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Herdsmen-Farmers Crises: Implications for Food Security in Nigeria (1999-2023)

by

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Abstract

The study investigated the persistent Herders-farmers crises and its implications for food security in Nigeria for the period 1999-2023. Descriptive research design was adopted and it was qualitative with focus on the experiences of the victims and the actors. The study sought; to understand the role of climatic changes as a dynamic causal factor of the conflict; to evaluate what must have caused a pastoralist to want to become land owners by displacing the aborigines; to highlight the dynamics of the crisis because it involved people of different faith, different ethnic group and occupation and to ascertain how the conflict, amount to serious threat to food security calculus in Nigeria. Two theoretical framework were utilized, Eco-Violence theory attempted to validate the popular narrative that 'climate change' was the major causal factor in the crises while the clash of civilization and the Remaking of the World Order factored into the analysis, the differences in culture, faith and occupation. The study recommended that the Nigerian state should invoke its conflict management system to deal with the situation and ensure that all villages taken over by the herders and renamed should be return to the aborigines. The Federal Government should ensure the operation of ranches only in the northern states. The beef could be frozen, packaged and conveyed to particular markets in the middle-belt states, Abuja, Lagos, Port Harcourt and other locations thereby creating employment along the value chains and above all, the resolution of the crises rest on nation and state building as well as the emergence of effective leadership in Nigeria.

Key words: Herdsmen, Eco-Violence, IDPs, Food-insecurity, Barakin-Ladi

1. **Introduction**

A significant component of agricultural practices in Nigeria is animal husbandry; which consists of breeding and raising livestock. An ethnic group which is mostly involve in this aspect of agriculture is the Fulani pastoral groups who are nomadic in nature. They move the herds of cattle in search of green pastures to feed their herds. In the process of their movement or internal migration, they devastate the farmlands of other farmers who cultivate crops such as, sorghum, yams, potatoes, cassava, among others.

Agricultural practices in Nigeria had the compound nature of crop cultivation and animal husbandry. The Western region produced several food crops ranging from yams, cassava and Cocoa as cash crops. The South-East produced yams, Cassava, rice and palm- oil while the South-South cultivate Cassava, yams, rice in the Cross River and Bayelsa basins. The Middle-belt with extensive fertile plain produces several range of crops and also serve as a mining fields for solid minerals. The middle-belt has earned for itself the title of the 'food basket' of the nation. The far North produces several food crops in addition to the animal husbandry.

It would appear that 'climate change' has resulted in enormous dryness of the vegetation, hence, animal migration into the Middle-belt states in search of forage for the animals. This popular narrative, explains how this internal migration leads the herders into conflict with the farmers in mostly the middle-belt states of Plateau and Benue states respectively. This is because, these areas seem to be the epicenter of the herders-farmers' crises which is the focus of this study. There is yet another line of narrative, that persistent conflict in the middle-belt would culminate in food insecurity in Nigeria within the scope of the study. The thinking was that, since the Benue and Plateau states constitute the 'food basket' of Nigeria, where tens of thousands of tons of yams, potatoes, grains and fruits are dispatched to all part of Nigeria, the persistent crises between Herders and the Farmers, which more often than not, result in murdering of farmers and their subsequent displacement would result into food insecurity in Nigeria. We proceeded to interrogate the crises and its associated variables in the discourse.

This study was concentrated in the North Central zone with the focus at Southern Kaduna, Plateau and Benue State. The area includes Southern Borno, Yobe and Northern Adamawa. The other area is the Kwara and Kogi state. Available statistics covering the period of study indicated that the bulk of the crises occurred in Benue, Plateau States and Southern Kaduna more frequently than in any other area. These areas are those that share different culture with the herdsmen. The second interesting thing about these areas is, if they are insulated from climatic changes, which is said to have triggered the internal migration which culminated in the conflict. These locations contained the highest number of ethnic minorities in Nigeria. Almost every five kilometers would present different linguistic group. One unique thing among the ethnic groups in these areas is that they are either Christian or animist. Another is that they are minority in the north, and had received harsh treatment in the old emirate system to which they were subjected to in the colonial era. They all resented the old system, and have been agitating to live under a new system. The highest frequency of kidnapping, herders-farmer conflict, killings by bandits occur mostly in the study area. The focus areas include Bokkos, Mangu, Barakin Ladi the potatoes headquarter of Nigeria (Isenyo, 2017, July 6).

