant during the dry season which is also the season of harvest when these conflicts usually occur. A large scale farmer in Agatu in an IDI stated that the farmer – herders' violent conflict has created insecurity such that people have run away and as such getting labourers to work on the farm is very difficult. He said that:

> Most farmers in this area have reduced the area of land they use to cultivate. This is because of the clashes between farmers and herders which have generated into insecurity of lives and property. People have run away and hiring labourers to work on the farm now is very difficult and expensive. We just manage to cultivate the one we can afford.

This shows that farmers are no longer farming in large quantities the way they used to do and this has affected food production in the study area

The study further sought to determine the effects of farmer-herders' violent conflict on destruction of economic trees in the study area. The economic trees covered include mangoes, banana, guava, orange and palm trees. The mean available numbers of trees before the conflict and after the conflicts were determined and the mean differences/percentages

were ascertained. The mean differences represent the mean number of trees destroyed during/after the conflict.

**Table: 4.5.10 Effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflicts on Economic Trees in Benue State.**

| Trees | Mean available number of trees before conflict | Mean available number of trees after conflict | Mean change | Percentage mean change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mangoes | 4.44 | 1.58 | -2.86 | -181.01 |
| Banana | 7.02 | 3.12 | -3.90 | -125.00 |
| Guava | 3.19 | 0.92 | -2.27 | -246.74 |
| Orange | 16.48 | 6.67 | -9.81 | -147.08 |
| Palm trees | 1.02 | 0.86 | -0.16 | -18.60 |

Table 4 .5.10 shows the mean number of 4.44 mangoes owned by farmers in Benue State before the conflict while after the conflict the mean numbers of the remaining mango trees were found to be 1.58. The mean values of -2.86 mango trees were destroyed representing -181.01% of the total mongo trees owned by the farmers in the study area. Also a mean value of 7.02 Banana trees were owned by farmers before the conflict but at the time hostilities ceased the mean number of Banana trees left were 3.12. This represents a mean difference value of -3.90 with the percentage of -125.00. It is observed from Table 4.5.10 that, the number of guava, oranges and palm trees dropped significantly from their pre-conflict levels. The inference one can draw from Table 4.5.10 is that the farmer-herders'violent conflict in the area has affected the economic trees in the area as a result of the destruction occasioned by the attackers. A farmer in Apa Local Government Area said during an IDI session that:

> We grow a lot of citrus and palm trees around here. We also have Kolanuts, Banana and Mangoes which we usually sell to buyers who take them to distant places. All this was before the commencement of hostilities between farmers and herders here. Presently, most of our economic trees have been destroyed because of attacks by the herders who usually come in large numbers cutting down all the trees.

Another farmer in Buruku Local Area captures the situation succinctly:

> The destruction occasioned to our trees defies quantification. During the last attack, my orange farm was completely destroyed. The orange stands numbering one hundred and fifty were all destroyed. The attackers macheted everything down spread dried grasses on it and set it ablaze

The study also sought to know from farmers how much they realized from the sales of livestock before and after the conflict. The responses are presented as the significant difference between the annual sale of livestock before and after the conflict in Table 4.5.11

**Table 4.5.11: Test of Significant Difference between Annual Income before and During/After Conflict**

| | **Mean** | **N** | **Std. Deviation** | **Std. Error Mean** | **T** | **Df** | **Sig. (2-tailed)** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Annual Sales before conflict** | 128548.37 | 233 | 155141.1 | 10014.31 | 10.269 | 239 | 0.0000 |
| **Annual Sales during/after conflict** | 27084.58 | 233 | 18512.02 | 1194.946 | | | |

Table 4.5.11 shows the mean sales of livestock before conflict which stood at ₦41666.67 with a mean after conflict sales of ₦0.000. This means that after the conflict people were no longer selling livestock. This is attributable to the insecurity that prevailed during and after the conflict. As a result of the farmer-herders' violent conflict, markets were closed down and had not been reopened as of the time of fieldwork. The customers who used to come in to buy livestock were no longer coming as a result of the violent conflicts in the area. In a similar vein to herders, a herder who rears cows, goats, and sheep in Makurdi International Cattle Market, North Bank lamented the situation thus:

> Before the commencement of hostilities between farmers and herders we use to make money from the sale of our livestock. People used to come from far and near to buy cows, goats and sheep from us. Given the present situation, no customers are coming as you can see, sales have dropped significantly.

Another farmer in Agatu Local Government Area who rears goats, chickens and sheep said:

> This conflict has affected the sale of our livestock negatively. Most of the customers who use to come and buy from us now complain of the risk associated with transporting the livestock, one of them told me that their vehicle conveying the last stock of goats and sheep they bought was attacked and vandalized. They were lucky to escape with their lives.

### 4.6Coping Strategies Adopted by Farmers and Herders to Survive the Challenges of Farmers' – Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State

Under this section, various coping strategies adopted by both farmers and herders to survive the challenges of the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue State were explored. Both farmers and herders faced different challenges and the strategies they adopted to pull through in order to survived were explored and presented in Tables 4.6.1

**Table 4.6.1: Coping Strategies Farmers Adopted during and after the Violent Conflicts in Benue State**

| Strategies Adopted by Farmers | Yes (%) | No (%) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| We left to safer communities | 84.2 | 15.8 | **100.0** |
| Abandoned farming as means of livelihood to engage in "Okada" and other petty businesses | 15.8 | 84.2 | **100.0** |
| Received help from politicians | 4.6 | 95.4 | **100.0** |
| Received help from non-governmental organizations | 22.5 | 77.5 | **100.0** |
| Received help from religious organizations | 77.9 | 22.1 | **100.0** |
| Received help from government | 85.0 | 15.0 | **100.0** |
| Reduced quality/quantity of food taken in the family | 27.9 | 72.1 | **100.0** |
| Purchased food from traders on credit | 35.0 | 65.0 | **100.0** |
| No longer send children to school to enable us have enough money for feeding | 78.8 | 21.3 | **100.0** |
| Surviving on remittances from some of our people that migrated to urban or safer areas for businesses | 63.8 | 36.3 | **100.0** |
| Engaged in begging | 3.8 | 96.3 | **100.0** |
| Increased child labour to support the family | 6.7 | 93.3 | **100.0** |
| Engaged in underpaid jobs | 85.0 | 15.0 | **100.0** |
| Avoid going to farm for fear of attack | 83.3 | 16.7 | **100.0** |

Table 4.6.1 reveals the coping strategies farmers adopted to cope with the challenges of these violent conflicts during and after the conflicts in Benue State. Majority 84.2% of the farmers agreed that, the best thing they did during the conflicts was to leave to safer communities while 15.8% of farmers were of the opinion that despite the violent conflicts in the area they

were still living in their communities. 15.8% of the farmer respondents agreed that they abandoned farming as a means of livelihood and have gone to urban areas to engage in things like ‘Okada’ (commercial motorcycle business) and other petty businesses for their survival while majority 84.2% of the farmer respondents indicated that they were still regarding farming as their profession despite the challenges. This shows that most of these affected people were peasant farmers and uneducated farmers therefore it was difficult for them to change their profession. 4.6% of the farmer respondents also agreed that they were receiving help from the politicians during/after the conflicts while majority 95.4% of the respondents said they did not collect anything from the politicians during and after the conflicts.

22.5% of the farmers agreed that they received some help from the non-governmental organizations while majority 77.5% was on the opinion that they did not receive any help from non-governmental organizations.

Majority 77.9% of the farmers agreed that they recieved assistance from various churches in the area while 22.1% did not recognize assistance of any religious organisation.
Majority 85.0 % of the farmers agreed that they received great assistance from both State and Federal government at different points in time while 15.0% were of the opinion that they did not.

27.9% of farmers indicated that they reduced the quality and the quantity of food they used to consume in their families in order to cope with the challenges of the conflicts while majority 72.1% indicates that despite the challenges of the conflicts they still maintain the quality and the quantity of food they used to take in their families whenever they are opportune to have.
35.0% of the farmers agreed that they used to purchase food on credit from the traders in order to cope with the challenges while majority 65.0% indicates that they were coping with what they had without borrowing from traders.

Majority 78.8% of the farmers agree that they no longer send their children to school to enable them have enough for the feeding of their families while 21.3% indicates that, despite the situation in the area, they still manage to pay school for their children in government schools.

Majority 63.8% of the farmers revealed that they were surviving strictly on the remittance from some of their relations that left for safer areas while 36.3% of the respondents indicated that they did not use this method to survive.

3.8% of the farmers also indicated that, they were surviving on cooperate begging while majority 96.3% reports that they did not beg for food at any point in time during the conflicts. This is because begging for food in Benue State is culturally prohibited; anybody begging is being regarded as lazy and useless.

6.7% of the farmer respondents report that they were using their children to engage in child labour to earn money to assist the family, while majority 93.3% indicates that they did not use such means to survive.

Majority 85.0% of the farmer respondents agree that since they were displaced and left with no choice, they use to engage in manual underpaid jobs in order to survive while 15.0% of the respondents indicated that they did not engage in any underpaid jobs for survival.

Majority 83.3% of the farmer respondents indicated that in order to survive the best thing they could do was to avoid going to farm for fear of attacks while 16.7% indicated that despite the volatile nature of the conflicts in the area they still manage to go to the farm to get food for survival. This shows that farmers use to be afraid of going to farm for fear of being attack. This had affected crop productivity which led to hunger and poverty in the Benue State.

The research further sought to know from herders how they were surviving with the challenges of farmer-herders' violent conflicts during and after in Benue State. Their responses were collated and presented in Table 4.6.2

**Table 4.6.2: Coping Strategies Herders Adopted during and after the Conflicts in Benue State**

| Strategies | Yes (%) | No (%) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Migrated to safer communities | 86.8 | 13.2 | **100.0** |
| Abandoned herding as means of livelihood | 2.6 | 97.4 | **100.0** |
| Received help from politicians | 17.1 | 82.9 | **100.0** |
| Received help from non-governmental organizations | 17.1 | 82.9 | **100.0** |
| Received help from religious organizations | 15.8 | 84.2 | **100.0** |
| Received help from government | 13.2 | 86.8 | **100.0** |
| Received help from the Miyatti Allah Association | 75.0 | 25.0 | **100.0** |
| Reduced quality/quantity of food eaten in the family | 5.3 | 94.7 | **100.0** |
| Abandoned cattle and ran away for safety | 22.4 | 77.6 | **100.0** |
| Received remittance from some of our relations that have migrated in safer places | 42.1 | 57.9 | **100.0** |
| Begging in the streets | 17.1 | 82.9 | **100.0** |
| Children in the family engaged in labour to support the family | 15.8 | 84.2 | **100.0** |
| Engaged in underpaid jobs of taking care of cows for other people | 57.9 | 42.1 | **100.0** |

Table 4.6.2 reveals that majority 86.8%of the herders indicated that they left the communities that were so volatile to peaceful communities to avoid being killed by the farmers while minority 13.2% of the herder respondents reports that despite the violent conflicts in Benue State, they were still lingering in some communities to graze in the State. The researcher observed that herders were only found at the border communities of Benue, Nassarawa and Taraba States during the fieldwork. An in-depth interview with the herders revealed that they decided to migrate to those States or border areas for their safety because of the implementation of anti-open grazing and prohibition law by the Benue State Government.

