



**FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT: EXPLORING THE CAUSES AND
MANAGEMENT APPROACHES IN THE LAKE CHAD REGION**

NIGERIA.

BY

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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, COLLEGE
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ABSTRAK (BAHASA MELAYU)

Abad ke-21 menyaksikan peningkatan konflik keganasan antara petani dan penggembala dalam kedua-dua koridor pedalaman Barat Laut dan Timur Laut Nigeria. Sejak kebelakangan ini, Tasik Chad telah menjadi salah satu medan pertempuran bagi konflik ini. Lembah ini mempunyai potensi ekonomi yang sesuai untuk kegiatan pertanian dan penggembalaan, lantas menarik penggembala dari zon yang mempunyai corak ekologi berbeza, seperti Chad, Niger dan Republik Cameroun untuk menetap di kawasan pedalaman di lembangan tasik Nigeria. Sememangnya, keganasan antara penggembala yang baru tiba dan petani tuan rumah yang membawa kepada beberapa pembunuhan dan kemusnahan telah menjadi satu kebiasaan dan semakin menjadi-jadi. Kajian ini yang menggunakan kaedah temubual dalaman (In-depth interview), perbincangan kumpulan fokus (Focus Group Discussion), serta pemerhatian bukan-peserta (Non-participant observation, dalam mengumpul data dari responden sasaran [petani; penggembala; pemimpin tradisional dan pegawai-pegawai kerajaan]. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa faktor faktor seperti kekurangan kawasan ragut dan laluan binatang peliharaan, perubahan di dalam sistem pemegangan tanah, kelemahan perundangan di kawasan pedalaman, perkembangan polisi pertanian, faktor-faktor ekonomi serta perubahan cuaca adalah penyumbang kepada punca jangka masa panjang konflik, manakala kemusnahan hasil tanaman, serangan ke atas binatang ternakan, kepercayaan etnik dan socio-budaya, peranan sesebuah negeri, faktor politik serta tingkah laku ganas penggembala telah membawa kepada punca serta merta konflik antara petani-penggembala di kawasan Tasik Chad. Kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa, di kawasan kajian, konflik diuruskan melalui pendekatan tradisional dan moden. Kepimpinan sosial, ekonomi, politik dan tradisional merupakan pendekatan tradisional, manakala pentadbiran, perundangan dan kehakiman merupakan pendekatan moden. Sebagai kesimpulannya, kedua dua pihak; petani dan penggembala percaya evolusi. Negara moden telah mengubah sistem urus tadbir konflik tradisional berdasarkan komuniti yang telah dibangunkan berdasarkan kesucian norma norma dan nilai nilai tradisi. Akhir kata, kajian ini mencadangkan satu alternatif untuk menguruskan konflik antara petani dan penggembala di dalam masyarakat majmuk di Nigeria, yang menekankan kepada strategi pencegahan melalui urus tadbir yang baik.

ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

The 21st Century heralded an upsurge of violent conflict between farmers and herders in the two pastoral corridors of Northeast and Northwestern Nigeria. The Lake Chad region has been one of the battlefields for these conflicts in recent years. The basin's economic potentials for both farming and herding attracted herders from other ecological zones, in Chad, Niger and Cameroun Republics to settle in the hinterlands of the Nigerian lake basin. Indeed, violence became common and widespread between newly arrived herders and their host farmers leading to several killings and destructions. The study utilized In-depth Interview, Focus Group Discussion, Non-participant observation in eliciting data from targeted respondents [farmers; herders; traditional leaders and government officials]. The study found out that, factors such as inadequate grazing reserve and stock routes; changes in land tenure system; insufficient legislation pastoralism; expansion in agricultural policies; economic factors and climate change are the long-term causes of the conflict. While crop damage; cattle raids; ethnicity and socio-cultural believes; the role of the state; political factor and herders' aggressive behaviors have been responsible for the immediate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad region. The study also found out that, there exist traditional and modern approaches through which farmer-herder conflicts are manage in the study area. The traditional approaches include social, economic, political and traditional leadership. While administrative, legislative and judicial constitute the modern approaches. In conclusion, both farmers and herders believe that the evolution of modern state has altered their community-based traditional conflict management systems that developed on the sanctity of traditional norms and values. Finally, the study articulated an alternative proposal for managing of farmer-herder conflict in a plural society like Nigeria, which emphasizes prevention strategies through good governance.

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Thursday 14th July 2011 will remain indelible in my mind because it was a mix feeling of joy and sadness. On that day morning, I successfully presented and defended my thesis for the award of PhD with joy and happiness. Barely eight hours later, had the joy suddenly cut short when I received the saddest news of the death of my beloved wife Hadiza Mohammed Kala (May her soul rest in ALJANNA FIDDAUSI) leaving behind four children (Maryam 6, Mohammed 4, Ahmad 2 and Aisha the youngest 4/months). Unmindful of all odd she stayed with me in Malaysia for seven months during my studies. Her impeccable love, support, patience and perseverance, advices are partly responsible for my successes in life. My prayers for her, our deceased parents and our children will endlessly remain until eternity.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved late wife Hadiza Mohammed Kala and my children Maryam Hamman, Mohammed Hamman, Ahmad Hamman and Aisha Hamman. May Allah bless them. Ameen.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MACBAN: MIYETTI ALLAH CATTLE BREEDERS ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA.

FAN: FARMERS ASSOCIATION NIGERIAN

CBDA: CHAD BASIN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

LIC: LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT

HIC: HIGH INTENSITY CONFLICT

NGO: NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

LCBC: LAKE CHAD BASIN COMMISSION

ENCOP: ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT PROJECT

IUCNNR: INTERNATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATION OF NATURE
AND NATURAL RESOURCES

GDP: GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

GIWA: GLOBAL INTERNATIONAL WATER ASSESSMENT

UNDP: UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

FACU: FEDERAL AGRICULTURAL COORDINATING UNIT

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The Nigerian state is a product of colonization contrived and conceded by the British in 1960. Nigeria is currently having an estimated population of over 154.7 million people (UNDP, 2009). Approximately, 70 - 80 percent of these populations are predominantly farmers leaving in the rural areas (UNDP, 2009).

The re-emergence of democratic rule in 1999 heralded a re-newed conflicts and convulsions, ranging from ethnic crises, religious intolerance, political instability and proliferation of resource conflicts, absence of good governance as well as lack of development. Nation building continued to suffer from strong divisive forces of ethnicity, religion and natural resources conflict, which presupposes the weakening of national cohesion and integration (Maiangwa and Ahmadu, 2007).

Most prominent resource conflicts are the upsurge of hostilities in the oil rich Niger Delta Region in Southern Nigeria, and widespread violence between two dominant production communities (farmers and herders) in Northern part of the country. Farmer-herder conflicts have existed since early beginning of agriculture in Africa (Fratkin, 1997). Nevertheless, its continued manifestation into violence against the backdrop of resource scarcity, increase in the population of resource users, lack of adequate grazing reserves and poor state of the existing ones, unequal resource distribution and the consequent failure of patrimonial states, the region has been susceptible to antecedents of what Robert Kaplan (1994) described as the “coming anarchy”. Farmer-herder conflicts are among the key manifestations of this anarchy and this is linked with the region’s socio-economic and political ecology (Kaplan, 1994; Hussien, 1998; Shettima and Tar, 2008).

Generally, less developed countries such as Nigeria, may probably be affected most by these conflicts than the developed societies (Homer-Dixon, 1991). In other words the less developed societies first, are financially poor, second, they lacked the material ability to tackle environmental problems, third, intellectually less developed societies are backward. Above all their social, economic and political institutions are weak and feeble. Eventually, the less developed societies can hardly deal effectively with environmental degradation as required (Homer-Dixon, 1991). Baechler, (1997) further emphasized that:

'Empirical observations provide ample evidence for the assumption that human transformation of the environment concerned with underlying development phenomenon of a historical nature, in which countries that have poor problem-solving capacity suffer the most. Development and transitional societies or, more precisely expressed, marginalized areas in these countries are affected by an interplay among environmental degradation, social erosion and violence that intensifies crises. Crisis areas prone to conflict are found in arid and semi-arid eco-regions, in mountain areas with highland-lowland interaction, areas with river basins sub-divided by state boundaries, zones degraded by mining and dams, in the tropical forest belt, and around expanding urban centers. Historically situated, culturally bound societal relationships to nature are subjected to upheaval and put acutely at risk in sub-regions of Africa, Latin America, Central and South-east Asia.' (p36.)

In fact, ecological marginalization and social interactions have substantially influenced farmer-herder conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, Farmer-herder conflicts in Senegal valleys, degenerated into border conflicts between Senegal and Mauritania in 1999, (Homer-Dixon, 1999; Schmitz, 1999). In South-west Burkina Faso, conflict between *Fulani* pastoralist and *Dagora, Birifor and Lobi* farmers has been a recurring decimal (Tonah, 2002). Sudan is also facing farmer-herder conflicts in Southern and Northern *Kordofan*. Ethiopia is also grappling with farmer-herder conflict in *Quowet Wareda* of *Amhara* region resulting from increase

pressure on land (Daniel, 2003). Currently, in Nigeria, farmer-herder conflict has been a major conflict that forms the list of unresolved national question (Maiangwa and Ahmadu, 2007).

Much of the recent literatures on farmer-herder conflict suggest that the upsurge of conflict between these two economically related groups metamorphosed into group solidarity confronting each other in a violent manner (see for example, Tonah, 2006; Shettima and Tar, 2008; Moritz, 2008; Ofuoku and Isife, 2009). These literatures dwelled on some major factors such as changes in resource use practices and the intense competition over these resources; increasing is breakdown of traditional mechanisms for managing both resources and conflicts; ethnicity and socio-cultural believes; socio-economic and political factors; and the failure of the Neopatrimonial states to meet up to their responsibilities. The above factors justify the claim that resource policies needed to be dynamic in order to rollback the negative influences of violence. The argument that the intensity of these conflicts, is increasing in West Africa lacked enough empirical evidence (Hussein, 1998, Hussein et al 1999). Nevertheless, the tenacity of these widespread farmer-herder conflicts is not in dispute (Ajuwon, 2004; Tonah, 2006; Ofuoku and Isife, (2009).

Establishment of pastoral grazing areas, long-term and short-term land reforms, political support from the local pastoral and farming associations are suggestions to be part of future policies (Besset, 1986; Vedeld, 1994; Hussein, et al, 1999).

Environmental conflict researchers were optimistic that factors such as growing tensions over renewables, because of increase in population of users; increase in the population of herds; expansion in cultivation have been advance to explain the causes of scarcity. Thereafter, scarcity and competition are the basis for conflict

between farmers and herders in West Africa (Hjort, 1982; Toulmin, 1983; Bennet, 1991; Bruisers et al 1998; Homer-Dixon, 1999; Richards, 2001; Little, 2003; Tonah, 2006; Shettima and Tar, 2008 and Ofuoko and Isife, 2009).

Toulmin, (1983) in her analysis, portrayed the nature of pastoral resources that seems competitive and divisive among pastoral societies in Africa. This emanated from three groups, cultivators, pastoral groups, and new livestock owners. She further argued that, agricultural encroachment, pastoralists political powerlessness especially in terms of decision making has unprecedentedly increase farmer-herder competition in recent decades.