Herdsmen-Farmers crises happen everywhere, but we are concern with the series of conflicts over arable land resources concentrated in the Benue-Plateau areas of the middle-belt zone or the North Central part of Nigeria between the majority Christian non-Fulani farmers and the herders-who are mostly Muslim-Fulani pastoralist. The farmers in the Middle-Belt States are aborigines and have been on these land for ages, while the herders - Fulanis are pastoralist who are not land owning group in the area, who however, were initially seeking for pastures to feed their herds of cattle but now want to own land and settle on it. Drawn from observations, the issues include; the desire for land ownership, poor relationship between the groups and ethnic bias; drought and desertification and the cultural differences. The crises assumed a more serious dimension because; (i) It cost human-lives; (ii) It displaces farmers from the land into Internally

Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps, (iii) It leaves the land uncultivated, cultivated areas are destroyed by herds which used them as feeds. (iv) All these are likely to result into food scarcity with the attendant price increase on the available food (inflation).

The study set out the following objectives in the attempt to find lasting solutions to the seeming intractable problem. To understand the role of climatic change as a dynamic causal factor of the conflict; evaluate what must have caused a pastoralist to want to become land owners by displacing the aborigines; highlight the dynamics of the crisis because it involved people of different faith, different ethnic group and occupation a ascertain how the conflict, amount to serious threat to food security calculus in Nigeria.

The boundaries of this study started from 1999, though it would not be out of place to look into the incidences of Herders--Farmers clashes before 1999. This would enable the study assemble the frequency of occurrences and possible causalities. It would then interrogate the frequency of the crises in (I)1999-2006 (ii)2007-2015, (iii)2015-2023. The periodization of the study would enable the study to assemble data and provide analysis connecting the nature of the state in each period. The data would interrogate the high or low frequency of occurrence within each periods and evaluate the nature of the state in relations to the crises. We are here concern with critical analysis of earlier works conducted on this subject-matter. Thus, we will review, summarize and synthesize the high-points to establish the gaps in literature which the current work intends to fill.

Tsendzuul (2019), focused on the crises as a challenge to National Security. It utilized 'oral interview' and combined archival materials to extract further information on the situation. It concluded that the causal factors have both historical and contemporary dimensions. The historical factors included differences in culture, religion and politics of the 'dramatis personae', while the contemporary factors are not far from present political differences. The work sought political will from the state as the mechanism to deploy in settling the matter. Okoro (2018), addressed in his theme the socioeconomic consequences of the problem. It relied on works that were already done and concluded that; lives had been loss, displacement of farmers from their farms had taken place, distrust defined the relationship between these groups, destruction of property of the farmers and sometime the entire village had occurred severally. Food insecurity would certainly be the outcome of the scenarios. The work advised that a grazing area in the states should be created while they pay tax to the state where they are located. Adetunji and Ukhurebor (2020) on the effect of Herdsmen-Farmers clashes on food security. These scholars applied Key Informant Interviews (KII) to assemble data for their analysis. This was complemented by the application of archival materials obtained from various documents. The study revealed that there ought to exist symbiotic relationship between the actors where the cattle dung should form compost manure (organic fertilizer produce by decomposing organic materials, such as animal manure, plastic waste, and other biodegradable materials. Mnguashima and Olushola (2020), addressed the theme 'climate change' and the conflict it induces and the livelihood of farming households in Nigeria. The study was conducted in Guma and Logo local government areas. The methodology of study was, Focused Group Discussion and Key Informant Interview (FGD & KII). The following data set were obtained from these processes; i) Large scale destruction of property ii) Homelessness of farming families iii) Poor access to the markets iv) Farmlands became battlefields. v) Anti-Open Grazing law should help the situation, vi) Both communities presented similar facts.