Minority 2.6% of the herders indicates that they decided to abandon herding as a means of livelihood for other businesses as a result of the volatile nature of the conflicts in the area couple with the risk involved in the profession while majority 97.4% of the herders indicates

that despite the challenges involve in herding in the area they did not have any other alternative than to continue searching for greener pasture for their cattle.

17.1% of the herders indicate that they receive assistance from politicians during the violent conflicts in the area while majority 82.9% indicates that they did not receive assistance from any politician. This means that politicians in the area neglected the herding communities.
17.1% of herder respondents also indicate that they received help from non-governmental organizations while majority 82.9% of the respondents indicated that they did not receive any help from the non-governmental organizations.

Minority 13.2% of the herders receive help from the government as a coping strategy while majority 86.8% report that they did not receive anything from the government as assistance during and after the violent conflicts. This shows that there is disparity between the farmers and herders in terms of getting assistance from the government. The researcher observed that the Benue State government was more interested in the plights of the farmers than that of the herders in the State where IDPs camps were established for the farmers and appropriate attention were given to them while the herders were left on their own to move to where they could find safety.

Majority 75.0% of the herder respondents indicated that they receive help from the Miyatti Allah Association while minority 25.0% reported that they did not receive any assistance from the association.5.3% of the herder respondents indicate that they use to reduce quality and quantity of food eaten in their families in order to cope with the challenges of these violent conflicts in the area while majority 94.7% reports that they do not use to reduce both the quantity and quality of food in their homes in order to cope with the challenges of the conflicts.

22.4% of the herders report that they abandoned their cattle and ran away for their safety at a particular point in time, when the conflicts were intense in the State, while majority 77.7% of the respondents indicate that despite the intensity of the conflicts, they remain in the areas to defend themselves as men.

Herders with 42.1% revealed that they were surviving on the remittances from some of their relations that had migrated to safer communities while majority 57.9% reports that they did not receive any assistance from any of their relations that had left them to safer communities. 17.1% of the herder respondents indicate that they left with no any other choice than to engage themselves incooperate begging to survive while majority 82.9% reveals that despite the difficult situation they found themselves, they had to work seriously to survive without engaging themselves in begging.

Herders with15.8% also revealed that they had no other choice than to engage their children into labour to support their families to cope with the challenges of the violent conflicts while majority 84.2% revealed that they did not at any point in time try to engage their children into labour to enable them feed their families.

Majority 57.9% of the herder respondents revealed that they engage in underpaid jobs of taking care of cattle for other people in order to cope with the challenges of the violent conflicts in the State while 42.1% of the herder respondents indicate that they did not engage in underpaid jobs of taking care of cattle for others but strictly depends on their own cattle for survival.

### 4.7 Measures Taken to Forestall Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State

This section of the study sought to know from both farmer and herder respondents the measures taken by various governments and stakeholders to prevent and control the conflict in the State and their possible recommendations. It was found that different measures were

adopted by Stakeholders, State and Federal Governments to forestall the violent conflicts in the State. The responses of farmers and herders on whether Federal Government plays a role in forestalling the conflict in the State were presented in Table 4.7.1

**Table 4.7.1: Views of Farmers and Herders on Whether Federal Government played Vital roles in forestalling the Violent Conflicts between Farmers and Herders in Benue State**

| Roles of FG in forestalling conflicts | Farmers' Views | | Herders' Views | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage |
| Yes | 46 | 19.7 | 69 | 90.8 |
| No | 187 | 80.3 | 7 | 9.2 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.7.1 reveals that 19.7% of the farmer respondents agreed that the Federal Government has done a lot to prevent violent conflicts in Benue State, while majority 80.3% of the farmers reported that the Federal Government did not do anything to forestall these violent conflicts from taking place in the State. Supporting this view, an IDI with the District Head of Moon in Kwande Local Government Area of Benue State, he emphasize that the Federal Government is not taking these violent conflicts in the State seriously, he said :

> You can see when these Fulani, Buhari's brothers kill many people in Guma and Logo in January this year, the entire Benue traditional council and the Benue State Government cried out and went to complain to Buhari in Abuja. He told us to come back and accommodate our brothers. Who are our brothers? When they are killing us (angrily)

On the part of herders, majority of the herders 90.8% agree that the Federal Government has done enough to forestall or even resolve the violent conflicts in the State while minority 9.2% indicates that the Federal Government has not done enough to prevent and even resolve these violent conflicts in Benue State.

This shows that the herders were satisfied with the efforts of the Federal Government while the farmers were highly dissatisfied with the efforts of the Federal government towards preventing or even resolving the conflicts in the State. This has clearly shown the level to which the violent conflict have been politicized in the State.

Efforts were further made by the research to know from farmer and herder respondents whether efforts were made by the State government to curtail the conflict. The responses are presented in Table 4.7.2

**Table 4.7.2: Views of Farmers and Herderson Whether the State Government Took Measures to Forestall Conflict in the Area**

| **Benue State Government played rolesin forestalling the conflict** | **Farmers' Views** | | **Herders' Views** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Frequency** | **Percentage** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Yes | 212 | 90.9 | 6 | 7.9 |
| No | 21 | 9.0 | 70 | 92.1 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

Table 4.7.2 reveals that majority 90.9% of the farmer respondents said that Benue State Government made a lot of effort to forestall these violent conflicts in the State while minority 9.0% indicates that Benue State Government did not make enough efforts to prevent these violent conflicts in the State.

On the other hand, minority 7.9% of the herders indicated that Benue State Government has put in more efforts in forestalling the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in the area, while majority 92.1% of the herders reported that Benue State Government made no effort to prevent the violent conflicts between them and the farmers in the State rather they resorted to sending them away indirectly by implementing the anti-open grazing and

prohibition law. An IDI conducted with a herder in Makurdi International Cattle Market, North Bank, he opined that:

> Let me be very sincere to you, these conflicts are taking place in the villages where farmers and herders settled for many years but I want to tell you that what has happened in Benue State here that escalated these crises is politics, the politics of Benue State Government, particularly the Governor, he just want to use this issue to gain unnecessary political gains. The issue of anti-open grazing law will not work here. This is not the best way of settling this conflict.

Reacting in a similar vein, the Miyatti Allah Association, Benue State Branch Secretary General in an IDI said that:

> Look, these violent conflicts wouldn't have gone to this level but your Governor (Ortom) has politicized the whole issue. There is no need now to bring the two parties together for dialogue because the youths have overpowered the elders and the traditional rulers now. No traditional ruler will risk his life accepting to dialogue with the farmers and herders under their watch. The Benue State Government has politicized the whole issue and only Almighty Allah will help us here.

The researcher observed that farmers were very much in support of the effort made by the Benue State Government by implementing the Anti-open Grazing and Prohibition Law, towards restricting the movement of cattle, while the herders were vehemently opposed to the implementation of the law as a means of preventing conflict between them and the farmers.

Efforts were also made by the research to know whether dialogue was adopted as a control measure to avert the conflicts in the State by the Stakeholders. The responses were presented in Table 4.7.3.

**Table 4.7.3: Views of Farmers and Herders on Whether Dialogues were Used to Avert Violent Conflict by the Government/Stakeholders**

| Whether there was dialogue | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Frequency** | **Percentage** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Yes | 147 | 63.1 | 61 | 80.3 |
| No | 84 | 36.1 | 14 | 18.4 |
| No Response | 2 | 0.8 | 1 | 1.3 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

The findings in Table 4.7.3 reveals that majority 63.1% of the farmer respondents said that dialogue was used as a control measure by the community leaders to avert the violent conflicts in the State while 36.1% of the farmer said that dialogue was not adopted by the community leaders as a control measure to prevent and solve the problem of farmer-herders' violent conflicts between them (farmers) and the herders in the State. 0.8% of the farmer respondents did not just respond to the questions that were raised; this means they were simply undecided.

On the other hand, majority 80.3% of the herder respondents also said that dialogue was used as a control measure or method of solving the violent conflicts between them (herders) and the farmers in the State while 18.4% of the herder respondents reported that there were no such control measures to prevent or resolve violent conflicts in the State. 1.3% of the herders did not just respond to the issues raised.

The researcher observed that the findings show agreement between farmers and herders on the adoption of dialogue as a control measure to prevent and resolve violent conflicts by the Stakeholders in the State. This was supported by an IDI with the Secretary General of Miyatti Allah Association, Benue State Branch who said that:

> Anywhere you are in Benue State and there is peace, it means the elders or the traditional/ community leaders are still in control but where they are not in control, there is much violence and the youths have overpowered the elders in most communities in these violent communities.

The researcher observed that dialogue between the farmers and herders as at the time of fieldwork under the community leaders' watch was practically impossible without the aid of security agencies.

The study made further efforts to find out from farmers and herders whether they supported the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law put in place by the Benue State Government to control and prevent conflicts in the area.

**Table 4.7.4 Farmers and Herders Support for Implementation of Anti-Open Grazing and Prohibition Law by the Benue State Government**

| The views of farmers and herders | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage |
| Support | 222 | 95.3 | 1 | 1.3 |
| Oppose | 4 | 1.7 | 61 | 80.3 |
| No Response | 7 | 3.0 | 14 | 18.4 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

The findings in Table 4.7.4 reveals that majority 95.3% of the farmer respondents said that they were in full support of the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law by the Benue State Government while 1.7% said that they were not in support of the implementation of the law and 3.0% of the farmers did not respond. This means that they were simply undecided. Supporting this, an IDI with a traditional ruler in Guma Local Government Area, revealed that when violence became too intense in the area , the best thing they could do was to restrict the movement of cattle for the benefits of the communities. He asserted that:

> We have tried many ways to solve these violent conflicts between our people and the Fulani but these problems keep on manifesting in different dimensions, I used to wonder whether these Fulanis are the same ones that we used to know in those days, where we used to relate very well and even joked with each other …… the best way is for these people to camp their cattle or leave.

Reacting in a similar vein, an IDI with a farmer in close to Government Comprehensive Secondary School, Apa, in Apa Local Government Area of Benue State, he stated that:

The best thing that has ever happened concerning these violent conflicts is theimplementation of this law.

On the other hand, 1.3% of the herder respondents said that they were in support of the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law by the Benue State Government while majority 80.3% said that they were not in support of the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law. 18.4% of the herders declined to respond whether they were in support of the implementation of the law or not.