According to Vedeld, (1992) the passionate decision by various governments in West Africa in expanding agriculture resulted into farmers gradually encroaching into grazing areas. However, this development, particularly in sub Saharan Africa where competition between farmers and herders is so prominent and contentious, struggles over key resources always increase and greater chances for conflicts also becomes impossible (Scoones, 1995).

Besides, the failure of developmental plans, ineffective state policies, and deterioration in the mechanism for resource conflict management has further cumulatively compounded the problems. For example, decrease availability of natural resources in desert regions in the 1980s and 1990s due droughts; However, resource scarcities metamorphosed into livelihood struggles among the poor rural populace (Hussien, 1998).

Environmental security researchers like Bachler, (1999) and Homer-Dixon, (1999), argued that ‘there is no direct relationship between resource scarcity and conflict’. Moritz, (2002) criticized the position of political ecologists among them Peluso and

Watts. He questioned the relationship of ‘automatic linkage’ between resource scarcity and conflict. They posit that resource scarcity is not a direct link to conflict but rather, a long-term, social, political and economic interaction between farmers and herders that turn to be conflictive. In addition, he argued that, the direct relationship of conflict with resource scarcity requires a careful examination in relation to farmer-herder conflict.

Tensions and violent conflict have long affected pastoral areas in many parts of Africa. Herders were involved in violent conflict at different levels, ranging from cattle raiding, conflicts over natural resources and political rebellion and divisive movements. For example, droughts often spark or escalate conflicts over natural resources (Markakis, 2000 cited in Pavanello, 2009). Pastoral groups move over larger tracts of land in search of available grazing and water sources. This movement often leads to fierce competition over scarce resources, and in many cases it becomes a source of tension or overt conflict between different communities, both nomadic and settled (Pavanello, 2009).

However, the environment and its associated tendencies in the context of degradation and depletion, climatic changes and other ecological problems often do caused resource conflict but are not the only factors (Frerks, 2007). He argued that conflicts are in most cases, a contradiction of multiplicity of factors acting together; for instance, socio-economic and political factors, are often mobilized by conflict ‘entrepreneurs’ through identity politics in order to promote disunity and hate (Frerks, 2007).

From a different perspective, Hagher, (2003) looked at ‘the current phenomenon of violence between farmers and herders in Northern Nigeria from variety of factors, which have little to do with herding or farming. Herders and farmers will always

have their fights over land and its resources, because both of them are bonded to their farms and livestock in a special relationship that is not merely physical but also spiritual’.

Studies by Milligan and Binns, (2007), cited in Shittima and Tar, (2008) have seriously question the assumption, ‘which narrowly seems to consider gradual increase in population, resource scarcity and lack of effective resource management system as an end results of farmer-herder conflicts. Arguing that such “crisis narratives” are technicist in approach and have the tendency to obscure other points of view, in particular the symbolic nature of rural societies an the degree of multiple norms and values inherent in these societies has not been taking into cognizance.

Herding communities predominantly resides in rural areas, and their economic livelihood is dependent on the rural resource. Presence of government in this areas are limited or completely absent. In most cases herders are expose to threats of raids and attacks from farmers and fellow herders. Under this circumstance, herders due inevitably provide security of their lives and properties either individually or as a group. In the process of providing security to their lives and properties, they often develop aggressive behaviors. This also strengthens their determination and extremism towards any threat such as insult, raids among others. Hence, herders can kill in defense of their herds. Therefore, a herders’ reputation are often associated with his ability to defend his herd (Moritz, 2008:100).

Another study by Shettima and Tar, (2008:173) reported that, ‘in addition to the environmental factors; ethnic factors also play causal role in farmer-herder conflict in West Africa. For example, the ethnic dimensions to the conflict often appear to oppose two broad ethnic and socio-cultural groups - *Fulani* ethnic community who

are predominantly herders versus a population of group of sedentary farmers, who are made-up of a variety of ethnic groups'. While buttressing their argument, they cited earlier studies by Bruesers, (1988), Tonah, (2006), summarizes that,

'the ethnic dimension to conflict indicates not only the increase in competition over natural resources due to what they called 'saturated space', but also a breakdown in the balance between the two groups. Resource conflicts mostly interpreted as xenophobia, and can be exploited by local or national politicians (Bruisers, et al 1988:359). While the later asserts that, farmer and herder groups have very different norms and values, customs, physical and cultural characteristics. Frequent dispute between them, are in many cases characterized as ethnic conflict' (Tonah, 2006, cited in Shettima and Tar, 2008 p 173).

In a more recent study, Ofuoko and Isife, (2009) explained that, 'the feeling of belongingness that is extant among members of the group [*Fulani nomads*] is focus around their economic interest and the protection of the values, cultures and power of group. The *Fulani* nomadic cattle herders being a minority in the host communities have a unique culture and strong sense of solidarity. They are often isolated from the farming population. In such cases, conflict between herders and the host farming communities is easily regarded as having an ethnic color'.

From the foregoing literatures, beside environmental decadence, conflict analysts tried to link ethnicity and socio-cultural disparities between farmers and herders as one of the most critical causes of the conflict. However, the growing literatures on environmental resource conflicts have not yet provided exhaustive intellectual discourse on how these ethnic mobilizations interact to unleash conflict between farmers and herders in a heterogeneous society like Nigeria. More so, the role of the Nigerian states and its institutions in farmer-herder conflicts has also been academically impoverished. In order to build on and complement the current

literatures on the causes of farmer-herder conflicts, this research study will among other things advance further research on the causes of the conflict and its management approaches in the Lake Chad basin and by extension draw examples where necessary from Sub-Saharan Africa.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Several researchers have come to the consensus that farmer-herder conflict is widely spread in terms of recurrence and intensity in Sub-Saharan Africa (see Karim, 1998; Homer-Dixon, 1999; Baechler, 1999; Roger, 2001; Shettima and Tar 2009).

The general deteriorating fortunes of pasture in some parts of Sub-Saharan Africa since early 1990s, arising from the effects of desertification, land degradation, unstable rainfall and other climatic factors, ‘pushed’ the *Fulani* pastoralist to abandon their respective traditional ecological range in the neighboring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon republics, and moved inwards into the Nigerian side of the basin. Paradoxically, they were ‘pulled’ by the availability of pasture around the shores of the Lake Chad. This led to increasing population of both herds and herdsmen.

Increasing population of herds and herders coincided with two major agricultural expansion programs [newly established *Fadama* Program and Chad Basin irrigation projects] to facilitate the production of wheat and rice through dry season farming. This led to shrinkage in pastoral lands, resource scarcity and competition over limited resources. The cumulative impacts of these developments combined with other factors such as the absence of legislation on pastoralism, land tenure system, inadequate and poor state of the existing grazing reserves, economic factors and the role of the state among others triggered conflicts over access to pastoral lands and

farmlands between desperate farmers and hungry herdsmen in the study area.

According to Roger, et al (2003)

'... expansion of riverside and valley-bottom 'fadama' [irrigation] farming since the 1990s and the influx of herders into the river banks meant that herders and farmers are now competing very directly for access to river banks with a consequent increase in conflict.'(p9)

Eventually grazing reserves and stock routes that separate pastoral land from cultivable land collapsed. Farmers gradually encroached into the grazing areas, while herders too graze on farmlands. Farmers always complain of crop damage by herders while herders too complain of occupation of grazing reserves by farmers. Both parties continued to take laws into their hands by embarking on violent attacks and counter attacks leading to hostilities and destruction of lives and properties on several occasions. Hagher, (2003) argued that, the new violent outflow of brutal wars, between nomadic herders and farmers, can be attributed to state collapse and the rise of ethnic militia as well as indigene-settler syndrome.

Nomadic pastoralists continue to face alienation from indigenous farmers. Land ownership, differences in socio-cultural and ethnic background became the subject of alienation. Farmers always regard nomadic pastoralists as landless over claims and right to land because their disposition depend on availability of pasture or otherwise.

'Even the local resource management programs of the 1990s and beyond have reinforced the alienation of mobile pastoralists by supporting village claims over territory (Marty, 1993:329; Painter, et al, 1994:18; Turner, 1999:14).'

Moritz, (2002) observed that, in almost all West Africa, the right of a farmer to clear lands are automatic while herders' right is only over use but not possession even

after several years of use. This alienation continued to deepen along ethnic and socio-cultural cleavages.

These groups continued mobilization of their ethnic nationalities for group solidarity. For instance, in 2001 dispute between farmers and pastoralists resulted into ethnic clashes between the *Fulani* pastoralists and *Kanuri* farmers in Borno State. Nine people were killed in the clash (Vanguard April 18, 2001). In 2002 hostilities between *Fulani* pastoralists and *Berom* natives in *Jos*, about three hundred people killed while several sustain injuries (Thisday, March 6, 2002). There was also counter attack on ethnic *Dume* farmers by *Fulani* herders, which left many people death (DailyTrust March 4, 2003).

Some studies conclude that ethnicity has become a key player in conflict between farmers and herders (see Tonah, 2000; Shettima and Tar, 2008). However, how this ethnic mobilization interacts with other forces exacerbate conflicts between these groups lacked adequate research attention.

Another fundamental issue is the approaches towards the management of these conflicts. Traditional institutions as custodians of culture and traditions, have assumed authority over land and its resources since pre-colonial days. As traditional leaders, they have hitherto exercised a high degree of hegemonic control over people and resources in their areas of influence. As such traditionally, they have relatively managed community conflicts including that of farmers and herders. The emergence of state as a modern bureaucratic institution unprecedentedly altered and eroded the traditional community-based conflict management systems. The distortion was further deepening since the promulgation of Land Use Decree of 1978. This shifted power of control and allocation of lands from traditional institutions to state

bureaucrats such as the State Governors and Local Governments Council Chairmen (see Grazing Reserve Law No. 4, 1965; Land Use Decree, 1978).

Hence, State and Local Government Authorities, police and law courts have assumed a new constitutional role of conflict management. Because it opposes the traditionally embedded systems, it lacked community confidence. Farmer-herder conflict continued to be frequent and widespread while management of these conflicts becomes a nightmare. The study argued that, modern conflict management system has failed to integrate the traditional norms and values of these societies. As such, the efficacy of the system lacked confidence from the traditional societies.

Beside, modern conflict management institutions are operationally and structurally reactive in approach. Reactive approach focuses on 'paying the price' in form of punishment, while proactive approach emphasized much on prevention and advocacy for attitudinal change.

To buttress this claim Otite, (2004) while making a general appraisal of conflict management situation in his works on managing community conflicts in Nigeria, conclude that:

'Cessation of physical violence in the feuding communities in Nigeria is usually followed by the setting up of commissions of enquiry to look into the civil disturbances. Such a commission would take evidence from all parties to the conflict. The report of the commission is presented to government at a widely publicized occasion and the people never hear anything after that until another round of violence breaks out in the area.....'.(p22)

After engaging the study in reviewing relevant literatures, first, there is lack of comprehensive understanding of the causes farmer-herder conflicts. Secondly, both

earlier and recent researches on conflicts have not devoted much intellectual attention on farmer-herder conflicts.