Adetunji and Ukhurebor (2020) were of the idea that the persistent displacement of farmers from the farms would equal to food insecurity because there would be no food

all year round. Mnguashima and Olushola (2020), revealed that the herders abhorred designated grazing area and preferred to remain nomadic. Okoro (2018), Ajibefun (2018), proposed a grazing area as a panacea but here we are, the herders are rejecting it for their culture of nomadism. Akejiir (2018) on the other hand, emphasized 'Climate Change' as the major causal factor. It is instructive to ask: Why should the effect of climate change be felt negatively here. Is this the only place where climate change is having negative effect? Why has this not taken place elsewhere, where there are also nomadic groups? It is important to outline here that none of the submissions in these literature have gotten close to addressing the concerns of this study as espoused in the objectives and research questions. This gap the current study wish to fill at the end of the study.

2. Materials and Methods

Descriptive research was adopted and its essentially involved describing and summonsing the characteristics of the major *dramatis personnae* being the herders and the farmers in the areas where the study focused. Using secondary data sources, we assembled data about what happened, how they occurred and when they did with the consequences. Observations formed the major component of the methodology. This was complemented by case studies of specific events. We then identified the trends of the conflict, wherein we identified Herders who initially refused ranching because it was their custom to pastoral, occupying land, destroying farmlands and embarking on several cases of killings large number of villagers. They converted such villages to grazing land and in most cases changed original names of these villages.

The poor intervention measures and programs prescribed as solutions by the Government in the crises led the study to the conclusion of complicity., especially as the security services have never arrested nor prosecute any of the perpetrators of the crises. The content analysis component of this methodology aided the interpretation of the data assembled to generate the conclusion reached. The importance of this method was to obtain data concerning the current status of the crisis, to assist in decision-making(Ndiyo, 2005 p70), if Nigeria is to avoid food insecurity crisis, then specific steps as stated herein must be taken in the immediate to arrest the crisis in the study areas which constitute food basket of Nigeria.

Qualitative Data Presentation and validation of Research Questions

- 1) 1999-2015 the incidences of herders-farmers crisis were low in intensity and casualty figures.
- 2) 2016 -2018 According to Amnesty International in its 'Harvest of Death' (2018) 312 crises were recorded with harvest of deaths.

3)	2016	Agatu/Benues	50 people killed homes/farms burnt.
	*2016	Nimbo/Enugu	60 people murdered homes/farms sacked.
	*2016	Godogodo/Kaduna	30 people wasted homes/farms ransacked.
4)	2017	Zilan/Kaduna	5 slaughtered homes/farms looted.
	-2017	Bassa/Plateau	27 killed six villages destroyed.
5)	2018	Katibu/Adamawa	33 murdered with farms/homes destroyed.
	-2018	Birni-Gwari/Kaduna	162 killed with homes and farms ravaged.
	-2018	Guma/Logo/Mbaiom/	Benue state 80 and 2 priests murdered
	-2018	Riyom/Wase Plateau-	- xxxx (attack casualty figures unavailable)
	-2018	Bassa/Plateau-state	19 lives wasted

	-2018	Jema'a/Kaduna state 15 dead	
6)	2019	Adara/Kajuru/Kaduna 141 murdered (February 11).	
	-2019	Adara/Kajuru/Kaduna 130 killed (March 18).	
7)	-2020	Barakin-Ladi/Plateau xxxx (attack but figures not certained	
8)	-2022	Mbadwen/Guma/Benuec23 killed homes/farms plundered	
ŕ		Amnesty international (2018 & other sources).amnesty.org	