Supporting this, an IDI with the Secretary General of Miyatti Allah Association, Benue State Branch, he said:

> We were not carried along in the process of making the law and we can never be part of the implementation. When public hearings were heard in Makurdi, we were not invited and when we heard, I went to the Director of State Security Service (SSS) and asked him, he told me that Benue State Assembly were all out to do what they wanted to do and no one's views were respected. Even traditional rulers that had contrary views were told to keep quiet ……..Look at the situation all of us have found ourselves in now …….. Killings upon killings….(angrily)

Reacting in a similar vein, an IDI with a herder after Udei close to Kadoroko at the border between Benue and Nasarawa States was of the opinion that the implementation of this law was an indirect way of sending away all the herders out of Benue State. He stated that:

> How can these people say, we should not move with our cattle … how can we restrict our cattle? The law said we should buy land, buy from who? Who will agree to sell land to us to keep cattle? This law cannot be implemented here, let us leave politics out of this issue and look for a wayout.

The findings show that herders were highly against the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law in Benue State while the farmers were highly in support of the law and its implementation.

Following the expression of farmers' and herders' opinion on the violent conflict situation in Benue State where they are all affected, it then become a matter of necessity to solicit their views on what should be done by them and the Government in order to resolve the violent conflicts in the State.

**Table 4.7.5 Recommendations to the Government by Farmers and Herders for Measures to Adopt in order to Prevent and Resolve the Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State.**

| Recommended measures | Farmers | | Herders | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Frequency | Percentage | Frequency | Percentage |
| Implementation of Anti-Open Grazing Law | 222 | 95.3 | 1 | 1.3 |
| Creation of Grazing Reserves | 2 | 0.8 | 36 | 47.4 |
| Opening up of Former Grazing Routes | 1 | 0.4 | 27 | 35.5 |
| Creation of Ministry of Livestock | 3 | 1.3 | 5 | 6.6 |
| Improved Methods of Cattle Rearing | 5 | 2.1 | 7 | 9.2 |
| **Total** | **233** | **100.0** | **76** | **100.0** |

The data in Table 4.7.5 shows that majority 95.3% of the farmer respondents did not recommend another measure for the government to prevent and resolve farmers'-herders' violent conflict but rather insisted that the Government of Benue State should continue with the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law. Supporting this, an IDI with a farmer, in Gbajimba headquarters of Guma Local Government Area said:

> We used to leave peacefully with the herders before but now the situation has changed, if they cannot conform to the laws of the land as implemented by the State Government let them leave the State. The States have their rights to make bye-laws. We are in support of this law.

While 0.8% of the farmers recommended that government should create grazing reserves for the herders in the State. An IDI with a farmer, in Jato Aka, in Kwande Local Government Area, he suggested that:

> When something becomes so difficult you leave it, it is almost becoming impossible to evacuate these herders away from our State, look at the way they are killing our people on daily basis now.The Government should better give them an area to settle so that this problem will come to an end

While 0.4% of the farmers suggested that the government should open up herders' grazing routes that they used to graze and access before, where encroached upon by farmers. 1.3 % of the farmers were on the opinion that Benue State government should create a ministry of livestockwhere issues patterning farmers and herders could easily be address while 2.1 % indicated that herders should improve their methods of rearing cattle. The findings revealed the level of acceptability of the anti- open grazing and prohibition law by the people of Benue State.

On the other hand, 1.3% of the herder respondents suggested that Benue State government should better continue with the implementation of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law while majority 47.4 % of the herders recommended the creation of grazing reserves as the best solution to violent conflicts in the area followed by 35.5% of the herders who recommended the opening up of their former grazing routes as the best solution to the violent conflicts between them and the farmers.6.6% of the herder respondents suggested creation of a Ministry of Livestock in Benue State Civil Service in order to take care of issues affecting them in the area while 9.2% of the herder respondents were of opinion that government should provide enabling environment for them to improve their methods of rearing cattle.An IDI with a herder, he suggested that:

> The government should provide us with a well fenced land with adequate provision for water, pasture and good equipment that would enhanced our operations in Benue Staterather than bringing up an indirect way of sending us away

The researcher observed that herders were willing to stay or return after the crises but farmers were no more comfortable with their stay in the communities for fear of further attacks. The findings in Table 4.6.5 indicates conflicting suggestion by the farmers and herders which clearly showed why there is serious agitation in the area which led to these

violent conflicts and therefore the researcher suggest international best practices of farming and herding which is ranching as the best solution to the violent conflicts in the area.

## 4.8 Discussion of Major Findings

This study assessed farmers'-herders' violent conflict in communities of Benue State, Nigeria. This section of the study is therefore dedicated to the discussion of findings of the study. The discussionis conducted in line with the objectives and then theoretical orientation adopted for the study.

The first finding relates to objective number one, which seeks to understand the nature and manifestations of farmers'-herders' violent conflict in the rural communities of Benue State, Nigeria. Under the objective, the first finding relates to actual perpetrators of the attacks, the kinds of weapons used, as well as the coordinated strategies used by the attackers of the two groups in Benue rural communities.It was therefore; found that 68.7 % of the farmers reported that attacks on the side of herders were carried out by unknown persons suspected to be herders while 67.1% of the herders reported farmers in the area were responsible for reprisal attacks on them, thinking they were responsible for the attacks on them. The study also found that both farmers and herders were using sophisticated weapons for attacks on each other this has been confirmed by respondents from farmers and herders 68.2% and 64.4% respectively. It was also revealed that, herders were mostly applying guerrilla warfare strategies for their attacks on farmers in the area. These findings corroborates with the works of(Azahan, 2015, Alimba, 2014, Genyi, 2014, Duru, 2013, Kukwa, 2016) who in their studies found how attacks were carried out in the area in the similar manner described above. It was also found that majority of thefarmers 55.6% practiced large scale farming. This means that a lot of land is required by farmers in Benue State for farming activities which it was further found to be majorly 96.5% inherited by the farmers from their parents and relatives. This finding corroborates with the works of Idowu (2017) who in a similar study in Okpokwu

Benue State found that farmers in the area practiced large scale farming and that most of the land is passed down to them by their ancestors. It was also found that conflicts between farmers and herders usually take place during the dry season which was indicated by farmers and herders 91.4 % and 96.1% respectively. This shows that, these violent conflicts do occur as a result of shortage of land resources probably water and pasture and to some extent the conflict is regarded as resource based. This agrees with the works of Umeh &Chukwu (2013) who opined that, land degradation as a result of grazing worsened by the rain and accelerated by the topography of the areas is responsible for farmers'-herders' conflict.It was further found that majority 81.1% of farmers reported that they were not consulted before herders came to settle in their communities and it was further revealed that herders brought weapons with them while coming to settle in the communities.The herders confirmed this but refered to theit weapons as working tools. It was revealed by majority of the herders 82.9 % that some of the knives, cutlasses and matchests they carry were used for cutting feeds for the cattle and for self protection against dangerous animals in the bush. It was also found that some herders 59.2 % used to give something in cash or kind to traditional rulers/ skakeholders before they were allowed to settle and also pay some taxes to the community leaders but varies from one community to another because some doesn't tolerate such. It was also found that Benue State government established IDPs camps for the farmers and appropriate attention were not given to the herders as they were left to escape to where they could find safety.

The second objective of the study sought to examine the underlying factors responsible for violent conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State communities. The underlying factors found to be responsible for the violent conflicts between farmers and herders in Benue Statewere identified by farmers to include; population explosion, unfavourable ecological changes, religious intolerance, ethnic factor, political factor breakdown of traditional

mechanism governing land resource usage, corruption of traditional rulers in handling disputes, corruption of security agents in handling cases, destruction of crops and farmlands by herders, ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation, encroachment of farmland by herders, disregard for traditional authority and harassment of women by herders. The herders on their part also identified several other factors as being responsible for the violent farmer-herders conflict. Those identified include; population increase, unfavourable environmental changes, religious intolerance, ethnic factors, political factors, breakdown of traditional mechanisms governing land resource usage, corruption of traditional rulers, corruption of security agencies, encroachment of farmers on grazing routes, theft/killing of cattle by rustlers/farmers and harassment of cattle of herdsmen and their cattle by farming youths.These findings corroborates with the findings of Olabode & Ajibade (2010) who found struggle over scarce resources, pasture searching, water scarcity, less diseased region among other factors as being responsible for farmer – herder violent conflict. Adamu (2012) also corroborates with the findings where he found that, cattle theft and climatic change are potentials factors responsible for farmers' – herders' violent conflict. Therefore, with the above identified factors responsible for this violent conflict by the two groups,it was concluded that, the conflict is resource base but had been fuelled by ethno-religious and socio-political factors. This finding corroborates with the work of Hahger (2016) who found that these violent conflicts are resource based but have the potentials of escalating and transforming into an ethnic and/or religious conflict if not properly managed because, it's involve two groups of different ethnic and religious identities

The third objective seeks to examine the socio-economic effects of the violent conflict on the farmers and herders in the study area. Theconflict was found to have adverse effects on the socio-economic development of farmers and herders in the study area. The conflict was found to have changed the good relationships the two groups used to enjoy to hatred, stopped the

two groups from attending their social events and even markets together which 69.5% of farmers and 84.2% of herders reportedrespectively as being the social effects of this conflict. It also leads to the displacement of both farmers and herders. Most of the farmers were settling in internally displaced persons camps that were established by the Benue State Government. The IDP camps were found to be located at distant locations from the original abode of the victims. For the farmers, this has made life difficult as most of them could not cultivate food crops thereby affecting output and leading to poverty and fall in farm yield and income as majority of the farmers 51.5% reported that before the conflict they were earning between N 201,000 – N400, 000 before the conflictbut during/ after the conflict majority 66.9% of them were earning less than N200,000 while 44.7% of the herders also earned betweenN201,000 – N400, 000 before the conflict but after/during the conflict were earning less than N200,000 . These findings are corroborated by the findings of Ofuoku and Isife (2009) who in their study found that most persons involved in conflicts were displaced. The displacement they found led to decline in output of crop produced and decline in income. It was also found that, no provision was made for herders inIDP camps in the State despite the devastating effects of the conflicts on them and their livestock; there were no provision for livestock in the camps, they were left to find their refuge from the nearby states of Nasarawa and Taraba.The violent farmers'-herders' conflict it was further found has led to destruction of lives and property, 18.9% of the farmers reported lost of loved ones between three (3) and above while 90.8% of herders reported lost of at least one life as well as destruction of livestock such as chickens, goats, cows, pigs, and sheep.The conflict was also found to have led to destruction of crops such as yams, soybeans, rice, maize, groundnuts and millet as the farmers reported on the percentage mean difference -38.01,-42.19,- 41.26,-160.61,-85.71,-164.52,-208.00 respectively. This has inevitably placed the people on danger of starvation, hunger and eventual food insecurity. The situation was further found to be aggravated as

economic trees such as mangoes, oranges, Banana, Guava and even palm trees were all destroyed which the farmers reported the percentage mean difference from the mean available number of trees before the conflict and the mean available number of trees during / after the conflict as -181.01,-125.00,-246.74,-147.08,-18.60 respectively. This finding validates that of, Mwamfupe (2015), Ofem and Inyang (2014), Uji (2006), Nweze (2005) and Genyi (2014) who in their separate studies found that farmer – herders' conflict has lead to destruction of lives, property, crops, as well as livestock.