Thirdly, there is inadequate research, on how ethnicity and ethnic mobilizations, interact with other factors to cause/aggravate farmer-herder conflict in the study area.

Fourthly, modern institutions for conflict management focuses much on the use of reactive strategies rather than proactive or both. The researcher believes that a detailed study on the above research inadequacies can significantly filled the apparent research gaps in the study of farmer-herder conflicts.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study provided some questions for purposes of providing answers. In order to achieve the general and specific objectives:

- i.* What are the long-term and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area?
- ii.* To what extent does resource scarcity influence farmer-herder conflicts?
- iii.* To what extent do socio-cultural factors interact in causing farmer- herder conflicts in the study area?
- iv.* What are the existing farmer-herder conflict management approaches in the study area?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

Generally, the objective of this research study is to explore a detailed analysis of the remote and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflict and the inherent management approaches in the Lake Chad basin area as part of the research contribution to knowledge. By extension, examples are made where necessary, from Sub-Saharan Africa and beyond for reference and comparative analysis. However, it is our belief that, advancing these studies, will definitely achieve the broad objective of contributing to the body of knowledge. In achieving the general objectives, the study identified the following specific objectives:

- i.* To identify the long-term and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflict in the study area.
- ii.* To establish how resource scarcity influence farmer-herder conflicts.
- iii.* To explore how ethnicity and other socio-cultural factors interact to cause farmer - herder conflicts in the study area.
- iv.* To identify the existing conflict management approaches.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The African Continent has since earned reputation in conflicts over ethnic, religious, resource upsurge and increasing farmer-herder clashes. In Africa today, conflict seems a permanent threat to life and livelihood. Sustainable development becomes near impossible. Continuous conflict between farmers and herders in the Lake Chad basin is part of these threats to peace and stability in the region. Under these circumstances, the need to provide theoretical recommendations and suggestions is not only fundamental but also paramount. It is therefore necessary to undertake studies in areas that breeds conflicts such as the area under study. This will enable us make a balance sheet of analysis of all contending forces, in order to find an effective strategy for not only mitigating the conflict but develop a sustainable mechanisms for managing and responding to these conflicts. Environmental resource conflicts emerged as a new field of research in the late 1980s when environment complexities has been discovered to be a security threat in United State and some parts of Europe. Hence, it is significant to engage research especially in conflict-pruned societies like Nigeria. Findings of the research study will enhance policy analysts to foster peace building in the affected area. The study expects to fill apparent gaps and also help in the development of knowledge in the following ways:

- ❖ Research in farmer-herder conflicts are important modeling instruments for social reformers who would like to identify the social forces that strengthen peace and those otherwise.
- ❖ The research data becomes significant in expanding the understanding of conflict management approaches.

- ❖ The findings of the study on ethnic dimension to farmer-herder conflicts have provided a road map for further research in that aspect.
- ❖ The study developed an alternative proposal for managing farmer-herder conflict, which may significantly help in conflict prevention.

In addition, the study serves as a source of researched information to different consumers for different purposes. These consumers includes among others:

- ❖ Federal, States and Local Governments in Nigeria.
- ❖ Regional organizations such as the Lake Chad Basin Commission[LCBC]
- ❖ Agencies engaged in sustaining the lake basin
- ❖ To International organizations, NGOs, and CSOs that wants to embark on advocacy program in the study area.
- ❖ To researchers, policy makers, political leader and administrators who want to advance further studies on the subject under study.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

i. THE CHOICE OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

The increasing utilization of qualitative research genre among social and management scientists in recent times is a testimony of its efficacy as a mode of research enquiry. However, many of these qualitative genres derived from traditional and interdisciplinary scholarship, frequently used in policy studies and professional fields. As Denzin and Lincoln, (1994:152) noted, ‘the extent to which the qualitative revolution is taking over the social sciences and related professional fields is nothing short of amazing’.

Qualitative approach enabled the researcher access data from the ‘*nomadic Fulani*’ herdsmen or pastoralists, whose disposition is mostly during market days or find them in remote bushes because they are not sedentarized to a specific place like crop farmers. Their stay or movements are predetermined by availability of pasture or otherwise. Secondly, from available records, about 95 percent of both farmers and herders population in the basin, are illiterates who can neither read nor write (Onuaha, 2008:5).

Above all, utilization of qualitative research method emphasized discovery rather than testing hypothesis. Data generated through observation and in-depth interviews with respondents helps the researcher understand the meaning that every day activities have for individuals (Marshall and Rossman, 1995:23). Again Marshall and Rossman, (2006) asserts that:

‘Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of social phenomenon. Its various genres are naturalistic, interpretive and increasingly critical and they draw on multiple methods of enquiry’.
(p2)

In their studies, Rossman and Rallis, (2003:10) have shown that qualitative researches have the following characteristics. The findings are:

- ❖ Naturalistic
- ❖ Draw on multiple methods that respect the humanity of participants in the study.
- ❖ Focuses on context
- ❖ Is emergent and evolving
- ❖ Interpretive

To summarize it all, researchers who use qualitative approach such as Denzin and Lincoln, (1994), Marshall and Rossman, (1995 and 2006) attested to its efficacy in getting wider views especially in social sciences research. They concluded that qualitative genre encompasses the holistic view of the social world, sensitive to social identities and rely on complex reasoning. Particularly, focus group discussion enables not only the researcher but also other discussants to listen to others opinions and understanding to form their own. However, one-on-one interview may be impoverished because the participant had not reflected on the topic and feels unprepared to respond. While in focus-group setting are deceptively simple and easily promotes the participants expression of their views through the creation of a supportive environment. According to Marshall and Rossman, (2006:114) the advantage of focus-group interview are that this method is socially oriented, studying participants in an atmosphere more natural than artificial experimental circumstances and more relaxed than a one-on-one interview – the results have high “face validity”.

All these characteristics are critical and relevant to the understanding of conflicts between farmers and herders in their remote environments. The study engaged qualitative research in understanding and interpreting the conflictive relationship between farmers and herders in their natural settings. Because of their rural background and educational disadvantage, multi qualitative approaches such as in-depth interviews and observations are having a holistic view and interpretation of why conflicts occur between these economically interrelated groups and how they are manage in a typical rural society as the case of the Lake Chad region.

ii. TARGET RESPONDENTS

Farmers and herders occupying the Lake Chad basin form the target population. The essence of sample size is to determine the number of respondents that will represent the larger population in the study area. The study selected ten rural communities as its area of coverage. Five out of the ten communities, directly connected to the main Lake Chad basin. These communities are *Kukawa, Marte, Ngala, Mobbar* and *Monguno*. While the second five, are the next nearest communities to the basin. These are *Mafa, Nganzai, Guzamala, Dikwa* and *Konduga*. In choosing these communities, two factors guided the selection. First, their proximity to the banks of Lake Chad attracted large concentration of farmers and herders because there is availability of pasture and water for herding and dry season farming [irrigation]. Secondly, the availability of economic potentials for herding and farming activities in these areas, brought farmers and herders in close contact with consequences of conflict.

Since the study is an exploratory one, involving focus group and interview, two separate focus group discussion held. First focus group discussion involves farmers

at *Koleram* village in *Marte* Local Government. The second focus group discussion also engaged herders in *Madayi* village in *Kukawa* Local Government. The sample size for both first and second focus group discussion comprised of six respondents purposefully selected from the targeted population of farmers at the first instance, and from among the targeted population of herders for the second focus group discussion. Twenty people interviewed during my in-depth interview with farmers, herders and other community leaders in the study area. The respondents spread across the ten selected rural communities, covered by the study. At least one and at most two individuals interviewed per local government. Purposive sampling method was used in selecting these respondents.

iii. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Arising from my choice of qualitative research above, the use of primary data precisely, observation, in-depth interview and focus group discussion with targeted farmers, herders and some leaders has help the study in having a holistic view and first hand information, on why farmer-herder conflicts occur and how it is manage in the study area. In line with the basic steps suggested by Strauss and Corbin, (1990:16):

The first task during my data collection, was obtaining consensus from respondents to engage in the interview. I was able to obtain their consensus through the assistance of some traditional leaders such as the ward heads and village heads. The interview could not have been possible if not for the timely intervention of these traditional leaders, because rural populace always have some fears and skepticism in dealing with strange or unfamiliar persons in their community.

The second task in my data collection process, was identifying key issues, events that are recurrently mention, categories of the problem and examples where necessary. During my both focus group discussion and in-depth interviews, respondents identify and mention some key issues more often, such as, desertification, lack of grazing reserves, ethnicity, land tenure use and practice, economic factor and the nature of the state bureaucracy as most critical and key issues in causing farmer-herder conflicts. For example, ethnicity is one of the major themes, but controversy over who is an indigene and who is a settler between farmers and herders has added another dimension to ethnicity as a factor. To be an indigene one must be speaking the native language and learn the culture of his host community.

After getting the data, I engaged the data in discovering social processes and conflictive relationships between farmers and herders. While focusing on the main categories, the study finally came-up with its results and findings as presented in chapter four and five of the report.

Based on the suggestions given by Strauss and Corbin, (1990:16), the study provided a more detailed account of procedures and methods followed in obtaining data during the fieldwork. These methods include in-depth interview, focus group discussion, non-participant observation and content analysis of some written literatures specifically from Borno State Directorate of Livestock, in order to obtain accurate, reliable and fulfilling research information.

A) IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW - The study utilized one-on-one in-depth interview as an important instrument for collecting data. Merriam, (1998:16) explains further, ‘in all form of qualitative research, some and occasionally all of the data are collected through interview’. An interview is describe as a conversation with a purpose (Kahn

and Cannel, 1957:45). ‘Interviews have particular strengths that yield data in quantity quickly (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:101).’ Perhaps, combining in-depth interview and observation in a qualitative research allow the researcher comprehend the changes that every day events means (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:101).

The use of qualitative interview questions forms the basic characteristics of the interview sessions with broad guidelines in an ‘interview guide’. In qualitative research, asking open-ended questions gives the participants the opportunity to disclose their views without being constrained by the researcher’s views. Creswell, (2008:225) explained that, ‘an open-ended interview creates forum for many options for respondents. The interview continued with more probing questions depending on the respondent’s responses.

However, unmindful of the time consuming and cost involved in conducting in-depth one-on-one interview approach, the study went ahead by exploring the approach in obtaining bulk of the data. Twenty respondents spread across ten local governments were engaged in obtaining data. This gave me the opportunity to share ideas and discuss widely with farmers, herders and other experience persons in the study area. As suggested by Creswell, (2008) the researcher asked one question at a time and records answers from only one respondent at a time. Most of data used in discussing the causes of farmer-herder conflict in chapter four of this study are obtain through one-on-one in-depth interview. Table 1 below shows the summary of the entire in-depth one-on-one interview conducted, the place, when and with which category of respondent.