3. Results and Discusion

The data presented above documents the failure of the Nigerian Government in fulfilling its constitutional responsibility of protection of lives and property by refusing to investigate, arrest and prosecute perpetrators of attacks (Harvest of death, 2018). In the first level analysis the data above indicated several occurrences of the crises in and frequency of happening in Benue, Plateau, Adamawa, Kaduna -Taraba and Enugu states respectively. It should be noted all cases in Kaduna state occurred in Kaduna South where the former Governor Ahmed El Rufai informed the world that he had paid the killers to stop killing the people of Southern Kaduna to no avail. This can only be the clash of civilization and not Eco-Violence as touted by some persons. The locations of these crises are not isolated and insulated from global warming, thereby vitiating the validity of this theory of Eco-Violence to explicate and resolve the crises on the basis of its prescriptive principles. We are left with Samuel I. Huntington's theory as the most appropriate and capable of gas-lighting the latent and manifest driver of the crises.

In the second level analysis, we fused one of the objectives and the research question together and identify the human expediencies and behaviour through a non-numerical data for analysis. Thus, we reiterate, howbeit, that the Middle-belt is where non-Muslims inhabit as majority ethnic groups, seem to be where climate change does not present negative consequences.

If we are to accede to the postulate of 'Eco-Violence theory' that environmental degradation caused by climate change precipitated the crisis, why are the crises dominant in the Benue, Plateau axis of the zone?

According to Nextier Report (2021 and 2022), about 60,000 lives have been lost as a result of Herders/Farmers clashes, in the eight (8) years rule of former President Muhammed Buhari. The Christmas eve massacre in Plateau State where about 50 villages in Bokkos, Mangu and Brakin- Ladi Local Government Area of Plateau state were visited with bloodbath, was only a continuation of the criminal bravado of Fulani herdsmen that became poignant, persistent and common in the eight years. Nextier further reported that between 2017 and 20220, suspected Fulani attackers were reported to have carried out 654 attacks and killed 2539 Nigerians. Serial targeted mass killings have continued in the North Central states, especially Benue and Plateau States, including the 2021 attack on Bassa which killed numerous people. The other cases included the invasion of Agatu local government in February and March 2016 killed estimated 500 persons, 88 killed in Guma and Logo local government area. April 2016 attack on Nimbo town Uzo Uwani local government area of Enugu state with 20 dead (Agbakwuru, 2024).

It is important to note that outside the Plateau and Benue state axis, farmers/herders crises assume the form of kidnapping. The work of Nngushima and Olushola(2020) where the herdsmen were part of the sample population studied, they affirmed that they would not want to be enclosed in a ranch because nomadism is their nature. The killing must then be for another latent reason.

ii) The second goal and research question pointed at the contradictory assertion wherein nomadic and pastoralist group would change and want to be ranched in every local government in the country. What then prompted the pastoralist who are always nomadic, to now want to be accommodated in lands with rights and privileges as the aborigines? It could only be a ploy to grab the land which did not belong to them. Areas in Barakin Ladi, Bokkos and Mangu Local government area respectively have over 16 villages where the herders in conjunction with terrorists, the militant armed wing of the herders have chased away the aborigines into IDPs camps and changed the village names to theirs. Nanlong (2018) firmed up this point when she reported that '54 communities have been taken over by the invaders. The occupied comunities have ben renamed. This included; Rotchun (aka) Rafin Acha, Dakum renamed Mahanga, Hywe renamed Lugere, Fass renamed Tafawa. Senator Gyang Dantong and Honourable Gyang Fulani were all killed in this location.

Further to firm up the postulation of this work, the sitting Governor said 'if you think you can chase people out and grab their land, we as a government would not allow you to own the land (Simon Lalong cited in Nanlong 2018).

This is only explicable through the second theoretical foundation applied in the study. It would appear that the herders have double strategies, the violent clash of cultures in the Benue and Plateau basins to grab land and kidnapping and changing the culture of future generation in other areas. It would be recalled that the Chibok and Dapchi girls have all become mothers with several children with new cultural orientation. At this point the research question and objective have been proven beyond reasonable doubt that it is only a strategy to grab land. Furthermore, why would herders attack 50 villages in one fell swoop, if the intent is not to displace the aborigines and take over their land. In all these instances, homes and farmlands were massively destroyed.