The fourth objective aim at investigating coping strategies farmers and herders used to adopt in order to cope with the challenges of farmers'-herders' violent conflict in the study area. Farmers and herdsmen were found to have adopted different coping strategies to survive the violent conflict. Prominent among farmers and herders include; migration to safer communities, abandonment of farming and herding as means of livelihood, receiving help from politicians, NGO'S, government, receiving remittance from relatives, begging on the streets, engaging in businesses, engaging children to labour in order to support the family income, no longer sending children to school to enable them have enough money for feeding among others. The finding on coping strategies corroborates the findings of Ivan & Dil (2015), who in a similar study in Uganda found that persons involved in conflicts adopt various coping strategies such as consuming less, limiting household expenditures and cutting down expenditures perceived as luxuries in order to survive.

The fifth objective assessed the efforts put in place over the years by various governments and stakeholders in order to forestall farmers'-herders' violent conflict in the area and as well as suggested measures by the respondents. It was found that different measures had being taken by the federal and State governments to solve the violent conflict between farmers and herders from colonial period to date but no one seems to be successful. It was also found

that,majority95.3 % of farmers suggested implementation of the Anti-Open Grazing and Prohibition Law by the Benue State Government in totality as an appropriate measure of resolving these conflicts in the area while herders were opposed to the law and its implementation and therefore suggested creation of grazing reserves, ministry of livestock, opening up of former grazing routes and improved methods of cattle rearing in the following percentages 1.3%,47.4%,35.5%,6.6%, and 9.2% respectively. Based on the different stands of the two groups on the way forward regarding the conflicts in the area, it was therefore foundthat, the conflict has been politicized by the political class, both the Benue State, Federal Government and stakeholders have not come out with the pragmatic measures to address the menace in the area.This finding validates the works of Musa (2016) who stated that, the Nigerian Senate was unable to enact new laws; the federal legislature has limited itself to holding public hearings and passing resolutions.

The findings discussed above have theoretical implications. The findings were consistent with the major premises of the Eco-violence theory adopted in explaining farmers'-herders' conflict in Benue State, Nigeria. The central thesis of this study is to assess farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria. The Eco-violence theory developed by Thomas Homer Dixon (1998) was used in analysing the environmental induced conflicts. The fundamental theoretical assumption of the theory is that resource scarcity is the product of an insufficient supply, too much demand or unequal distribution of a resource as a result of environmental hazards will force some sectors of a society into a condition of deprivation and violence.

It is important to note that, one major feature of herders in Nigeria is migration and at the heart of migration are conflicts. In this study of farmers'/herder's violent conflict, the eco-violence theory is applicable in the sense that it explains the intricate linkages that have

developed between resource scarcity as a result of climate change and these violent conflicts in Benue State. This is because the four environmental resources (fresh water, cropland, forests and fish) are resources that are affected by climate change at the lake Chad Basin. The lake has dried up leading to shortage of fish and fresh water. Drought and desertification have dried up crop lands and forest in the far Northern Nigeria thereby making these environmental resources in short supply. To cope with these challenges, herders migrate to North Central Nigeria particularly Benue State where they can get moderate weather, market opportunities, green –vegetation, forage and food, thereby threatening the means of production and reproduction of farmers in the area, who also depend on these resources for their livelihood. This in itself engenders violent conflicts in the area. And when they (farmers and herders) agree to live together, the long term effect is always pressure on land, food shortage, conflict of interests, cultural differences, over population, social disorganization, religious, social, and cultural intolerance which are in themselves conflict triggers. On one hand, farmers as a result of low yield, cultivate more lands now than they did before, living little land for grazing of cattle particularly in the River Benue valley. The land has remained fixed while the population of farmers and herders as well as their cattle kept on increasing at the alarming rate creating more demand for land resources leading to resource scarcity as a result of insufficient supply due to climate change. Land has a fixed value it is given by God to be fixed, not to increase. Therefore since the population of farmers is increasing, the population of the people of Nigeria and indeed the local governments is increasing by 2.8% (1963 Federal Government Census Figures) thus more people, more farmers will depend on land which has a fixed value hence the supply to demand relationship will not be balanced and as such conflict will arise. The type of grass, the soil type that encourages and supports vegetation cover creates an enabling environment suitable for the herdsmen to desire to

pasture in the Benue valley. The number of the cattle of the herdsmen is thus increasing as the populations of the farmers on this land also do.

Consequently, the migration of herders down south as a result of these insufficient supply due to environmental degradation always create problems since the population of farmers has increased, those grazing routes that were mapped out and reserved for the herders had been taken away by the events.

As a result of these violent conflicts both farmers and herders have adopted different strategies to cope with the situation in the study area. The coping strategies suggested include, moving to areas where there are abundant resources, change of occupation, limiting household expenditure, intensive use of internal household resources and seeking support from government, NGO's and private individuals as well as corporate entities.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the summary of the study, conclusion drawn and recommendations made for policy change and implementation based on the findings of the study. Also covered is a section on the contribution of the study to the stock of available knowledge.

## 5.2 Summary of Research Findings

This study assesses farmers'- herders' violent conflict in communities of Benue State, Nigeria. In order to do this, five objectives were raised: To understand the nature and manifestation of the conflict, examine the factors responsible for the conflict, assess the socio-economic effects of the conflicts on the farmers and herders, examine the coping strategies adopted by farmers and herders and the role played by government and other relevant authorities to forestall the conflict. Data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitatively, questionnaires were deployed in collecting data from respondents who were mainly farmers and herders. The questionnaires were administered on two hundred and forty (240) farmers and Eighty (80) herders. Two hundred and thirty three questionnaires for farmers and seventy six for herders were retrieved respectively for analysis and interpretation. The qualitative data was collected using in-depth interview to compliment quantitative data.

The empirical data revealed that, attacks were carried out by both famers and herders. It was further found that attacks on the side of herders were carried out by unknown herders while farmers in the area were responsible for attacks on the herders as reprisals. The study also found that both farmers and herders were using sophisticated weapons for attacks on each

other. It was further found that, herders were mostly applying guerrilla warfare strategies for their attacks on farmers in the area. It was also revealed that farmers were not consulted prior to the settlement of herders in the communities. It's further revealed that some traditional rulers were collecting money or cows from herders without the knowledge of their subjects to allow them to graze in the area.

Several factors were found to be responsible for farmers'-herders' violent conflicts in Benue State. These include; population increase, unfavourable environmental changes, religious intolerance, ethnic factors, political factors breakdown of traditional mechanisms governing land resource usage, corruption of traditional authorities, corruption of security agencies, encroachment of farmers on grazing routes, theft/killing of cattle by rustlers/farmers and harassment of herders and cattle by youths inthe farming communities. Its was further found that the major factors responsible for the conflicts were environmental factors which the conflict is consider as resources base but were fuelled by ethno-religious and socio-political factors.

The study found that farmers'-herders' violent conflict has affected the socio-economic development of both farmers and herders negatively. The study found that lives and property were destroyed due to the violent farmers'-herders' conflict. Many households reported at least the loss of one of their members to the conflict. The study further found that infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and water facilities were destroyed in the wake of attacks. Many schooled age children were stopped from going to school as most schools were either burnt or closed down due to fear of attacks. Some schools were converted into IDP camps for the victims of the conflicts. Similarly, hospitals were forced to close down as the staff of such clinics ran for their lives. The implications of these findings are that life became difficult for the people as health facilities for the treatment of common ailments such as

headaches; malaria, diarrhoea etc were destroyed. Also many farmer IDPs were accommodated in established camps by the Benue State government. These camps it was further found lacked basic health, social and economic infrastructure required for a good living .While provisions were not made for herders in IDP camps and were left on their own to seek for their safety to nearby states of Nassarawa and Taraba .

The study also revealed that socio-cultural activities in the area declined tremendously such as weddings/naming ceremonies and festivals such as the popular kwagh-hir among the Tiv, Biki among the Fulani, Aleku festivals among the Idoma etc. went into extinction due to the farmers'-herders' violent conflict. Many farmers were found to have run away leaving their farm crops unharvested. While the farmer's production of agricultural crops such as yams, maize, millet, rice and guinea corns were significantly reduced from their pre-conflict levels.It was further revealed that economic trees such as mangoes, oranges, and palm plantations among others were destroyed. Many ripe trees such as mangoes, oranges and Banana were destroyed by attackers. It was also revealed that farmers'-herders' violent conflict had affected the production of livestock in the State. Following the escalation of conflicts, the rearing of livestock such as chickens, goats, cows and sheep were also greatly hampered. It was found that, the already volatile situation was aggravated by the enactment of the anti-open grazing and prohibition law by the State government. The restriction on open grazing has caused hardship and extra cost to both farmers and herders.

In terms of coping strategies adopted by the two parties, the study found that farmers and herders adopted different coping strategies to survive the challenges of farmers'-herders' violent conflict in the area. These included: migration to safer communities, abandonment of farming and herding as means of livelihood, receiving help from politicians, NGO'S, government: receiving remittance from some relatives, begging for alms, engaging in new

businesses, engaging children into labour in order to support the family income, among others.

The study revealed that the conflict between farmers and herders in Benue State has been politicized and measures taken by Federal; State Government and Non- governmental organisations had not been successful.

## 5.3 Conclusion

Evidence from the research findings indicates that violent conflict among herders and farmers in Benue State, Nigeria had exposed the two groups to a lot of social and economic deprivations. The findings indicate that, attackswere carried out by both famers and herders using sophisticated weapons for destruction of lives and property which the major causes of the conflicts were identified as use of land based resources which had been fuelled and escalated by the politicization of the conflict by the elites of both groups. Different measures were taken by the Federal; State Governments and Non- governmental organisations but none seems to be successful.The study therefore concludes that, the conflict is resource based but fuelled by ethno-religious and political factors which it has become a serious national security issue that needs urgent attention of Government and all stakeholders to curtail the incidence of the violent conflicts among farmers and herders in the study area and Nigeria in general

## 5.4 Recommendations

Based on the research findings and the conclusion drawn, it is clear that conflict between herders and farmers in Benue State, Nigeria had affected the socio-economic development ofthe State negatively. The study therefore, recommends the following:

1. Based on the findings, 68.7 % of the farmers reported that attacks on the side of herders were carried out by unknown persons suspected to be herders while 67.1% of the herders reported that farmers in the area were responsible for attacks on them, thinking they are responsible for the attacks on them. Also the finding that both farmers and herders were using sophisticated weapons for attacks on each other which 68.2% and 64.4% of them reported respectively. And herders were mostly applying guerrilla warfare strategies for their attacks on farmers in the area. On the further finding that herders 59.2 % gave money or cows to some traditional rulers before they were allowed to settle and also pay some taxes to the community leaders. The study therefore, recommended that Government should establish permanent security task force comprising of all the security agencies and marine police outpost along the riverine communities where attackers always attacked, such police outpost when established should be manned by well equipped officers to patrol the water ways of River Benue and Katsina- Ala which attackers have been using for attacks. It also recommended that both the farmers and herders should organise a local security network to help forestall conflicts and also report the presence of strange faces (foreigners) in their communities to security agents. It is further recommended that the traditional authorities should be open to their subjects when dealing with them on issues bordering land resources in their communities to avoid suspicion of collecting money or cows. The traditional conflict resolution methods should also be encouraged in resolving the conflicts because the security agencies cannot continue to stay in the affected communities. This should be done by bringing together traditional rulers in the areas with that of the leaders of the herders by the government for a peaceful reconciliation and negotiation
2. The findings showed that, unfavourable environmental (ecological) changes is one of the major factors responsible for the conflicts in the area as indicated by the mean score of

4.09 farmers and 4.45 herders respectively. The study therefore, recommends the Federal government to address the environmental challenges that are forcing herders southward by building of dams, recharging& dregging of the Lake Chad, watering of grasses and trees to create more grasses in order to provide better facilities for ranching of livestock in order to make herders comfortable in the far Northern Nigeria to curtail their movement southward.