TABLE 1: INDEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

S/N	LOCAL GOVT. AREA	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE	FARMERS	HERDERS	TRADITIONAL RULERS	OTHERS
1	DIKWA	AJIRI	23/4/10	ONE	*	ONE	*
		GULUMBA	24/4/10				
2	GUZAMALA	GUDUMBALI	2/5/10	ONE	*	*	*
3	MAFA	BULAKUMKUM	8/4/10	*	ONE	ONE	*
		NGOM	8/4/10				
4	MARTE	KOLERAM	3/2/10	ONE	ONE	*	*
		KERENEWA	4/2/10				
5	MOBBAR	DAMASAK	30/3/10	ONE	ONE	*	*
6	MONGUNO	WULARI	14/3/10	*	ONE	ONE	*
		MONGUNO	15/3/10				
7	NGALA	WULGO	22/2/10	ONE	ONE	*	*
		MALONE	23/2/10				
8	NGANZAI	GAJIRAM	5/5/10	*	*	*	ONE
9	KONDUGA	KONDUGA	10/5/10	ONE	*	*	*
10	KUKAWA	DORONBAGA	16/1/10	*	ONE	*	*
12	MAIDUGURI	MAIDUGURI	15-19/5/10	*	*	*	FOUR
TOTAL				SIX	SIX	THREE	FIVE

Farmers = 6; Herders = 6; Traditional Rulers = 3;

Others = 5; (Includes: Government officials, and Associations)

Total One-on-One In-depth Interview Respondents = **Twenty (20)**

B) FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION - In order to have a shared understanding from targeted population, farmers and herders constitute our focus group in the study area. The rationale for conducting focus group interview is to interview people who have had certain experience uninterrupted. The focus group interview was in a relatively unstructured way, in order to allow them voice their experience. The study engaged six individuals as discussants in each of the two separate focus group discussion conducted with farmers in Koleram village in Marte Local Government, and with herders in Madayi village in Kukawa Local Government. This technique purposely utilized by this study as a prime technique for data collection, in saturating information from the discussants. However, the researcher was actively engaged in guiding the interview by raising issues framed for the discussion. Different sets of questions such as why do you engage in violent conflict? What are your experiences in the conflict? What are the local management systems in your community? The general aim of the discussion is for the researcher to trigger issues for discussion and promote active group participation. All contents of the discussions recorded in the researcher's note for latter transcription. The interpretation of views of farmers and herders from each of the focus group discussion conducted was presented, in the findings of the study in chapters four and five.

C) NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION - Generally, observation method whether from far or near, a participant observer entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors in the social setting chosen for the study. Observation is a fundamental and highly important method in all qualitative enquiries. Even in studies using in-depth interviews as the case for this study, observation plays an important role as the researcher notes the interviewee's body language and affect in addition to his words (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:99). The rationale for doing observation in

this study is to understand the social relationships between farmers and herders in the study area. These social relationships include inter-marriages, festivals and ceremonies, associations among others, which are very important peace-building instruments.

Creswell, (2008) outline some steps of observation regardless of participant or non-participant enquiry. These steps are: a) identify the observation site b) identify who, what, when and how long to observe c) role of an observer d) recording notes during observation e) what information to record during observation, and f) record descriptive and reflective notes.

In order to elicit data through non-participant observation, the researcher identified Madayi village in Kukawa Local Government as the location for the observation as suggested by (Creswell, 2008). My frequent visits and stay for some weeks with farmer and herder communities in the study location, gave me the opportunity to observe some of their relationships and interactions. My observation centered on understanding the social relationship and interaction between these groups especially during festivals, ceremonies, market place and etcetera as a critical factors for social cohesion among people. As an observer, while observing the scenarios, I have also taken notes of the observations made and reflected on those observations, which I presented in the findings of the study in chapter four and five.

D) WRITTEN DOCUMENTS – The studies explore written documents, as another method used in collecting data in addition to observation and interview. Among these documents for example, are grazing reserve law, gazzetted grazing reserve and the non-gazzetted ones, their total area in square meter, year of gazettes and their

location, were obtain specifically from the Directorate of Livestock in the Ministry of Agriculture, Borno State.

iv. SOURCES OF DATA

The study explored data from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources comprised of in-depth one-on-one interview, focus group discussion and non-participant observation. Targeted farmers, herders and selected individuals design in the study sample and sampling methods, forms the primary sources of data for the study. Some of these respondents either are at one-time victims of farmer-herder conflicts or have experience as a party in the conflict (see appendix 5, and 6).

The study also elicits data through the following secondary sources. This supplements the primary sources of data. Among these secondary sources are previous studies on other case studies, Government Gazettes and Newspapers.

v. DATA ANALYSIS

Since this research study is exploratory in nature, understanding how to make sense out of text and scenarios is of paramount importance. Hence, this helped the researcher develop and fill out as comprehensive picture of the area of study as condition permits. The study has not attempt to measure any hypothesis formally.

In qualitative research, data analysis is a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the compendium of data collected (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:154). In much earlier research by Merriam, (1998) aptly summarized that,

'data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between descriptive and interpretation'. (p178)

The general objective of data analysis is to seek themes, trends and patterns in the data (Merriam, 1998:156). She provided some features of data analysis. These features are: a) Start collecting data b) Check for recurring events and key issues in the data for categorization c) Writing the report while focusing on the major categories.

In cognizance of the above features of qualitative data analysis, the study implored the following analytic procedures and techniques of data analysis as suggested in the works of Marshall and Rossman, (2006:157). These techniques are:

- ❖ Organizing the data;
- ❖ Generating categories and themes;
- ❖ Offering interpretations through analytical memos;
- ❖ Searching for alternative understanding; and
- ❖ Writing the report or representing the enquiry

Each of the above procedures contributes to the study's reduction of bulky data obtain through interview, focus group and non-participant observation into manageable chunks; where meaning and relevance are, derive from the data through data management. Miles and Huberman, (1994) posits that,

'Data management refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming data that appear in written-up field notes or transcripts'.(p45)

DATA ORGANISATION - Because of the huge piles of data yielded by the interview, it is necessary to organize the data. The data collected for this study, were

pen down on notepapers with some editing in order to make the data manageable in size and meaning. Creswell, (2008) emphasized the need for data organization as:

'Critical in qualitative research because of the large amount of information gathered during a study. With this sizeable amount of data, the transcribing and organizing of information require a systematic organization'. (p244)

Base on the recommendation above, the data for this study was systematically organized and arranged according to dates, time, where, and from whom they were gathered (see appendix 3). In order to be conversant and familiar with data collected, the researcher engaged in immersion into the data collected by reading through the data repeatedly. Reading through the data repeatedly, made me reflect in my mind the people, events and activities, such as the parties in conflict, why is it happening, interest of the parties, how does these conflicts manage and how does the conflict reflect on their relationships in the study area.

DEVELOPING THEMES AND CATEGORIES - this is the most intellectually challenging process in data analysis. My prolong engagements with the data in significant intellectual work, through posing questions and continually reflecting on the data, led to the identification of silent themes, categories, recurring ideas and patterns of belief that link people and settings in the study area (see tables in chapter four and five for some of these themes and categories).

The study themes and categories were drawn from the literatures, the respondents and from the researcher. Logical reasoning, themes classifications are cross with one another to generate new insights for further studies in the data.

OFFERING INTERPRETATIONS - After developing themes and categories, the process of integrative interpretation of lessons from the previous analysis

commenced. Patton, (2002) emphasized on interpretation because is a way of adding importance to what was investigated with a view to making conclusion on meaningful, explanatory and cross-fertilization of lessons learnt. The analysis of findings in chapters four and five of the study provides interpretations and conclusions of the issues explored by the study.

SEARCHING FOR ALTERNATIVE UNDERSTANDING - Marshall and Rossman, (2006:162) noted that, ‘alternative explanations exist, therefore the researcher is expected to first identify and analyze and secondly prove how those explanations made forms the best interpretation of the phenomenon.’

In cognizance of the above suggestion, after summarizing the findings from the bulk of the data collected, the researcher engages in evaluating several understandings explored earlier through the data. My plausible explanation continued by searching through the data the negative instances of conflicts between farmers and herders, and continued to pose challenges to my understanding in order to arrive at the most plausible explanation.

WRITING THE REPORT OR REPRESENTING THE INQUIRY - This research is a case study, and case studies depends much on documents analysis derived from interview and observation. Writing research reports on specific organizations, programs, or process (or some set of these) in a particular area are often regarded as case studies (Yin, 2003:164). In his contribution, Patton, (2002:163) noted that; ‘endless description becomes its own muddles. Description forms the skeleton structure’. However, Taylor and Bogdan, (1984) cited in Marshall and Rossman, (2006:163) suggested five different approaches.

- ❖ The author presenting one person's account of his or her life, by describing and analyzing the importance of that life;
- ❖ Presentation of data gathered through in-depth interviews and observation, where the participant perspectives are presented and their worldviews structure the report;
- ❖ Relating practice (the reality of social phenomena) to theory. Here descriptive data are summarized, then linked to more general theoretical constructs;
- ❖ Reporting the sociological theory on institutionalization and the symbolic management of conditions in total institution; and
- ❖ Report that is addressing issues of the presentation of self under various difficult circumstances and attempt to draw theoretical conclusions across types of institutions, persons, and circumstances.

In writing the report for this study, the researcher conquered with the second approach provided by Taylor and Bogdan. Hence, all the data gathered during my in-depth interview, focus group discussion and observation are presented in my own perspective and their worldview structure the report.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study premised its scope base on the fact that, the Lake Chad basin has been noted for farmer-herder conflict, because of its rich potentials in fodder and water, attracted pastoralists from most Sub-Saharan states. Moreover, the strategic location of the basin cutting across four countries of Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroun led

to trans-boundary contacts between these communities. Limitations are focus on the discussions of why these conflicts occur and how they are manage especially in rural communities of the Lake Chad basin. Analyses of findings for the study are specific to the case area. Nevertheless, it may also be a point of reference and a point of departure for other researches in similar areas.

One of the major challenges of this study is that, there is no accurate statistical data on the population of farmers, herders or their herds occupying the Lake Chad basin. Their mobility and nature of movements in various ecological zones between dry and rainy season has also contributed in lacking the statistical data.

The approximated population of herders stands at over 5,000 in the Nigerian side of the basin. While over 500,000, farmers lived in the basin. The total number of livestock is approximately at 10,000,000 (GIWA, 2004). However, table 2 below indicates the selected Local Governments and their total population, which forms the wider scope of the study.

TABLE 2: POPULATION BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE STUDY AREA

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS	POPULATION
Guzamala,	95,991
Kukawa,	203,343
Abadam,	100,065
Marte,	129,409
Ngala,	236,498
Dikwa,	105,042
Mafa,	103,600
Nganzai,	99,074
Monguno	109,843
Mobbar	116,633

Source: Nigerian National Population Commission Census (2006)

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

In the first chapter, presents the introductory aspects of the study on farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad basin. The introduction begun by briefly, reviewing the previous researches leading to the current research. In addition, the chapter also presents the statement of the research problem; research questions; objectives of the research study; significance of the study; methodology used and; limitations of the study. Finally, the chapter encapsulates the foundations of the study.

The second chapter of the study focuses on the historical background of the conflict as well as the background of the study area. The chapter summarizes the historical complementarities and conflictive relationship between farmers and herders that have existed since the patriarchal periods. Hence, the chapter concludes by presenting the background of the study area, which comprises the history, the people, geography and the economic potentials of the area under study.