Lastly, the Kwande United People's Organization (Kwupo), recently appealed to the government at all levels that they must act with utmost urgency to stop the genocide in Kwande Local Government Area and save our people from killer herdsmen who plan to occupy our land...our people are being killed daily in their homes and farms... (Kukwa-Yanor, 2024).

- iii) The research question three asserted that the differences in faith, occupation and ethnic group must have heightened, the intensity, frequency and casualties figures of the conflict. The fact that the herders/Farmers have no common ground for nation-building (unity) between them, define them as rivals on the basis of Huntington's clash of civilization theory. The absence of any basis of similarities made them 'civil enemy-combatants' with one seeking to exterminate the other and recover the land of their forefathers. The outcome of this type of socio-political factor can only be constant conflict as it is currently the case between the herders/farmers in mainly the middle belt and North central areas of Nigeria, seen through the perceptual prism of the clash of Civilization. The contestants in the context are ethnically different, culturally different, religiously different and occupationally different. What more is the quest to sack, annihilate, supplant or enslave the other? In so doing, one's civilization is considered superior to that of the other. This is the latent manifest driver of the crises and not Eco-Violence which is only an explanatory alibi.
- iv) The fourth research question posited that could it be that the inability of the Nigerian state to resolve the herders'/farmers crisis, would have consequences on food security in Nigeria. In the first place, all the areas where herders/farmers conflict are concentrated in Plateau state, Bokkos, Barakin Ladi, Riyom, Mangu and Miango are the national headquarters for Irish potatoes production in Nigeria. As the farmers get killed, chased

out of the farms into IDP Camps and their fields converted into grazing fields. Irish potatoes shortage has become the new order with the price per kilogram becoming very high. It is a truism that in all locations such as Benue state, lower Borno, upper Adamawa and Taraba states, agricultural practices are disrupted as farmers are now resident in Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps.

Again, whatever are produce in these locations would experience grave reduction in output. People mostly aborigines, indigenous to these locations are displaced from their ancestral homes. The markets are disrupted where there was a steady supply of the food products from these locations, the supply and consumption would no longer be steady. The supply chain get broken and the market get starved. The final outcome become increased food prices and inflation where we have less food supply and less money supply consequent upon hyper-inflation. This is the current situation in which Nigeria found itself because of the fear of herders attacking farmers in the farms. Food production has dropped there is no balance in production for the market as a result of herder/farmers crises.

Food insecurity is not a matter of when, but its already here. The 2023 Global Hunger Index, ranked Nigeria 109th out of 125 countries assessed with a score of 28.3, the document stated that Nigeria has a level of hunger that can be categorized as 'serious'...The Global Hunger Index further indicated that the major drivers of hunger globally included conflict...(Ekpu, 2024). The area of this study is characterized by conflict, which disrupt agricultural practices, which inadvertently disrupt agricultural value -chain and the markets. The area of study is replete with conflict or crisis as we termed it in this study, this has generated hunger as a result of crises or conflict. The crises of this study account for over 45 per cent of the current food insecurity.

4. Herders-Farmers Crises: State Responses

- i. In many of the states where the conflict has been endemic the respond had been a law by the parliament on Anti-Open-Grazing law. The number of states that have banned Open-Grazing included; Benue, Ekiti, Taraba, Ondo, Abia, Ebonyi, Rivers, Akwa Ibom states. However, these laws have proven to be ineffective because the two major institutions, the police and the military are controlled by the Federal Government, hence the states cannot obtain the permission to deploy the force against the herders. This was compounded in the Buhari years when security high command was a non-representative bureaucracy. They were all commanded by officers who were kith and kins of the herders.
- ii. In various states, dialogue was initiated between the feuding parties by the states government. In all cases the agreement between the herders and the farmers have never lasted and peace have not returned to the communities. The mediation have never been effective in reducing the conflict because of excuses of infidelity to the agreement. At other time the parties would claim that the perpetrators of the conflict were not their members. The inability to find a common ground for an agreement between the warring parties is located in Samuel Huntington's 'clash of civilization' theory.
- iii. Security measures of all shades have been created but these have failed to have any significant impact, either because of complicity or the preserve of the fifth-columnist in the security forces.