3. The finding that both farmers and herders were displaced and farmers were camped by the Benue State government in designated areas but no provision was made for herders in the IDP camps despite the devastating effects of the conflicts on them and their livestock. Another finding was destruction of lives and property, 18.9% of the farmers reported lost of loved ones between three (3) and above while 90.8% of herders reported lost of at least one life as well as destruction of livestock such as chickens, goats, cows, and sheep. The conflict was also found to have led to destruction of crops such as yams, soybeans, rice, maize, groundnuts and millet as the farmers reported on the percentage mean difference -38.01, -42.19,- 41.26, -160.61, -85.71, -164.52, -208.00 respectively.It is therefore, recommended that security agencies should tighten security in the affected communities to ensure that peace is restored immediately, so that the internally displaced persons (IDPs) can return to their various places of abode. It was further recommended that government should build internally displaced persons' hostels in each Local Government where people displace under any circumstances can be accommodated. Such hostels should be equipped with facilities such as schools, health facilities, water and electricity for ease of life. In doing this, herders should also be considered because some of them constitutionally they are indigenes of Benue State. The destroyed Schools and hospitals should be rebuild and furnished with standard facilities. This is to ensure that the displaced persons are not left to suffer unduly as a result of the conflict. Damaged

water and electricity facilities should also be restored. Also, houses destroyed as a result of the conflict should be rebuilt and furnished by the Government. In collaboration with the State and Federal Government, a committee should be set up to carryout census of houses destroyed, property, crops and animals and compensation be paid to the affected persons. The study further recommends that compensation should be paid to those whose economic trees and herds were destroyed as well. This could be done by the Government in conjunction with relevant traditional authorities by identifying those affected.

4. The finding that the conflict have changed the good relationships the two groups used to enjoy to hatred, prevented the two groups from attending their social events and even markets together which 69.5% of farmers and 84.2% of herders reported respectively as being the social effects of this conflict . The study recommends that traditional institutions in collaboration with the government should revamp the inter-cultural carnivals and encourage inter-tribal marriages among farmers and herders in order to bring lasting peace in the study area. Believing that this will strengthen the social integration of the two parties
5. The finding that, majority 95.3 % of farmers suggested implementation of the Anti-Open Grazing and Prohibition Law by the Benue State Government in totality as an appropriate measure of resolving these conflicts in the area while herders were opposed to the law and its implementation and therefore suggested creation of grazing reserves, ministry of livestock, opening up of former grazing routes and improved methods of cattle rearing in the following percentages 1.3%, 47.4%, 35.5%, 6.6%, and 9.2% respectively. Based on the different stands of the two groups on the way forward regarding the conflicts in the area, it was therefore found that, the conflict was politicized by the elite class, both the Benue State, Federal Government and stakeholders have not come out with the pragmatic measures to address the menace in the area. The study recommends that, the Federal,

State Government and Stakeholders should depoliticize the conflict. There should be ethno-religious tolerance among the two groups. The State governments have their constitutional rights to make bye-laws but the enforcement of such laws must be done by the Federal security agencies. Therefore, security and welfare of the people is the constitutional responsibility of any government, hence there is every need to bring peace to the two parties (farmers and herders), State and Federal government should come together to discuss the best way of implementing anti open grazing and prohibition law or look at another alternative way to address the menace that both parties will be comfortable for the development of the State. This is because our borders are porous and our security agencies have been over stretched and cannot effectively continue policing the rural communities and the best way is to make peace

## 5.5 Contributions of the Study to Knowledge

This study an assessment of farmers'-herders' violent conflict in Benue State, Nigeria has made significant contribution to the stock of knowledge as follows:

1. The study established that, some traditional rulers/ stakeholders in some affected communities who were supposed to be playing fatherly roles to both parties, were engaged in underhand financial dealings with the herders for grazing lands without the knowledge of their subjects (farmers) and whenever there were conflicts in their domains it always becomes difficult for them to settle the two parties.
2. It was established that herders were not part of the Anti-Open Grazing and Prohibition Law making process during public hearings in the State and therefore, were highly against the laws and its implementation in the State.
3. The study also established that, the constitutional responsibility of any Government is to protect lives and provide basic social amenities for all her citizens but in Benue State,

violent conflict between farmers and herders had lead to the displacement of several farmers and herders but the State government established IDPs camps for farmers leaving herders whom some of them were indigenes constitutionally on their own to find safety in the neighbouring states of Nasarawa and Taraba.

4. The study further established that farmers'-herders' violent conflict is a land resource based conflict but has been politicized and fuelled by ethno-religious factors, the Benue State Government and the Federal Government were not in agreement regarding the pragmatic measures of handling the conflict in the area. The Federal government has also been deceitful in dealing with the conflict as well, because the land needed for ranching and colonies has been donated by many other States but pragmatic measures seems not to be taken till now.

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## APPENDIXI

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FARMERS IN BENUE STATE

Dear respondent,

I am a postgraduate student of the Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria conducting a research titled **"An Assessment of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State, Nigeria (2009 -2018)"**

This is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD Sociology).This research is entirely an academic exercise.

I wish to assure you that all the information provided will be treated in strict confidence and will be used solely for the purpose of this study.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

**Instruction:** Please fill or tick [ ] in the space provided as honestly as possible.

**Section A: Socio-Demographic characteristics of Respondents**

1. Sex: (a) Male [ ] (b) Female
2. Age _____ years
3. Religious Affiliation: (a) Christianity [ ] (b) Islam [ ] (c) Traditional [ ] (d)Others Specify_____
4. Highest level of Educational Qualification you have obtained: (a) No Formal Education [ ] (b) Qur'anic [ ] (c) Primary [ ] (d) Secondary [ ](e)Tertiary Education [ ] (f) Others (specify) _____
5. Ethnic affiliation: (a) Tiv [ ] (b) Idoma [ ] (c) Igede [ ] (d) Hausa/Fulani [ ] (e) others specify _____
6. Marital Status : (a) Single [ ] (b) Married[ ] (c)Divorced/Separated[ ] (d)Widowed[ ]
7. Place of Residence/Community:_____

**SECTION B: Nature and Manifestations of Farmers'/Herders' violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

8. Who are the actual invaders/attackers? (a) The settle herders [ ] (b) herders from other States [ ] (c) Unknown persons [ ] ( d) foreigners [ ] (e) Others Specify _____

9. What kind of weapons attackers mostly used? (a) Traditional weapons such matchets,bows & arrows[ ] (b) Locally made pistols & dane guns [ ] (c) English guns such as AK47 & Sub-machine guns [ ] (d) Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) (e) Chemical weapons [ ]
10. Do the invaders do attack and run? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
11. What type of farming do you practice? ( a) large scale farming (b) small scale farming
12. How did you acquire your land? (a) Bought (b) Hired (c) Inherited (d) Others (Specify) _____
13. Has/have there ever been any farmer/herders' violent Conflict (s) in your community? (a)Yes [ ](b) No [ ]
14. If yes, which of them do you remember? specify year of occurrence (a) 2017 [ ] (b)2016 (c) 2015 [ ] (d) 2014 [ ](e) others specify _____
15. What season do they mostly occurred? (a) Dry season [ ] (b) raining seasons [ ]
16. Do you think other farming communities apart from Benue State are involved in violent conflict between farmers and the herders? (a) Yes [ ] ( b)No
17. If yes, which other States have been involved? Name them _____
18. Were you consulted prior to the settlement of herders in your community? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
19. What about your traditional authorities? (Such as ward/sub-ward/village Heads) (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
20. Do you know whether anything was paid to your traditional authorities before herders settled here? (a). Yes [ ] ( b). No [ ]
21. Do you know whether anything was paid to the government before herders settled here? (a). Yes [ ] ( b). No [ ]
22. Did Herders bring weapons when coming to settle in your community? (a) Yes [ ] (b)No [ ]
23. If yes, what type of weapons did they bring? (a) English Guns [ ] (b)explosive devices [ ] (c) traditional weapons such as sticks & cutlasses[ ] (e)others specify_____

**SECTION C: Factors Responsible for Farmers'/Herders' violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

24. To what extent do you agree that the following factors are responsible for violent conflicts in Benue State? (tick as many options as applicable in the ranking order)

| Factors responsible for the conflicts | 4-.A | 5-S.A | 2-D.A | 1-S.D | 3-U.D |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population explosion | | | | | |
| Unfavourable ecological changes | | | | | |
| Religious intolerance | | | | | |
| Ethnic factor | | | | | |
| Political factor | | | | | |
| Break down of traditional mechanism governing land resources usage | | | | | |
| Corruption of traditional rulers in handling disputes | | | | | |
| Corruption of security agents in handling cases | | | | | |
| Destruction of food crops and farmland by the herders | | | | | |
| Unregulated transhumance | | | | | |
| Ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation | | | | | |
| Contamination of water by herders' cattle | | | | | |
| Encroachment on farmland by herders | | | | | |
| Herder's disregard for traditional authority in the area | | | | | |
| Harassment of women by herders | | | | | |
| Others specify | | | | | |

**Key: 4 = Agree, 5 = strongly agree, 2 =Disagree, 1 =strongly Disagree, 3 = Undecided**

**SECTION D: The Socio-Economic Effects of Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflict on the farmers in Benue State**

25. Do you look at pastoralists as partners in progress? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
26. For how long have you been living together in this community with the herders? (a)5years or less[ ]( b) 6-10years[ ]( c) 11-15 years[ ] (d) 16-20 years[ ] (e)21-30years[ ] (f) 31years and above[ ]
27. Did you ever kill any of their cows in retaliation against damages done to your crops or farmland? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [

36. If yes, how many? (a)1 cow [ ] (b)2 cows[ ] (c) 3 cows[ ] (d) 4 cows[ ] (e) 5 cows and above [ ]
37. Do these conflicts lead to displacement of farmers? (a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
38. Are your children going to school? (a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
39. Are your children going to school? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
40. If No, why? (a) Schools were destroyed [ ] (b) Schools are used as IDP camps [ ] (c)Fear of attacks [ ] (d) Others (Specify)_____
41. Do you have a functional health facility in this community? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No[ ]
42. If No, why? (a) Staff ran away for fear of being attacked [ ] (b) It was destroyed [ ] (c)No medicine [ ] (d) Others Specify; _____

43. How many hectares of farm land do you have? (a)1 hectare [ ] (b)2 hectares [ ] (c) 3 hectares [ ] (d) 4 hectares [ ] (e) 5 hectares and above [ ]
44. Tick crops cultivated and the area harvested before the conflict in the table below

| **Crops** | **Area Cultivated (In Hectares )** | **Area Harvested (In Hectares)** |
|---|---|---|
| Yams | | |
| Soya beans | | |
| Rice | | |
| Maize | | |
| Guinea corn | | |
| Groundnut | | |
| Millet, etc | | |

45. Tick crops cultivated , number of hectares destroyed and quantity harvested after the conflict in the table below

| **Crops** | **Area Cultivated (in Hectares)** | **Area Destroyed ( in Hectares )** | **Quantity Harvested (in tonnes )** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yams | | | |
| Soya beans | | | |
| Rice | | | |
| Maize | | | |
| Guinea corn | | | |
| Groundnut | | | |
| Millet, etc | | | |

46. Is there any part of your most fertile land that you did not cultivate during/after the conflict for fear of attack? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
47. If yes, what crop did you usually cultivate there? (a) Rice (b) Soyabeans [ ] (c) yams [] (d) Groundnut [ ] (e) others specify _____
48. How much was your income per annum before this conflict? N_____
49. How much is your annual income now? _____
50. Do you have income from other sources? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
51. If yes, specify the sources _____
52. How much do you earned from such sources annually? N _____
53. How many lives were lost during the most recent conflict in your family?_____lives
54. How many people sustained injuries in your family?_____ people
55. Did you abandon your ripe crops on the farm due to the conflict? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

56. If yes, was it eventually harvested? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
57. If yes, who harvested them? (a)herders [ ] (b) thieves [ ] (c) Hunters [ ]
58. Were you given any share of the harvest? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
59. Were your economic trees such as mango, oranges, guava etc destroyed?
    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
60. If yes, provide the magnitude of such destruction in the table below

| **Economic Trees** | **No. of Destroyed Trees** | **No. of Surviving Trees** |
|---|---|---|
| Mango trees | | |
| Banana trees | | |
| Guava trees | | |
| Orange trees | | |
| Palm trees | | |

61. How much money did you used to realise from the sales of the products of the destroyed trees annually? N_____
62. How much are you realizing from the surviving trees? **N_____**
63. Provide the magnitude of destruction in livestock in the table below

| **Livestock** | **No. of livestock Destroyed** | **No. of Surviving livestock** |
|---|---|---|
| Poultry | | |
| Goats | | |
| Sheep | | |
| Pigs | | |

64. How much money did you used to realise from the sales of livestock before these conflicts annually? N_____
65. How much are you realizing now after these conflicts annually?N_____

**SECTION E: Coping Strategies Adopted by Farmers in Benue State Communities.**

66. What was your household doing during and after the conflicts to cope with the challenges of these conflicts? ( Tick as many options as applicable)

| **Strategies** | **Yes** | **No** | **Don't know** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Left to safer areas during the violent conflict | | | |
| Left to engage in Okada in urban centres | | | |
| Left for petty businesses in urban areas | | | |
| Abandoned farming as means of livelihood | | | |
| Received help from politicians | | | |
| Received help from Non-governmental organisations | | | |
| Received help from religious organisations | | | |
| Received help from the Government | | | |
| Reduce quality of food eaten in the family | | | |
| Reduced quantity of food eaten in the family | | | |
| Purchased food from traders on credit | | | |
| We no longer send our children to school to enable us eat with the little we have | | | |
| Avoid going to farm far away from home for fear of attacks | | | |
| Remittances from some of our people that have migrated to urban or safer places for petty businesses | | | |
| Begging on the streets | | | |
| Increased child labour to support the family | | | |
| Engaged in underpaid jobs | | | |
| Others specify | | | |

**SECTION F: Measures taken to forestall farmer/herders' conflicts in the Benue State Communities**

67. Did federal government do any to prevent the conflict? (a)Yes [ ] b. No [ ]
68. What about the State? (a)Yes [ ] b. No [ ]
69. Do governments at various levels provide public enlightenment campaigns, seminars and symposia to sensitize the farmers and herders on the effects of these conflicts? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
70. If yes, give examples; 1. _____ 2. _____ 3._____
71. Were there conflict control strategies such dialogue among the farmers and herders by the community leaders to avert conflict?(a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
72. If No, why? _____
73. If yes, how often? (a) Once [ ] (b) Twice [ ] (c) Over three times [ ] (d) Never at all [ ]

74. What form do these take? _____

75. Are you in support of Anti-open grazing law by the Benue State Government?(a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

76. If No, What appropriate measures do you suggest government should adopt to resolve these conflicts? a._____ b._____ c._____etc

77. What measures do you suggest farmers should adopt to avoid future occurrence? a._____ b. _____c._____ e

**APPENDIXII**

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HERDERS IN BENUE STATE**

Dear Respondent,

I am a postgraduate student of Department of Sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria conducting a research titled **"An Assessment of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State, Nigeria (2009-2018)"**

This is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D Sociology).This research is entirely an academic exercise.

I wish to assure you that all the information provided will be treated in strict confidence and will be used solely for the purpose of this study.

Thanks for your anticipated cooperation.

Instruction: Please fill and tick [ ] in the space provided as honestly as possible.

**Section A: Socio-Demographic characteristics of Respondents**

1. Sex: (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]
2. Age: _____ years
3. Marital Status: (a) Single [ ] (b) Married [ ] (c) Divorced [ ] (d) Widow/Widower [ ]
4. Religious Affiliation: (a) Christianity [ ] (b) Islam [ ] (c) Traditional [ ] (d)Others Specify_____
5. Highest level of formal Educational Qualification: (a) No Formal Education [ ] (b)Qur'anic [ ] (c) Primary [ ] (d) Secondary [ ](e) NCE/OND [ ](f) HND/B.Sc or Higher Degree [ ] Others (specify) _____
6. Ethnic affiliation: (a) Tiv [ ](b) Hausa/Fulani [ ] (c) Idoma [ ](d)Igede [ ] (e) Other Specify; _____
7. Place and community of residence_____

**SECTION B: Nature/Manifestations of Farmers'-Herders' violent Conflict in Benue State**

8. Who were the actual invaders/attackers? (a) Farmers in this community [ ] (b) Farmers from other communities [ ] (c) Unknown persons [ ] ( d) foreigners [ ] (e) Herders [ ] (e) Others Specify _____

9. What kinds of weapons attackers mostly used? (a) Traditional weapons such matchets,bows & arrows[ ] (b) Locally made pistols & dane guns [ ] (c) English guns such as AK47 & Sub-machine guns [ ] (d) Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) (e) Chemical weapons [ ]
10. Do the invaders do attack and run? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
11. For how long have you been in this community in Benue State? _____years
12. Has/have there ever been any farmer/herders' violent Conflict in this community? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
13. If yes, name some of the incidences you remember specifying the year they occurred? 1. _____ 2._____ 3. _____
14. What season did they usually occur? (a) Dry seasons [ ] (b) raining seasons [ ]
15. Were these conflicts in existence in the 1970s, and 80s? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
16. If yes, was it up to this magnitude? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
17. Who first settled in this community? (a) Herders [ ] (b) Farmers [ ]
18. If farmers, were they consulted by you herders before settling in this community? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
19. If No, what about their traditional authorities (such as ward/village Heads)? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
20. What about the government? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
21. Did you pay something? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
22. If yes, what?_____ and to who? _____
23. Did you bring weapons when coming to this community? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
24. If yes, what types of weapons? (a) English Guns [ ] (b)explosive devices [ ] (c)Traditional weapons such as sticks & cutlasses [ ] (d)others specify_____

**SECTION C: Factors Responsible for Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State**

25. To what extent do you agree that the following factors are responsible for violent conflicts in the herding communities? (tick as many options as applicable in the ranking order )

| Factors responsible for the conflicts | 4-A | 5-S.A | 2-D | 1-S.D | 3-U.D |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population increase | | | | | |
| Unfavourable ecological (environmental) changes | | | | | |
| Religious intolerance | | | | | |
| Ethnic factors | | | | | |
| Political factors | | | | | |
| Break down of traditional mechanism governing land resources usage | | | | | |
| Corruption of traditional rulers in handling disputes | | | | | |
| Corruption of security agents in handling cases | | | | | |
| Ineffective institutional mechanism of conflict mediation | | | | | |
| Restriction of herders' by farmers to particular areas | | | | | |
| Search for better grazing pastures | | | | | |
| Theft of cattle by the farmers | | | | | |
| Harassment of herdsmen by host youths | | | | | |
| Others specify | | | | | |

**Key: Key: 4 = Agree, 5 = strongly agree, 2 =Disagree, 1=strongly Disagree, 3 = Undecided**

**SECTION D: Socio-Economic effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict on the herders in Benue State**

26. Do you consider farmers as partners in progress? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
27. How important do you consider farmers' crops? (a) As important as cattle [ ](b)Less important as cattle [ ] (c)more important than cattle
28. Did you used to attend the same social events such as weddings and naming ceremonies with the farmers before the conflicts? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
29. If yes, do you still attend such ceremonies with them?(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
30. How many cows did you have before the conflict? _____cows
31. How many do you have now?_____ cows
32. How many goats and sheep did you have before the conflict? _____goats and _____ sheep.
33. How many do you have now? _____goats and _____ sheep respectively.
34. How many of the cows were taken away by the attackers? _____ cows

35. How many of your goats and sheep were taken away by the attackers? _____ goats and _____ sheep respectively
36. Have you ever grazed your cattle in the choice grazing lands in communities that are very fertile in Benue State? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
37. If yes, Can you graze in those communities now? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
38. Do you have income from other sources? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
39. If yes, specify the sources and estimate amount per annum _____ and N_____
40. How many lives were lost in your family during the most recent conflict? _____ lives
41. How many people sustained injuries in your family during the most recent crisis? _____people