Literature review forms the third chapter of the thesis. The literature review focus on the review of relevant literatures on farmer-herder conflicts. Within this framework, the study examine the debate over resource scarcity as the basis of farmer-herder conflicts; the role of the state in farmer-herder conflicts; perspectives on conflict management; specter of farmer-herder clashes in Nigeria; brief review of farmer-herder conflict in Africa and; finally the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter four of the thesis discusses the findings of the study on long-term and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area. Discussions on long-term causes includes inadequate and poor state of grazing reserves and stock routes; insufficient legislation on pastoralism; changes in land tenure use and practice; agricultural development programs; economic factors and; climate change. While the

immediate causes such as crop damage; cattle raids; ethnicity and socio-cultural believes and; political factors were discussed. Finally, the chapter presents the summary of findings from the focus group discussions with farmers and herders.

The fifth chapter also discusses the findings of the study, which identify and analyze the existing traditional and modern approaches to farmer-herder conflict management in the study area. The study also presents an alternative proposal for consideration in managing farmer-herder conflicts.

The sixth and the final chapter provide the concluding aspect of the work. Conclusions are base on numerous lessons learnt in the course of the study. The study raised numerous recommendations for policy makers, Governments, Non-Governmental Organizations and other institutions that are involved in managing conflicts.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CONFLICT

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT

Herders and sedentary farmers have interacted since ancient times, with common denomination such as trade and economic complementarities in agriculture and livestock products (Fratkin, 1997). To further buttress this claim, Monod, (1975) observed that, ‘no nomad can exist for long without contact with sedentary farmers—even the *Tuareg* nomads of the Sahara maintain contact with oasis dwellers.’ According to Shettima and Tar, (2008) ‘pastoralists require the calories produced by crop farmers, much as the crop farmers also often require the protein and dairy products produced by the pastoralists.’ Both farmers and herders are having common denomination in terms of sharing land, water, fodder and other resources.

The last three decades witnessed migration of *Fulani* herdsmen across Sub-Saharan Africa, in response to compelling changes in environmental and climatic conditions. Stening, (1959) cited in tonah, (2002) described their north-south movement with their cattle, ‘precipitated by “push and pull factors” becomes the common features of nomads especially during dry season. Their movements are in between two different ecological areas in sub Saharan Africa.

In the late 20th century, witnessed not only increase in the population of herders and their herds, but many of them sedentarized in the area. Factors such as desertification, land degradation, draught etc. are mainly responsible for their mass movements leaving their original place to the riverbanks and valley-bottom including the Lake Chad basin areas, where rainy and dry season ‘*fadama*’ [irrigation] farming is highly developed. The new herdsmen met congenial atmosphere for herding. Pasture is more readily available, crop harvests are better and water is abundant. Generally, reasonable population and the accommodative behavior exhibited by the

host population are some of the factors, which influence herder's settlement in the zone (Franz, 1975; Tonah, 2002).

A study conducted on Sub-Saharan Africa by Sidahmed, (1996) using historic data between 1960s and 1996, collected from 36 dry land countries to compare the trends in livestock and human population with the changes in permanent pastures. It was found out that, 'pasture has minimally change for the past three decades whereas human population increased by fifty percent. Moreover, numbers of livestock increased from 400 million heads in 1961 to 600 million in the 1990s'.

Shettima and Tar, (2008) also attested to the fact that 'in West Africa, grazing resources including pasture and water are abundant in most areas and accessible at all times of the year, hence the need for constant mobility among pastoralists for opportunistic resource use, which brings them into contact with the 'landed' settled farmers, has produced competition and conflict'. Bessett, (1993) reported that:

'Fulani herd owners from Burkina Faso and Mali were attracted to Cote D'Ivoire by the lure of better pasture, low population densities, proximity to markets and accessibility and affordability of veterinary medical care'. (p317)

In Northern Ghana, apart from the environmental factors, nomadic *Fulani* herders developed a mutual relationship with host communities, which influenced their stay (Tonah, 2000; Tonah, 2001).

The dominant forms of relationship between two inter- dependent producer groups [farmers and herders] in form of host-client or host-stranger relationship has gradually dwindled and probably cease to exist. Their relationships has gone fraught and soar in the last two decades, due to gradual expansion in farming activities,

increase in the number of livestock production, natural resources such as land, water, pasture, etc. became an object of competition and conflicts. Fratkin, (1997) asserts that:

‘Both population and increasing commodity production have led to the expansion of farming activities on formerly shared grazing lands, increased tension and conflicts between these groups in many parts of the world.’

The unrelenting competition over access/right to scarce natural resources, which have been describe by Bennet, (1991) as “Green wars” while Richards, (2001) called it “Desert wars” is central to the study of farmer-herder conflict. The Lake Chad basin for example, where most farmer-herder conflict occur in Borno State, population density is high, land became an object of competition not only between farmers and herders but also between farmer-farmer and herder-herder as well as fishermen versus farmers or herders.

Since the return to civil rule in May 1999, violence between farmers and herders are unrelenting (Blench and Dendo, 2003). Recently, the print media in Nigeria have engaged its readers with screaming captions on exploding conflicts between these two production communities. Some of these headlines includes ‘Nigeria: Fulani-banish by desert, rejected by their fellow citizens’ (DailyTrust, May 25, 2009); ‘Nigeria: Farmer-herder clashes increase as pasture shrinks’ (IRIN, June 8, 2009). ‘Nigeria: Two killed in Farmer/Herdsman clash’ (DailyTrust, December 20, 2000); ‘Borno Herdsman, Farmers unending disease’ (DailyTrust, January 18, 2009); ‘Editorial: Time to balance needs of pastoral and farming communities’ (Thisday, February 16, 2009).

Farmer- herder conflicts in Nigeria are not just simply the outcome of competition between two production systems as in many cases; however it is a reminiscent competition between different socio-cultural as obtainable elsewhere in Africa where both farmers and herders have divergent culture and traditions that are distinct from each other. In many cases, ethnicity, indigene-settler syndrome and host-stranger scenario serves as a catalyst to farmer-herder conflicts in the study area. It is extremely difficult to exonerate or undermine the role of ethnic factors in the conflict because is embedded in the socio-cultural traits of the larger Nigerian society.

Pastoral groups in the study area are restricted to the *Fulanis*, the *Kanuri* related groups and *Shuwa Arab*. Notably, the most widely spread is the *Fulani* who have expanded eastward from the Gambia River over the last one thousand years and probably entered Nigeria in the fourteenth century (Blench, 2003). The Nigerian *Fulani* are described in a number of monographs most notably St. Croix, (1944), Hopen, (1958) and Stening, (1959). All of them studied pastoral clans in semi-arid areas. However, other pastoral groups such as *Shuwa* and *Koyam* in the Northeastern Region of Nigeria particularly in Borno and Yobe States have confined themselves in the semi-arid zone around the Lake-Chad Basin area.

The Lake Chad Basin has been a very important source of water, grazing lands among other resources that are necessary for human and livestock consumption. The major economic activities in the study area include fishing, farming and herding. Traditionally, the basin becomes the point of convergence for farmers, fishermen and pastoralists. Because of growing population in recent years coupled with depletion of the lake's basic resources, led to competition over scarce resources. Virtually, the situation in the basin reveals strenuous competition in the mist of population

increase, resource depletion, migration patterns and failed state. This has created a cumbersome network of interaction that always triggers conflict in the area.

Conflict management as defined by Best, (2006) as the

'Process of reducing the negative and destructive capacities of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict'.

This term is use interchangeably as synonymous with “conflict regulation”. The term generally encompasses positive handling of conflict at various stages including those efforts to prevent conflict by being proactive. Conflict management seems to be the “umbrella” term for conflict prevention, containment, resolution, and conflict transformation (Azem, 2005).

No society is an exception; conflict is inevitable in any society. However, what makes society to be perfect or an exception from conflict is the way and manner that conflicts are handle and manage effective without necessarily degenerating into violence or threaten peace and security of livelihood. According to Otite, et al (2004)

'Conflict challenges the rational man to think for alternative ways of meeting contesting human needs and interests. Therefore, emphasis is not conflict per se but the ways man responds to it. Conflict need not follow a negative course, if constructively handled; it can become an agent of growth and development to all parties.' (p 2)

Some researchers observe that, in most developing countries economic policies are always to the advantage of agriculture at expense of pastoralism. They argued that, imbalances between agriculture and pastoralism is included right in the policies and programs of developing countries. Pastoral sector has never been instrumentalized as part of the state laws, as the case of agriculture (Bennet, 1991; Moritz, 2002;

Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001; Moritz et al 2002). Only Mauritania and Chad, Republics have incorporated pastoralist in their governments (Moritz, 2002). In Northern Cameroon, *Fulani* pastoralists were able to ensure access to rainy season grazing lands through local negotiation with the “*Lamibe*” [meaning leaders] (Moritz, 2002). In some African states, the land tenure systems bequeathed by the colonial masters still subsist.

The study argue that lack of enforcing pastoral laws and policies, is a fundamental institutional defect that is responsible for both farmers and herders taking laws into their hands by engaging in violence. These are meant to regulate the conduct and behavior of people in a given state, society or community. However, its absence or ineffectiveness may lead to so many behavioral excesses including conflicts among individuals and groups. Above all, conflict management under these circumstances will persistently be marred.

In addition, the absence of effective pastoral laws in Nigeria characterized the failure of the hegemonic institutions for managing farmer-herder conflict. I.e. state and local authorities; judiciary and the police; who failed to provide effective management atmosphere, based on honesty, justice and the rule of law contributing to the protraction of the long-standing conflict between farmers and herders in the basin. This led to the loss of confidence in the resource management systems and uncertainties in getting fair and just playing field base on equality access and use.

Sustainable development, among other things, requires the prevalence of peaceful co-habitation of producer communities. It is only through cooperation that local communities could achieve sustainable common pool resource conservation and management strategies. However, peaceful and harmonious communities are only the

once that are able to be resilient and creative to respond to environmental stresses and sustained their livelihoods rather than those, which are frustrated by the circumstances in their localities.

2.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

2.2.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LAKE CHAD REGION

Historically, the area referred to as the Lake Chad region is a remnant of inland sea. The lake has been vulnerable to climatic changes in the region for the past three decades. Frequent climatic change, resulted in the lake's receding to an alarming proportion. Currently, the Lake can hardly, reach 7 meters depth in some areas and is becoming shallow and narrower in length due to climate change and negative human activities (see Onouha, 2008:43).

Before the colonial era, organize early empires such as *Kanem-Borno Empire* attempt at various degrees to exercise the dominance and hegemony over the entire vast region popularly referred to as Lake Chad region. However, the spread of Islam throughout the region in the early 9th century and the rise of *Kanem-Borno Empire* were instrumental to the development of the region prior to the colonial conquest. In addition, it served as a chain of unity among the people occupying the region. The influence of the *Kanem Borno Empire* altered after the scramble and partition of Africa. The colonial hegemony which emerged in the 19th century redesign boundaries and collapse the traditional relationship that have existed for years between *Kanem Borno Empire* and other small kingdoms around the Lake Chad. When the riparian states sharing the region [Chad, Nigeria, Cameroun and Niger] became independence in 1960, there was a renaissance of interest in order to explore areas of cooperation and integration between these countries. The Government of Chad undertook the bold step in 1962, which finally led to the establishment of a

commission called Lake Chad Basin Commission [LCBC] in 1964. Since then the commission has been in the vanguard of management of the Lake's resources such as water, land, fisheries among others for economic development and regional cooperation.