This narrative sound more plausible because of series of excuses from the security organizations on their inability to forestall the occurrences, at any time is suspect.

Howbeit that the intelligence unit of the various armed forces deploy to the conflict prone states, and locality have never been able to arrest perpetrators before their various killings of farmers?

- i. The Internally Displaced People's (IDPs) camps created have no budget and provisions by the Federal Government even with the creation of the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs. The IDPs camps are sustained through international donations rather than by the Federal and State Government respectively. An examination of the annual budgets of the various states which are the center piece of the conflicts have never had budgetary provisions for the IDP camps.
- ii. It is surprising that no perpetrators of the heinous crime of massacre is standing trial anywhere in the country, which would serve as deterrence to others. This is simply the failure of security, governance and leadership. Amnesty International found evidence that security forces received information about impending attacks and in some cases, came in contact with attackers but did nothing to stop or prevent attacks. Amnesty documented at least seven cases where security forces were aware of attacks but did nothing (Harvest of Death, 2018).

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

We had studied the problem along four scholastic trajectory directed by the research questions. We therefore conclude that the problem of Herders-Farmers seems intractable simply because the state seem an accomplice through its various institutions. At this point, the security architecture of President Buhari did not comply with the theory of Representative Bureaucracy by Professor Donald Kingsley. The ethnic origins of these officers was the same with that of the herders, thus, no one could effect the arrest of the herders even when present at the time of committing the crime. The case of an Inspector General of Police (IGP) directed by Mr. President to relocate to Benue state to halt the massive killings, but he refused and Mr. President who fanned ignorance remained a clear example of state complicity or fifth columnist. By this token, the state has not been able to arrest, investigate and prosecute the perpetrators at any time till this day. The rest of the country have set up one civil defense group or the other in anticipation of confronting the herders in their territory. This has created tension in the Mile -Belt against the rest of the north on the one hand and with the rest in Nigeria on the other. How do you explain the military attack on the family of Sunday Igbowo and the subsequent attempt to deport him from Benin-Republic? What was his crime? He only resisted the herders from killing and plundering the farmlands in western States, yet a pointer of state complicity.

Studies had initially indicated as reported here the earlier stand of the herders was that pastoralism is their culture hence would not give-into-ranching. An afterthought, ranching was now being touted as a ploy to grab land in the various states with financial benefit. Thus, it is only reasonable to state that the current attempt by herders association for land areas to settle, ranch and do business is but a ploy to grab land where they had none and to assert ownership of land thereof.

In conclusion, therefore, the narrative that climatic changes and environmental degradation account for the Herders-Farmers crises in Nigeria is but an 'alibi', and untrue. There is certainly a latent -manifest driver for the conflict, which is the quest to reclaim the land given to their forefathers (land ownership). This is the major driver of the conflict, heightened by religious, ethnic, cultural and occupational differences. Conflict anywhere generate food shortages, or insecurity which result in hunger which is imminent in Nigeria as a result of this conflict.

In line with the principles of scientific research in social sciences, the recommendations would be drawn along the lines of the four research questions which compassed the study. We had identified from the copious literature foraged in this study that climatic changes and environmental degradation had become a cliche as one of the causal factors for the herders-farmers conflict. The advocacy canvassed here were drawn from the lines of inquiry or investigative questions which guided the study thus;

a) We had identified climate change as one-line pattern of narrative to justify the crises. To this we submit that the Nigerian state should invoke its conflict management system to deal with the situation. First of all, all villages taken over by the herders and renamed should be return to the aborigines. It is justice which hold the state together, without which there is no state. The Middle-Belt states like other places are affected by the ubiquitous climatic changes and consequential desert encroachment. The desertification of the Lake Chad is not only an outcome of climate change but also the building 'Lado dam' on the river which feeds lake chad by the Republic of Cameroon. The Nigerian Government should assemble climate experts to identify alternative courses of actions to deal with the situation in order to minimize conflicts. The intensity of the conflict in the Middle-Belt, Dapchi, Chibok and the Gwosa areas which are not the only areas impacted negatively by climate change is a pointer that there are other latent-manifest drivers of the conflict which the government must uncover and deal with as recommended herein.