**SECTION E: Coping Strategies adopted by affected Herders**

42. For the following listed items, tick yes for those items you did during or after the violent conflicts to cope with the challenges you faced? ( Tick as many strategies as applicable)

| **Strategies** | **Yes** | **No** | **Don't Know** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Migrated to safer communities | | | |
| Abandoned herding as means of livelihood | | | |
| Received help from politicians | | | |
| Received help from Non-governmental organisations | | | |
| Received help from religious organisations | | | |
| Received help from the Government | | | |
| Received help from the Miyatti Allah Association | | | |
| Reduced quality and quantity of food eaten in the family | | | |
| Abandoned cattle and ran away for safety | | | |
| Received remittance from some of our relations that have migrated to safer places | | | |
| Begging on the streets | | | |
| Children in the family engaged in labour to support the family | | | |
| Engaged in underpaid jobs of taking care of cows for other people | | | |
| Others specify | | | |

**SECTION F: Measures Taken to Forestall Farmer/Herder's Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

43. Did Federal government do anything to prevent the conflicts? (a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
44. What about the State government? _____
45. Were there conflict control strategies such as regular meetings and dialogue among the farmers and herders by the community leaders to avert conflict?(a)Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
46. If yes, how many episodes? (a) Once [ ] (b) Twice [ ] (c) Over three times [ ] (d)Never at all [ ]
47. What form do these take? _____
48. Has there been any joint peace and conflict resolution committee made up of the farming community members and the herders constituted by the Government?
    (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
49. Are you in support of the recent Anti-open grazing law by the Benue State government?(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
50. If No, What measures do you suggest government at various levels should adopt to resolve and prevent these conflicts?
    a_____ b._____c._____
51. What measures do you suggest herders should adopt to avoid future occurrence?
    a_____b._____c_____
52. What about the farmers _____

## APPENDIX III

## IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE FOR SELECTED FARMERS

**1. Nature/Manifestations of Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) Who were usually involved in the attacks?
b) What kind of weapons do they used?
c) What were the strategies, coordination and spontaneity of the attacks?
d) What is the historical origin of farmers/herdsmen's conflict in your community?
e) How often do these conflicts occur in your community?
f) Do you remember some major ones and how they started?
g) What season do they usually occurred?
h) Were you consulted prior to settlement of herders in your community?
i) Do you know whether anything was paid to your traditional authorities before herders settled here?
j) Was this conflict in the same magnitude as it is happening in the recent times?

**Factors Responsible for Farmers'/Herders' Violent Conflict in the Benue State**

a. What could have been responsible for these conflicts in the farming communities?

**2. The Socio-Economic Effects of Farmers'-Herders'Violent Conflict on the Farmers**

**Probe:**

a) Did the conflict lead to breakdown of peace among farmers and herdsmen in the community?
b) Did the conflict lead to perpetual fear among farmers?
c) Do the conflict led to the breakdown of long established relationship between the farmers and the Fulani herders?
d) Did you treat herdsmen as partners in progress?
e) Were you consulted prior to settlement of herdsmen in your community?
f) Who gave them a place to settle?
g) Were your traditional authorities consulted?
h) Did the herdsmen arrive your community with their protective weapons?
i) How is the relationship between you and the herdsmen in the community now?
j) How many lives were lost in the more recent conflicts your family?
k) How many sustained serious injuries?

l) What crops do you farm?
m) Estimates the quantities of farm produce destroyed?
n) Do you have some economic trees?
o) How many were destroyed during the recent conflict?
p) Did the conflicts lead to hike in prices of food items in the markets?
q) Did the conflicts lead to many IDPs camps in your community?
r) Did the conflicts lead to scarcity of Food Items in your area?
s) Did the conflicts lead to migration of Labour (young men to safer areas)?
t) Did the conflicts lead to some Social Vices in your community?

**4. Coping Strategies adopted by Farmers in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) Has this conflict made some farmers abandon farming for some other occupations or means of livelihoods?
b) Did some people leave this community for fear of attacks?
c) Did you restrict your farm within the homestead?
d) Are you depending on farming as your means of livelihood?
e) Are you having an alternative means of livelihood?
f) Some of your household members left to safer areas?
g) Some of your people left to urban areas to engage in petty businesses to send something for your feeding?
h) Have you abandoned farming as your means of livelihood?
i) Have you received help such as food and other domestic materials from government?
j) From non-governmental organisations
k) From religious organisations
l) You reduced quality and quantity of food eaten in the family?
m) You purchased food from traders on credit?
n) All your children are not going to school in order to enable you eat with the little you have?
o) Did you avoid going to farm far away from home for fear of attacks?
p) Did you benefit from remittances from some of your people that have migrated to safer places for petty businesses?
q) Did you engage in begging on the streets in order to survive?
r) Did you engage your children into child labour to support the family materially?

s) Did you engage in some underpaid jobs?

**5. Measures taken to Forestall Farmers'/Herder's Violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) What has been done by the government to forestall these conflicts in the area?
b) What about the traditional authorities in the area?
c) Do you think that provision of public enlightenment campaigns, seminars and symposia by the government to sensitize the farmers and herders on the effects of this conflict will resolve the conflict?
d) Do you think that joint peace and conflict resolution committee made up of the farmers and the herders will help reduce this conflict?
e) Are you in support of anti-open grazing law by the Benue State government?
f) What about the provision of grazing reserves by the government?
g) What about provision of Ranches with adequate facilities for grazing?
h) What solution can you proffer to solve this problem at the side of :
i) Government,
j) Farmers
k) Herders?
l) Any other advice?

Thank you very much.

**APPENDIXIV**

**IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE FOR TRADITIONAL RULERS IN BENUE STATE COMMUNITIES**

**1. Nature/manifestation of Farmer/Herders' Conflicts in Benue State**

**Probe:**

**a)** Who were usually involved in the attacks?

**b)** What kind of weapons do they used?

**c)** What were the strategies, coordination and spontaneity of the attacks?

d) What was the relation between farmers and herders like in the olden days (10 years back) in the farming communities?

e) What then is the historical origin of the present conflicts?

f) Was there any violent conflict in the past?

g) Do herders pay money or give anything to anyone before settling in your Community?

h) If yes, what do they pay and to who?

**i)** Was this conflict in the same magnitude as it is happening in the recent times?

**2.Factors Responsible for Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

a). What do you think are the factors responsible for these conflicts in the farming communities of Benue State?

**3. Socio-Economic Effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict on the Farmers**

**Probe:**

a) Has this conflict lead to a breakdown of peace and tribal co-existence among Fulani herders and farmers in Benue State?

b) Has the conflict lead to breakdown of long established friendship between the farmers and Fulani herders?

c) Has the conflict lead to migration of some of your people to the urban areas?

d) Has this conflict lead to perpetual fear among your people?

e) How are your people been treated by the herders?

f) Were people displaced as a result of these conflicts?

g) Are children still going to school in your community?

h) Are clinics in your community affected by these conflicts?

i) How many of your people did you lose as a result of this most recent conflict?

j) How many of them sustained serious injuries?

k) What was the degree of farm/crops destruction?

l) What about economic trees like oranges, mangoes and palm trees etc?

m) Did the conflict lead to low productivity of agricultural products?

n) Can you comment on the income of your people before and after the conflicts?

o) Did the conflicts lead to hike in prices of food items in the markets?

p) Did the conflicts lead to many IDPs camps in your community?

q) Did the conflicts lead to scarcity of Food Items in your area?

r) Did the conflicts lead to migration of Labour (citizens to safer areas)?

s) Did the conflicts lead to increase of Social Vices such as cattle rustling, proferation of small arms?

**4. Farmer's Coping Strategies in Benue State Communities**

a) What strategies were your people using to cope with, particularly during and after the most recent conflicts?

b) Is farming activities in your area going on as usual?

c) If not, how are they managing to survive?

d) Has anyone abandoned farming for other businesses to earn a living?

e) Did your people now restrict their farming activities within the homestead?

f) Did they receive help such as food and other domestic materials from government?

g) What about NGOs and religious organisations?

**5. Measures Put in Place to Forestall Conflict in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) What has been done by the government to forestall these conflicts?

b) What about the traditional authorities

c) If any, what was the result?

d) What is the way forward?

e) How can this conflict be managed?

f) What should the government do?

g) What role should the traditional authorities play?

h) Role of farmers?

i) Role of herders?

j) Role of the general public?

k) Any other Advice? Thank you your highness.

## APPENDIXV

## IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE FOR HERDERS IN BENUE STATE

**1. Nature/manifestations of Farmers'-Herder's Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

**a)** Who were usually involved in the attacks?

**b)** What kind of weapons do they use?

**c)** What were the strategies, coordination and spontaneity of the attacks?

d) How long have you been staying here?

e) If more than ten years ago, how was the relationship between you and farmers then?

f) Can you trace the historical origin of the present violent conflicts?

g) Do you consult the farmers prior to your settling in this community?

h) Do you pay anything?

i) If Yes, what? And to who?

j) Did you arrived this community with weapons?

k.) If yes, what kind of weapon?

**2. Factors Responsible for Conflict between Farmers and Herders in Benue State**

**Probe**

a. What do you think are the predisposing factors responsible for these violent conflicts in the communities of Benue State?

**2. Socio-Economic Effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict on the Herders in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) Do the conflicts lead to breakdown of peace among you (herders) and farmers in the communities?

b) Do the conflicts lead to perpetual fear among you (herders)?

c) Do the conflicts lead to the breakdown of long established friendship you had with the farmers?

d) Do you still treat farmers as partners in progress?

e) How is the relationship between you and the farmers in the communities now?

f) Do you use to attend social events with the farmers such as weddings?

g) How many lives were lost in the most recent conflict?

h) How many people sustained serious injuries among your people during the most recent conflict?

i) How many cattle, sheep, and goats do you have respectively?

j) How many were killed respectively?

k) How many were stolen by the attackers?

l) How was your income then?

m) What about now?

n) Do you still go to the local markets in these communities to sell your milk and livestock?

**4. Coping Strategies adopted by the Herders in Benue State Communities.**

**Probe:**

a) Did this conflict lead to some herders leaving some communities in Benue State to safer areas?

b) Did some herders left this community?

c) Are you depending on your herds as your means of livelihood?

d) Did you receive help from government?

e) Did you receive help from non –governmental organizations?

f) Did you people avoid going to some hostile farming communities for fear of attacks?

g) Which communities are more preferable for your grazing?

h) Are you still having access to them?

i) You engage in underpaid jobs of taking care of cows that belong to some rich people in the area or elsewhere?

j) Are you surviving on remittances from some of your people that migrated to other places?

k) Any other strategy?

**5. Measures to Forestall Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict in Benue State**

**Probe:**

a) What has been done by the following to forestall these conflicts?
i).The government ii). Traditional authorities iii). Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association

b) What was the result?

c) How can these conflicts be managed?

d) What role the government should play?

e) What should be done by the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders' Association?

f) Role of the traditional authorities in the area?

g) Security Agencies?

h) Role of farmers?

i) Role of herders?

j) Role of the general public?

k) Any other Advice?