2.2.2 GEOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA

The Nigerian side of the conventional Lake Chad is located in Borno State, strategically located on the edge of Sahara desert, bordering three countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. The Lake situated on latitude 6 and 24 degrees north, longitude 7 and 24 degrees east. The conventional basin covers an area of 3,500 square kilometers, 42 percent in Chad; 28 percent in Niger; 9 percent in Cameroon and 21 percent in Nigeria (Oyebande, 1997:2). Currently the Nigerian side of the conventional basin is housing over 3 million people with an average density of 22 persons per square kilometer (NPC, 2006).

Available estimates revealed that the basin covered an area of 400,000 square kilometers. During the 1960s, it covered a land space of 26,000 square kilometers. Between 1966 and 1997, it further shrunk from 25,000 square kilometers to less than 1,500 kilometers (GIWA Report, 2004). In the words of Masari, (2006) 'the Lake dramatically receded between 1994 and 2004, covering just an area of some 532 square kilometers losing about 90 percent of its size in 1960s'. The impacts of this recession led to continuous decrease in agricultural and water related productions, with accompanying scarcity of natural resources, inevitably caused competition due to increase in resources demand and consequent conflict between the resources users in the study area.

The Lake is among the Africa's largest depressions providing freshwater, fish, pasture and other agricultural resources to more than 11 million people including

farmers, herders, hunters and fishermen spread across the four riparian countries of Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria (Science in Africa, 2003).

2.2.3 THE PEOPLE

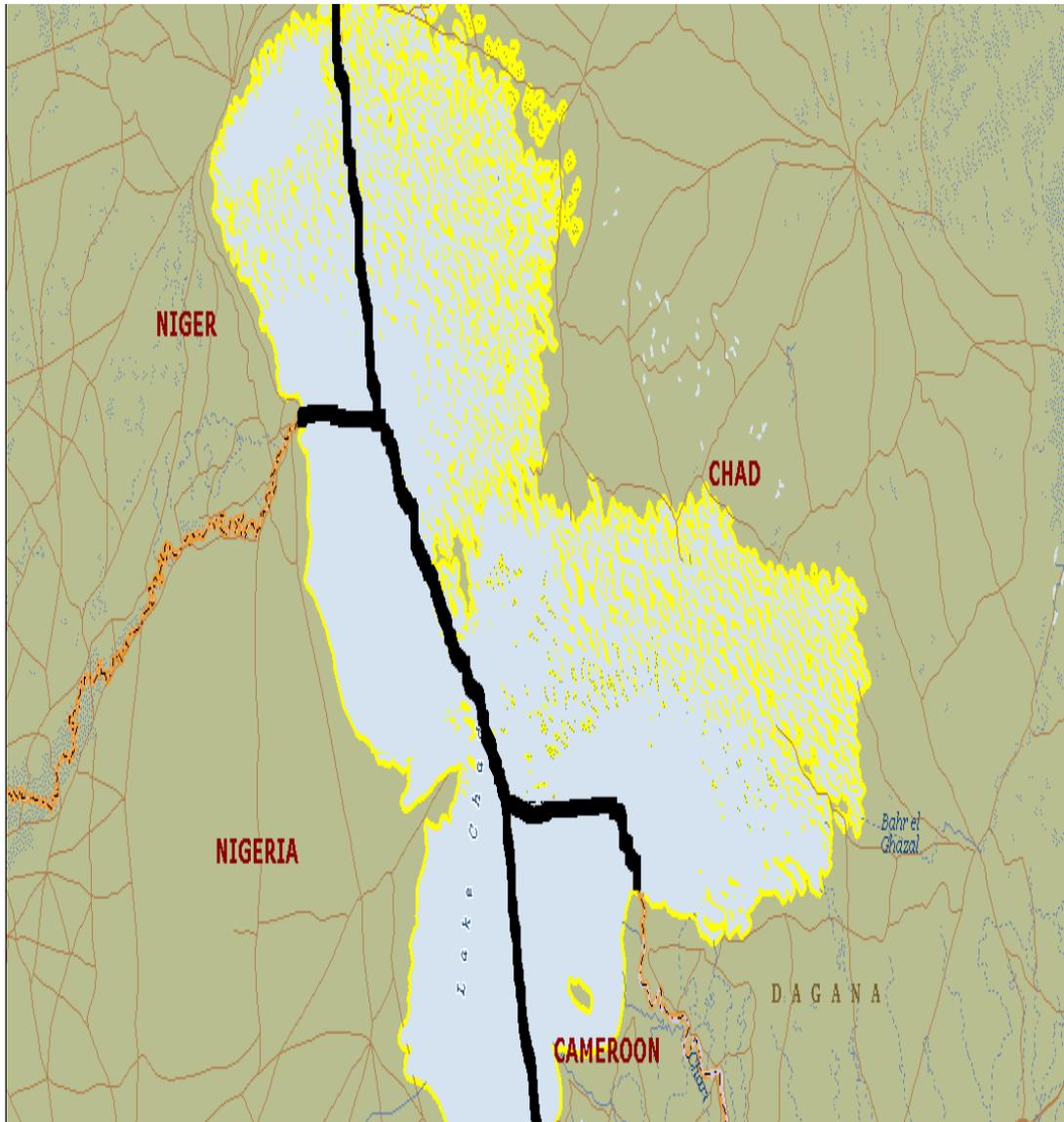
The major inhabitants of the conventional basin on the Nigerian territory are the *Kanuri's*, *Shuwa*, *Hausawa*, *Fulani* and other minority ethnic nationalities. Apart from the *Fulani's* all other inhabitants are sedentarized farmers, anglers and to some extent non-migratory herders, while *Fulani* herders or pastoralists are mostly nomadic, herding is their primary occupation and is their only major source of livelihood. Fulani herders are economically dependent on their livestock for provision of essentials of life such as food and other social needs. Their mobility is influenced by availability of pasture in some areas and scarcity of pasture in other areas. Pastoral mobility increases when climatic conditions deteriorate under conditions of drought, desertification among others. Availability of pasture and otherwise determines their degree of mobility.

- ❖ The nomadic Fulani pastoral groups whose mobility or migration pattern is determined by opportunity of resources, are for instance, the *Udawa Fulani* Pastoral group.
- ❖ The transhumant Fulani pastoral groups have planned mobility or migratory routes on seasonal basis. For example, the *Taureg and Mbororo Fulani* pastoral groups.
- ❖ Agro-pastoralists are sedentarized herders that simultaneously engaged in herding and farming. Such as the *Fulbe Fombina* herders.

2.2.4 ECONOMIC POTENTIALS

The Lake Chad has been economically viable, and a source of wealth to both resource user communities and to the state and local authorities. The entire Lake Chad, described as the major wetland in the semi-arid Sahel corridor supporting some 20 million people directly dependent on the lake and its hinterland for survival (FAO, 2004). The lake is currently the fourth largest in Africa. The basin is housing more than 100,000 fishermen. Many of them came beyond the riparian region. It has been estimated that, 60 to 70,000 tons of fish are produce from the lake (FAO, 2004). The decision by some farmers to engage in raising cattle side by side with farming also contributes immensely in meeting the protein demands of the populace within the riparian countries of the lake. However, crop farming especially lake – bottom irrigation has also boosted food production of these states.

FIGURE 1: MAP OF LAKE CHAD



-  Maritime Boundary
-  Lake Boundary
-  Countries sharing the Lake

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The emergence of resource conflicts as a security issue in the international political discourse led to the growing academic literatures since 1980s. Most prominent among the first generation of these literatures was the works of a Norwegian conflict theorist called Johan Galtung. His academic contributions in the 1980s led the foundation for the current literatures. The second generation of these literatures emerged in the 1990s, by a group of researchers from University of Toronto through an international research called Environmental Conflict Research Project [ENCORP] led by environmental conflict theorist, Thomas Homer-Dixon. Their works in the 1990s led to the development of several theories and academic debates internationally. The third generation of these literatures provided a critique of the second generation. The critique of the literature best articulated in the works of Mark Levy, in the late 1990s. His works on resource conflict has not only provided the critique of the preceding debates but also set the pest for further debates in the field of resource conflict studies including farmer herder conflicts.

3.2 THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Before embarking on the review of the relevant literatures on farmer-herder conflicts, the study will briefly review scholarly contributions on why conflicts including farmer-herder conflicts generally occur in the society. Conflict is inevitable part of human existence (Isard, 1992:2). Some scholars argued that, conflict are building into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. They contend that, social contradictions such as political and economic exclusion, poverty, injustice, disease, inequity, exploitation etc. are fundamental sources of conflict'. Conflicts occur because of exploitative and unjust nature of human societies (Galtung, 1990; Ross, 1993; Scarborough, 1998). Ross, (1993:4) observed for instance, 'in

conditions where economic and political discrimination and weak kinship ties are the defining characteristics of a society, the chances that negative forms of conflict will result are higher than in situation where the conditions are the exact opposite'. Faleti, (2006:46) reported that, 'Khotari a former Director of the United Nations Universities Program on Peace and Global Transformation, contend that, 'resources has been playing a major role in the causation of conflicts not only among individual but also between nation states. He further disclosed that, resources [renewable or non-renewable] are critical and central to the prevailing conflicts in the global world today. He concluded that, these conflicts are agents of separatism and cleavage, which tears the globe into axis of developed and underdeveloped nation states. The underdeveloped nations are already vulnerable to scarcities, which leads to unemployment, poverty and deprivation while the developed nations are in over abundance and over production.

Expanding on the Khotari's unequal axes above, Scarborough, (1998) 'in situation where existing structures tilted in favor of one group while putting the other[s] at a disadvantage. Cultures are exclusive, where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the right of others to be different, or where people find it uneasy to identify with the political and economic ideas of a political regime, the chances are that conflict will emerge and escalate if nothing done to correct such anomalies'.

The study argues that focus on material needs, which may also be psychological needs, is insufficient to explain the magnitude of conflicts. There are secondary parties otherwise known, as the shadows [those whose presence is by proxy but gives secret support to those engaged in conflict] may not be always for material benefits but sometimes for psychological satisfaction and recognition in a given society.

From a different point of view, Morgenthau's literatures, on 'power politics' analyzed by Faleti, (2006:45) argued that every human nature possesses an apparent weakness and individualism inherent in his nature. The imperfection in the world, namely conflict, has its roots in forces that are inherent in human nature. That human beings are naturally conflictive, individualistic selfish, that states will always pursue their national interest defined as power, and such interest will come into conflict with those of others leading to the inevitability of conflict'. They further contend that "competitive process" among nation state is an expression of interest by those who engaged in conflict.