In order to further affirm the fact canvassed in the preceding paragraph, it is instructive to note that the herders had averred in several studies that nomadism and pastoralism is their nature which is in opposition to ranching. But the government of former President Muhammad Buhari later pushed for the narrative of ranching which would give the herders land areas in the 774 local government areas of the country. He provided Hugh budget for states that would take the initiative of accommodating Fulani herdsmen through this scheme. Few states took advantage but it has not douse the incident of herders-farmers in states such as Bauchi, in the Tafawa-Balewa Local Government Area till date.

b) To the issue of nomads who pride themselves of preferring itinerary life-style to a settle one, the federal government is hereby advised to operate ranches only in the north as Bauchi state which have done so. The beef could be frozen, packaged and conveyed to particular markets in the middle-belt states, Abuja, Lagos, Port Harcourt and other locations. This would provide other business opportunities and employment along the value-chains. It is pertinent to inquire why states such as Sokoto, Kano, Borno, Katsina have not taken advantage of the offer by Federal Government to provide land for ranching the herders? Again the Federal government is requested to act on the principles of Jeremy Bentham 'utilitarianism' to ensure the greatest happiness for the greatest number of the population, for this is a cardinal principle of governance. The failure to act as canvassed in this study would result to food insecurity. It is important to know that all forms of food originate from the farms. The herders-strategy had been to create conflict in the rural areas which produces all the foods which feed urban population. Consequently, chasing away survivors of their attacks from rural farmlands, and converting same to grazing land would amount to; (i) people having limited income or none at all hence poverty, (ii) the displacement of persons into IDPs lead to the loss of livelihood and limited food production, all these disrupt food production chains. (iii) The Cumulative effect of all these is general food insecurity. Nigeria is in the first phase of the impact of herders-farmers' crisis which is simply food-shortages, fiscal resource shortage and high inflationary rate.

c) Earlier in this study, we had applied 'the clash of civilization and the Remaking of the World Order which posited that future conflicts would be driven by cultural and religious differences. Consequently, the differences in faith, occupation ethnic group and history have turned the situation rightly into the 'clash of civilization' seeking the remaking of a new Nigerian order. A new order that would accommodate everyone justifiably is required. The problem is not climate change and soil degradation as touted, it is cultural, where the herders see the farmers as pagan possessing the best part of what should belong to the herders. This mindset can only be corrected through intensive nation an state-building. The second element required is first, the rise of a new leader in Nigeria who would embark on nation-building between the two cultures, through promoting dialogue. The leader should ensure that he gets the society to accept diversity as an assert. Thus, everyone should be made to respect the culture of others on the premise of tolerance. Peaceful conflict resolution resting on justice should be the main idea. The leader should then ensure that they share economic interests to reduce tensions which may vitiate economic expediencies expected.

Education of the parties is critical and addressing the root causes of the conflict is paramount. The persistence of herders-farmers conflict, is a failure of national leadership. This is because everything rises and fall on leadership. The state should be bold enough to deal with the issues without necessarily being political. Return all IDPs to their homes and ensure that they are secure in the homes and farms. Create incentives and mechanize farming with processing plant and food insecurity would be addressed. Finally, this study conclusively recommends the practice of over-oiling and changing Nigeria's federalism to devolve power to the states. In the process, provide for state supreme court, state-police which would be authorize to carry assault -rifles like the herdsmen. When there is a balance of power, the conflict would have diminished in the frequency of its occurrences.

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