Thank you very

## APPENDIXVI

## IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE FOR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF MYETTI ALLAH CATTLE BREEDERS' ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA, BENUE STATE CHAPTER

**1. Nature/manifestation of Farmers'-Herder's Violent Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) Who were usually involved in the attacks?
b) What kind of weapons do they used?
c) What were the strategies used in the attacks?
d) How long do you think your members in the affected communities have stayed in those communities?
e) If more than ten years, how was the relationship between them and the farmers then?
f) What is the historical origin of the present conflicts?
g) Were there violent conflicts in the past?
h) Do your members consult the farming communities prior to their settling in those communities?
i) Do they pay anything?
l.) If yes, what? And to who?
m.) Did your people arrive these communities with weapons?
n.) If yes, what kind of weapon?

**a. Factors Responsible for Farmers'-Herder's Conflict in Benue State**

**Probe**

a) Did your members move around the farming communities with their protective weapons?
b) If yes, why?
c) What do you think are the major factors responsible for these conflicts in communities of Benue State?

**2. The Socio-Economic Effects of Farmer-Herders' Violent Conflicts on the Herders**

**Probe:**

a) Do these conflicts lead to breakdown of peace among your members and farmers in the communities?
b) Do the conflicts lead to perpetual fear among your members?

c) Do the conflicts lead to the breakdown of long established friendship between the farmers and your members?
d) Do your members treat farmers as partners in progress?
e) How is the relationship between your members and the farmers in the communities now?
f) Are your members still attending social and cultural events such as weddings with the farmers?
g) How many of your members lost their lives in the most recent conflict?
h) How many of your people sustained serious injuries during the most recent conflict?
i) How many cattle, sheep, and goats did your members have respectively?
j) How many were killed respectively?
k) How many were stolen by the attackers?
l) Can you comment on your member's income then and now?
m) Do your members still go to the markets with the farmers to sell their milk and livestock?

**4. Coping Strategies adopted by the Herders in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) Do this conflicts lead to your members leaving communities in Benue State?
b) Are your members depending on their herds as their means of livelihood?
c) Did they receive help from government to enable them cope with the challenges of these conflicts?
d) Did they receive help from non –governmental organizations?
e) Did they avoid going to graze to some hostile communities?
f) Which communities are more preferable for them to graze?
g) Are they still having access to such communities?
h) Did you engage in underpaid jobs of taking care of cows that belong to some rich people here or elsewhere?
i) Are you surviving on remittances from some of your members that migrated to other communities?
j) Any other strategy?

**5. Measures put in place to Forestall Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

**Probe:**

a) What has been done by the following to forestall these conflicts:
   (1) Government (2) traditional authorities in the area (3) Meyiti Allah Cattle Breeders Association
b) And what was the result?
c) How can these conflicts be managed?
d) What role the government should play?
e) What should be done by your Association?
f) Role of the traditional authorities?
g) Security Agencies?
h) Role of farmers?
i) Role of herders?
j) Role of the general public?
k) Any other Advice?

## APPENDIX VII

## IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI) GUIDE FOR SELECTED SECURITY AGENTS IN BENUE STATE

1. **Nature/manifestations of Farmers'-Herder's Violent Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

   **Probe:**

   **a)** Who were usually involved in the attacks?

   **b)** What kind of weapons do they used?

   **c)** What were the strategies used by the attackers?

   d) Is it the settled herders and farmers or is it unknown persons elsewhere?

   e) Did you ever apprehend any group involved in the conflicts?

   f) What is the historical origin of the present conflict?

   g) Was there any violent conflict in the past?

   h) Have you been fair to both parties whenever there is misunderstanding among them?

   i) Do you know whether the herders pay something before allowing them to settle in these Communalities.

2. **Factors Responsible for Farmers'-Herder's Violent Conflict in Benue State Communities**

   **Probe**

   a) What do you think are the factors responsible for these violent conflicts in communities of Benue State?

3. **The Socio-economic Effects of Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflict on the Farmers and Herders in Benue State**

   a).What do you think are the major socio-economic effects of these conflicts on the farmers and herders in Benue State communities?

4. **Measures put in place to Forestall Farmers'-Herders' Violent Conflicts in Benue State Communities**

   **Probe:**

   a) What has been done by the government, traditional authorities, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association and your organisation to forestall these conflicts?

   b) What do you think is the way forward?

   c) What role do you think the government should play?

   d) Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association?

e) Your organisation?
f) Role of the traditional authorities?
g) Role of farmers?
h) Role of herders?
i) Role of the general public?
j) Any other Advice?

Thank you very much.

## APPENDIXVIII

## THREE SENATORIAL DISTRICTS SHOWING LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN BENUE STATE THAT WERE HIGHLY AND LESS AFFECTED BY THE CONFLICTS

**Benue North East Senatorial District (Zone " A " )**

**Highly affected Local Government Areas**

- Logo Local Government Area ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Kwande Local Government Area ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ukum Local Government Area
- Katsina Ala Local Government Area

**Less Affected Local Government Areas**

- Vandeikya Local Government Area
- Konshisha Local Government Area
- Ushongu Local Government Area

**Benue North West Senatorial District (Zone " B " )**

**Highlyaffected Local Government Areas**

- Guma Local Government Area ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Buruku Local Government Area ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Makurdi Local Government Area
- Gwer East Local Government Area
- Gwer West Local Government Area

**Less Affected Local Government Areas**

- Gboko Local Government Area
- Tarka Local Government Area

**Benue South Senatorial District (Zone " C" )**
**Highly affected Local Government Areas**

- Agatu Local Government Area ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Apa Local Government Area (Selected using sample random sampling method)
- Okpokwu Local Government Area

**Less Affected Local Government Areas**

- Ado Local Government Area
- Obi Local Government Area
- Ogbadidibo Local Government Area
- Otukpo Local Government Area
- Oju Local Government Area
- Ohimini Local Government Area

## APPENDIXIX

## SIX (6) SELECTED LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS IN BENUE STATE SHOWING COUNCIL WARDS THAT WERE HIGHLY AND LESS AFFECTED BY THE CONFLICTS

### Under Benue North East Senatorial District (Zone "A")

### Logo Local Government Area

### Highly Affected Council Wards

- Mbadyul
- Mbavuur
- Nenzev
- Ukembergya/Isherev ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Tombo ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Turan
- Yonov

### Less Affected Council Wards

- Mbayam
- Mbater
- Mbagber

### Kwande Local Government Area

### Highly Affected Council Wards

- Moon ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Tondov 2 ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Yaav

### Less Affected Council Wards

- Adikpo
- Live
- Live
- Mbadura
- Nanev
- Tondov 1
- Usar
- Mbayoo
- Kumakwagh
- Mbaketsa
- Mbaikyor
- Mbagba/Mbaikyan
- Mbagb**er**

**Under Benue North West Senatorial District (Zone "B" )**

**Guma Local Government Area**

**Highly affected Council Wards**

- Kaambe
- Mbabai
- Mbadwem ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Nzorov
- Mbayer/Yandev
- Nyiev (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Saghev
- Uvir

**Less affected Council Wards**

- Mbawa
- Abinsi

**Buruku Local Government Area**

**Highly Affected Council Wards**

- Binev ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Mbaya (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Mbaapem

**Less Affected Council Wards**

- Etulo
- Mbaade
- Mbaakura
- Mbaazagee
- Mbaatirkyaa
- Shorov
- Mbayaka
- Mbaityough
- Mbaikyongo/Nyifon
- Mbaazagee

**Under Benue South Senatorial District (Zone " C " )**

**Agatu Local Government Area**

**Highly Affected Council Wards**

- Egba ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ogbaulu

- Ogwule-Ogbaulu
- Okokolo ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Obagaji
- Enungba
- Odugbeho

**Less Affected Council Wards**

- Oshigbudu
- Usha
- Ogwule-Kaduna

**Apa Local Government Area**

**Highly Affected Council Wards**

- Akpete ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Igoro ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ikobi

**Less Affected Council Wards**

- Auke
- Edikwu
- Igah-Okpaya
- Oba
- Ofoke
- Oiji
- Ugbokpo

## APPENDIX X

## 24 VILLAGES IN THE 12 SELECTED COUNCIL WARDS THAT WERE HIGHLY AFFECTED IN THE SIX (6) LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS SELECTED

**Under Benue North East Senatorial District (Zone "A" )**

**Logo Local Government Area**

**Villages in Tombo Council Ward**

- Tyougbihi ( Selected using simple random method)
- Genyi
- Anungwa
- Azege
- Tatse
- Ayilamo ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Fofi
- Asuntu
- Gbeleve
- Waki
- Nyamkume

**Villages in Ukembergya/Isherev Council Ward**

- Jootar ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Tse-Hwer
- Mngbakpa
- Ikura
- Iorja
- Chembe ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Mondo
- Ubaver
- Adawa

**Kwande Local Government Area**

**Villages in Yaav Council Ward**

- Aga
- Jato- Aka (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Nigev Waya
- Diiv
- Wanchiha
- Akough ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Jam

**Villages in Moon Council Ward**

- Adange
- Maduku ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ityough
- Imande Beegeshi
- Shase ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ikyo Awen
- Wanbea
- Fishin

**Under Benue North West Senatorial District (Zone "B")**

**Guma Local Government Area**

**Villages in Nyiev Council Ward**

- Agbough
- Tse-Iho
- Iniodu
- Tse-Angur
- Udei ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Gyungu
- Mom
- Ngban
- Orogbo
- Uloho
- Yelewater ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Tse-Nule

**Villages in Mbadwem Council Ward**

- Tse- Torkula ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Gwa Adudu
- Angyom
- Asangabar
- Torkpande
- Umenger
- Zan zan Abigwa ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ugeh Ifu
- Iortyom Dura

**Buruku Local Government Area**

**Villages in Binev Council Ward**

- Agudu

- Asue
- Igyu
- Iorza
- Haa
- Wuna
- Tyoambir
- Tse-Bumkem
- Aguve
- Tafi
- Buter
- Gbor
- Yarkwan
- Tyogbenda Wombo
- Gbanyam (Selected using simple randomsampling method)
- Sev-av (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ugere
- Ankyaugba
- Gbaam

**Villages in Mbaya Council Ward**

- Ingologo
- Mbagbagh
- Tyonzughul
- Tomahar
- Nyihemba
- Mzer
- Adogo (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ikyaar
- Gajir
- Usen (Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Biligi
- Gbaukiv

**Under Benue South Senatorial District (Zone " C " )**

**Apa Local Government Area**

**Villages in Igoro Council Ward**

- Ochichi ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ijege
- Ikaduna
- Imana
- Olojo- Otugugwu ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ochichi Aji

**Villages in Igoro Council Ward**

- Ojantelle ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Asaba ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Ataganyi
- Jos

**Agatu Local Government Area**

**Villages in Egba Council Ward**

- Aila ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Egba ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Adagbo
- Adama
- Abugbe
- Edeje
- Omikwidi

**Villages in Okokolo Council Ward**

- Okokolo ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Akwu
- Akpeke ( Selected using simple random sampling method)
- Banzu
- Ocholonya