Feierabends, (1969:256) in his analysis of aggression, distinguished between what people feel they want or deserve to what they actually get-the "want-get-ratio". In addition, Davies, (1962:8) noted the difference between "expected needs satisfaction" and "actual needs satisfaction". Where there are imbalances between expectation and attainment, conflict will probably be the ultimate. The case of farmer-herder conflict is a good example, both farmers and herders sometimes take laws into their hands by using arms to injure and sometimes kill each other reminiscent of their frustrations arising from competition for access and use of scarce resources such as pasture, forest, water etc.

Lorenz, (1966) and McLean Paul, (1978) in their perspectives sought to understand reaction of human brains when under stress and threat. This determines human actions, on whether to decide and act or ignore the feelings'. Because of that, whenever people are under stress, and under certain conditions, their reaction can conform or differ from what others expect

From a different point of view Collier, (2003:5) concludes that, ‘conflict occur because there are “conflict entrepreneurs” who tend to benefit or lose because of occurrences or non-occurrences of conflict. Because there are “conflict entrepreneurs” the existence of conflict will continued to be pursuit in the interest of these entrepreneurs at the detriment of the larger members of the society because they benefit from the existence of conflicts. The leaders of armed formations that are actually perpetrating the violence often profit from the chaos; (and) that while the prospects of pecuniary gains is seldom the principal incentive for rebellion, it can become for some insurgent group, a preferred state of affairs’.

Bredal and Malone, (2000:2) have a consensus that, ‘social conflicts are generated by many factors, some of which are deep seated’. To them, across the ages, conflicts have come to be seen as having a “functional utility” and are embedded in economic disparities. War, the crisis stage of internal conflict, has sometimes become a vast private and profit-making enterprise

However, some of the issues raised by these scholars were practical, relevant and similar to the case of farmer-herder conflicts. For instance, Galtung, (1990), Ross, (1993), Scarborough, (1998), emphasizes on factors such as poverty, injustice, inequity and etcetera as an important source of conflict. In developing countries like Nigeria where poverty and inequity intensifies, conflicts become inevitable under condition of poverty. Farmers and herders tend to pursue resources such as land, forest among others as their primary interest. They sometimes engaged in violence for inability or denial of access to these resources. Thus also explains the hostile nature of farming and herding communities against each other when they are frustrated for inability to achieve needs. Besides, when resource conflict are

polarized along identity lines as the case between Fulani ethnic nomads and their farming ethnic communities becomes more complicated and difficult to resolve.

Since 1980s and beyond nomadic herders are continuously threatened by frequent changes in agricultural policies and programs, accessibility to both existing and future productive resources such as land and other environmental resources were limited (see Toulmin, 1991; Hussien, 1998). They further argue that, this exposes herders to close contact and conflicts with farmers because of gradual but systematic shift of land tenure system from pastoralism to crop cultivation and wild life conservation. This happens from individuals to institutional level of the state (Lane and Moorehead, 1994; Hussein, 1998). As an appendage, livestock policies, where they exist, tend to favor a rich pastoral elite, privileged new owners of livestock (urban dwellers and settled farmers), are biased against a marginalized group of poorer 'traditional herders' (Hogg, 1985; Little, 1985; Toulmin, 1992). This development led to increasing herder poverty with consequent weakening of pastoralists' ability to manage natural resources responsibly and sustainably. However, herders continued to be dependent on complementarities with farming populations to sustain their livelihood, whereas the latter cease to be as dependent on herders as before (Marty, 1993).

Doornbos, (1993:101) observed that, 'loss of political power in itself is not uncommon for pastoralists in African countries. In many instances population pressure and the demands for land by peasants have signified a gradual encroachment on available pasturage, and a concomitant shrinkage of pastoralists' political domains.'

Dafinger and pelican, (2002 cited in Shettima and Tar, 2008) describe the extent of political powerlessness that unprecedentedly manifests into landlessness among pastoralist. The farmers are considered as “the landed” group, that is those who by tradition or otherwise exercise political rights of ownership of land. While pastoralists or herders are considered as the “landless” those who do not enjoy the right to own the land they settled on irrespective of their duration.

Analyzing from policy perspectives, Horowitz and Little, (1987:65) observe that, ‘both states and financing organizations favor agriculture over herding, little, if anything has been done to retard the expansion of cultivation. First, donor agencies have less interest in funding programs in livestock sector, instead putting all human and material resources to farmers because they have more confidence in farmers than herders. Secondly, government officials are mostly, drawn from ethnic farmers whose sympathy is towards farming societies. Exceptions are Somalia and Mauritania.

Suleiman, (1988:3) argued that, ‘efforts by the pastoralists, through the courts, to have the block routes opened and the traditional grazing ground vacated, have not been successful because there is no legislation to protect them from encroachment or other damage. This has been the major cause of frequent conflicts between farmers and herders often resulting in bloodshed, destruction of properties and loss of lives.’

Markakis, (1993:13) analyze how pastoralists fight not only farmers but also including the state. He said, ‘Pastoralists are also fighting against the state. If anything, pastoralists have become even more “state-resistant” in the post-colonial era, and have been in the thick of many violent political struggles whose common denominator is resistant to the authority of the state. Among other cases, he cited

Anya-nya rebellion in southern Sudan, in the 1960s, and its sequel in the 1980s, led by the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement. The *Shifita* uprising in northern Kenya in the 1960s, the recurrent revolts in the *Ogaden, Bale, Sidamo* and *Danakil* provinces of Ethiopia in the 1960s and 1970s, the civil war in northern Somalia since 1980s and many less well-known episodes.’

Tuner, (2004:883) portrayed farmer-herder conflicts as resource struggle with completion that seems to be a reflection of the larger impacts of social and political tensions that has long standing among conflicting parties. This also represents the multiplicity of conflicts that has existed between farmers and herders accompanied by social tensions and group solidarity. Social tensions between these conflicting parties turn to an opportunity for display of conflicts, which explains the extent of deep-seated conflicts within local communities. Moreover, that also explains the wider publicization of the conflict in most communities.

Roitman, (2004) suggests that, ‘in many ways, it is better to think of the Chad basin region not as neighboring states, but as the locus of several partially overlapping ecological, economic and political zones that are crossed by political, economic and criminal transactional networks.’

Conflicts in Africa including farmer-herder conflicts are taking political dimensions because the state institution is overtly or covertly involve. The state involvement sometimes becomes a source of conflict and sometime handles conflict to its logical conclusion (see Mwaura and Schmeidl, 2002). Keen, (2000) has earlier cited Kenyan government’s lack of response to the conflict as an example, where long neglect resulted in exacerbating pastoral fighting.

Moritz, (2006:16) in his study of politics of permanent conflict between farmers and herders in Northern Cameroun summarized that, 'the politics of permanent conflict between farmers and herders reaffirms that, in Africa there exist a system where farmer's right are more protected under both traditional and modern arrangement. There also a sense of awareness and believe among farming and herding communities that conflict management through the modern state authorities hardly get problem solved. Therefore, many farmers and herder alike feel comfortable with conflict management at the community level. This sense is becoming common and widespread among farmers and herders. Conflicts are mostly, managed at community level.

Onuoha, (2007) also observed in his study on environmental degradation and livelihood conflicts in the Lake Chad that, one common conflict in the basin is that of conflict over resource use which he describe as a competition between resource users which explains how these competition impacts the lives and livelihood of the users such as farmers, herders and fishermen. Central to this conflict, is the struggle over access to resources such as pasture, water among others. This has also manifested and turn into inter-ethnic and inter-livelihood struggles between these communities.

Because of drying areas along the river basin, farmers and herders have to migrate to greener areas with highly competitive struggle over resources, which expose them to conflicts. Consequently, portrays the frequent farmer-herder conflicts that have been bedeviling the Northeastern Nigeria since the last three decades (Science in Africa, 2003).

A study review conducted by Hussien, et al (1999:412) found out that 'violent conflict between farmers and herders occur, suppress and re-enacts and that the causes usually includes scarcity of natural resources as well as deeper structural factors in the relation between farmers and herders. He went further to say that, violent between group of farmers and herders do not symbolize only competition over resources but also an indication of many interdependent relationships.

Marty, (1992 cited in Hussien, et al 1999:409) reported the situation of herders in North Cameroun where herders were 'increasingly threaten by the growing attempts on the part of the farmers to diversify and expand cultivation on traditional grazing reserves and cattle routes. Herders, particularly, nomads generally portray farmers as close allies of the state, which gave them political influence over herders. He reported an assertion made by a nomadic herder who complains about the inability of farmers to understand that resources such as land could be reserve for cattle rearing. There most common thinking is that, farming can take place in any available space. When conflict happens, their close allies in government only listen to farmers and refuse to listen to the herders' side of the story.

In 1995 Cross and Barker's work cited in Hussien, et al (1999:410) interviewed 500 people in five Sahelian countries, mainly farmers and herders. 'Their testimonies reveal increasing conflicts between farmers and herders that has to do with crop damage. Crop damage always occurs when there is frequent trespassing of cattle on farmlands. These episodes are attributes of government lack of political will to bring perpetrators of crop damage to justice.

Proponents' of this argument summarized that, pastoralists have the ability to manage natural resources if they are empowered to do so by providing equal access

right to key resources as in the case of farmers (Lane and Moorehead, 1994). This argument is in tandem with the case in the Lake Chad basin. The introduction of *fadama* irrigation or dry season farming around the shore of the Lake, led to eventual occupation of vast pastoral lands at the detriment of herding communities in the area. Consequently, grazing areas and reserves continually threatened by expansion in farming activities as well as political and economic exclusion of pastoralists as stakeholders in the production arena.

Hardin in the late 1960s analyzed the conflict from the traditional land tenure arrangement. He posits that, degradation and dwindling conditions of natural resources in Africa is believe to be encourage by the nature of indigenous common land tenure systems. Hardin, (1968) argued further that; overstocking and degradation were inevitable as animals were held individually by herders while the range was unregulated common property. As individual herders are assumed to be primarily self-interested, they invest in more animals to obtain personal benefits leading to the over grazing of land. Since the cost of over grazing are borne collectively by all users, but the benefit of increasing herds size accrue directly to individuals, there is no incentive to manage the range in a collective or sustainable way. Thebaud and Batterbury, (2001) asserts that, herders inability to manage range resources in a fair manner prove to be evident in recent times, resulted in difficulties in herders sedentarization and vehement resistance to such attempts. This created conflicts with not only farmers, but also rebellion against herders who are protagonist of sedentarization.

The assumption is that, herders can neither regulate the use of grazing reserve or competition and conflict over access to those resources. Some researchers concluded that, under such situation, African herders perceived as pursuing a production system

that is economically irrational, linked with environmentally destructive communal land tenure systems (Lane and Moorehead, 1994). This argument suggest that, land ownership should be privatized in order to regulate land use and herds sizes, and emphasized land use planning programs as a way forward.

Behnke, (1995:5) holds a contrary perception to the Hardin's focus on common property land tenure system. Behnke, (1995:6) uses the "tragedy of the commons" analysis in understanding conflicts of interest between different resource users in Africa. He drew a line of distinction between indigenous 'traditional' tenure arrangements and 'formal' land tilting. He emphasized that common property resources are those resources which are not control by individuals, but to which larger groups have rights and access to use. Resource tenure in African states is characterized by seemingly complex and cumbersome overlapping right of access to and use of natural resources. Under the common property regimes 'community of users' are clearly defined and provides classification of different groups within a defined community with varying degrees of access to communal resources. Consequently, these resource users will invariably exclude and prevent others from using those resources. Therefore, management of such resources will be through a structured set of rules governing use rights, distribution entitlements, a management subsystem and authority instruments (Bromley and Cernea, 1989:10). According to Behnke, (1995) 'where common property resources management exist, natural resources are not necessarily open to all and therefore, the tragedy of the commons outcomes will not necessarily occur, because systems are not static, can adapt to change to fit new circumstances'. The analysis advanced by Behnke provided an important anti-thesis to the assumptions of the tragedy of the commons arguments. Consequently, the argument stresses the significance of local indigenous institutions

in the management of competition over natural resources use and the avoidance of conflict between natural resource users.

The emergence of resource conflicts as a security issue in the international development policy research has opened a new paradigm in the study of farmer-herder conflict. Perhaps, farmers and herders as resource users compete over scarce resources to achieve livelihood security (Mearns, et al, 1996). The argument looked at conflict between resource users including farmer-herder conflict as reminiscent of the failure of development interventions by extension failure of the state system. The case in Somalia is a fulfilling example of neo-patrimonial states in Africa. This perception can also be used to the scenarios of farmer-herder conflicts in other regions. Generally, increase struggle and competition over scarce resources as a livelihood security also increase vulnerability and insecurity of their livelihood through violent conflicts.

Obioha, (2005) concludes that, herder's enthusiasm for better pasture always brings them to close corridors of contact with farming communities who are crop producers. Generally close contacts leads to trespass and inversion of farmlands. A dispute that arises because of inversion of farmlands becomes more violent and sometimes with national and international dimension especially around border areas such Lake Chad basin.

His conclusions explains how availability of pasture in the Lake Chad hinterlands attract herders and farmers from the riparian countries of Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Nigeria as their point of convergence with consequences of conflicts.

Several overlapping institutions such as the state, traditional rulers and other cultural antecedents manage land appropriations and property rights in Africa. The formal

system of land tenure arrangement and property rights exist side by side but they are more susceptible to changes and highly localized. According to Hussien, (1998) the problem caused by this overlapping system of land tenure as highlighted in the confusion resulting from de jure ownership and control of land taken by the state in most African states at time of independence, and de factor authority over land allocation and use retained by local customary authorities. Such complexities and lack of clarity over right to land, and the co-existence of different rules of access makes dispute between users more likely. Diallo, (1996) cited in Hussein, (1998) explained the case in Co devour where the host [Senoufo farmers] treated Fulani herders as guest and accorded them temporary rights to land under their authority but never considered these to be permanent. With the increasing population and land pressure farmers gradually begun to encroach on grazing lands because they consider the Fulanis' as strangers. The state had to intervene through land reform and registration to give herders secured rights to land. The *Tuareq* herders from Mali were reported to have returned to their traditional ecological zone after several years trans-humans' mobility. This then led to tension between the returning herders and farmers who had laid claims to these lands during the herders' protracted absence (Mathieu, 1995). In another study on agro-pastoral production system in the Sahel sees the long-standing conflicts between farmers and herders as due to dispute over property rights set within a context of economic reform in many African countries (Van den Brink, et al, (1991) cited in Hussein, (1998). The authors argued that, pastoral property rights have progressively eroded, leading to competition and conflict between different natural resources users. This argument believes that, lack of new institutions that guarantees different resource users to negotiate access to resources, conflict is therefore inevitable. Farmers and herders eventually trapped in

crossfire of overlapping and contradictory land tenure system between the state and traditional authorities.

Among other proponents of this thought Homer-Dixon, (1994) while drawing his general analysis concluded that, resource scarcity and its continues persistence will inevitably cause and increase resource conflicts between groups and communities such as the case of farmers and herders. He described resource scarcity as a long-term social 'stressor' that exacerbate risk of conflict, and independently, act as a strong variable that causes conflict. In his postulations, he believes that, environmental degradation and depletion, population growth and unequal distribution of resources interact to unleash scarcities with spontaneous impacts on conflicts as its aftermath. He concludes that resource scarcity is the basis of farmer-herder conflicts.

Nyong and Fiki, (2005) added that, the continued drought in the Sahel in recent decades witnessed movements of pastoralist southward in search of pastures. Their movements resulted into conflicts with farmers. In addition, episodes of conflicts are rapidly increasing with inter-group conflicts. The persistent drought related problems interacts in conjunction with other socio-economic and political factors to cause conflicts between resource users especially between farmers and herders in West Africa. From all indications the conflicts have expanded in both magnitude and recurrence, gradually threatening the livelihood of most communities (see also, Nyong and Fiki, 2005; Tarhule and Lamb, 2003; Adger and Brookes, 2003).

Grimble, et al, (1995) cited in Hussein, (1998:36) view the problem from the stakeholder perspectives. Individuals, groups, communities, institutions and organizations, which directly or indirectly affected by the action or inaction, decision and indecision, are considered as the stakeholders. Failure or success of any

environmental management is predicated on the active involvement or otherwise of stakeholders and the extent to which their interest recognized when such decisions and policies made. For example, International Development Agencies frequently use stakeholder approach to identify actors and their interest in order to plan development interventions that will influence positively on the stakeholders in a given society. In the case of farmer-herder conflict, there are two lessons deduced from stakeholder perspectives first, it emphasized the identification of actors and their interest in natural resources use. Secondly, identification of actors and interest, helps in fashioning out areas over which conflict of interest over natural resources will develop.

Since early 19th century, historians and anthropologists have been studying farming and herding communities in Africa. The former is concern about the historical evolution and relations between farmers and herders (Webb, 1995). While the later focused on understanding the behavior and characteristics of ethnically distinct, farming and herding communities (see Gulliver, 1955; Barth, 1973; Schmitz, 1993). Both arguments utilize contextual and theoretical analysis technique rooted in the two disciplines of history and anthropology in analyzing farmer-herder relations. They both looked at the state, power relations, class relations, historical developments etc as fundamental determinants of relations between these groups (see Hussein, 1998:37).

From the ecological point of view, Bujra, (2000) argued that, 'the decreasing quality and quantity of land productivity such as water has aggravated the intensity and the scope of competition between farmers and pastoralists as well as among farmers. Their pattern of movements with large herds of cattle to water destinations and their insatiable search for pasture created serious problems with farmers. However, private

ownership of land and the emergence of large fenced farms have to some extent restricted herds mobility.

Turner, (2005) in his studies of farmer-herder conflicts in the Sahel argued that the political ecology and moral dimension of the conflict has not adequately covered by growing literatures on the conflict. More importantly, he argued that a major material aspect that has not been adequately, appreciated in the study of farmer-herder conflicts is that, livestock is a vital source of wealth not only to herders but also including farmers. Some farmers are also potential livestock producers. However, given the scenario where animals are of economic value to both farmers and herders, competing over a desert-prone agricultural landscape. Under this condition, the expectation of farmer-herder conflicts is never in doubt. Beside it will also include conflicts over depleted and degraded lands, divergent interest over livestock sector as a source of material wealth.

In another study conducted by Little, (2005) aptly summarizes the condition of pastoralists in a stateless society in his analysis of Somalis case. He quoted Ibn Khaldum, “civilization collapse in places where the Arabs [nomads] took over and conquered (1967:304).” He further cited an example of the Oromo in Ethiopia, Taureg in Mali, Baluch of Pakistan and Berber of Algeria. This development symbolizes the politics of conflicts between farmers and herders in many parts of the globe.

Obioha, (2005) blamed farmer-herder insurgency on the rising disparities and widening gap between those the land-rich and the landless poor, between the rich and poor cattle owners. This gap led to exploitation of the poor by the rich over certain resources such as land and water.

He buttresses his argument by citing a case where heavily armed nomadic herders from neighboring Chad Republic attacked the rural village of *Dumne* in Borno state, Nigeria. It is believe that, the attack was a reprisal in response to violent conflict over grazing areas in early 2000s.

Moritz, (2005) look at the conflict from the operational structure of the state, which focuses on the governance and activities of a bureaucratic state structure. This according to him misrepresents the relationship between for example, *nomadic Fulbe Ma'aren* herders and the state in Northern part of Cameroun. He further argued that, the focus shifts from the objectives of an abstract bureaucratic state to the interest of the agents that makes up the Neopatrimonial state and how they manipulate the apparent disorder for personal gains.

Moritz, (2008) has also examine the honor cultures of herding societies in Africa and opined that, pastoralists in Africa are since noted for institutionalizing among themselves a behavior of violence and aggressiveness at all times when the situation warrants. Their remote background, leaving in rural areas where government presence is absent contributed in developing this culture in order to defend their herds from anticipated raids and attacks from both farmers and herders. In addition, aggressiveness happen to be regarded as braveness and a prestige especially among young herders.

Incidences of farmer-herder conflicts have been use to evoke emotions' and alarming images. Conflict researchers often suggest that, the long-standing symbiotic relationships between farmers and herders have broken-down gradually replaced by fatal conflicts that are now endemic. However, it is argue that such conflicts are now a significant threat to national security of the Nigerian state (see FACU, 1998;

Ingawa, et al, 1999; Milligan and Binns, 2007). This seems to be more prominent in Northeastern Nigeria. Not fewer than 200 people perish in farmer-herder clashes in *Bauchi, Jigawa* and *Yobe* states during the 1980s and 1990s (Milligan and Binns, 2007).

In their conclusion, Shettima and Tar, (2008) summarized that, ‘while it is difficult to establish a single explanatory variable responsible for farmer-herder conflict, it is apparent that social and environmental factors act in tandem to perpetuate it. For example, the decline in the water level of the Lake Chad and its other aquatic resources is a serious problem with short and long-term social, political, economic and security implications for the whole of West African Sub-region.

Benjaminsen, et al, (2008) in his study of farmer-herder conflicts in inland Niger of Mali concludes that, since independence, there was gradual loss of economic and political power on the part of the herders for the betterment of the under privileged farming people. They contend that, this is the consequences of the state focusing on modernization of agriculture at the expense of pastoralism. While the process of pastoral marginalization also leads to increase land use conflict between farmers and herders.’

Basset, (2009) in his analysis of nomadic herders and their herds concur with the earlier assertion of Fratkin and Roth, (2005) which states that, state bias against nomadic herders has a long tradition in Africa. Basset’s findings suggest that, the absence of Fulani herders on the decision-making bodies on land has not been so good for nomadic herders. He argued that excluding nomads of Fulani origin in allocation, planning and management of land is a threat to peaceful co-existence between farmers and herders. Therefore, he suggests that the *Fulani* nomads’

participation in land matters should be in conjunction with the farmers whose right to land secured than the herders.

Another empirical study by Ofuoko and Isife, (2009) suggests in their conclusion that, the recurrent clashes between the host farming communities and the nomadic cattle herders, can be minimize through extension intervention. Since the concept of Local Development Plans (LDPs) is rooted from farmers and herders themselves, can be use by extension agencies as a mechanism to minimize conflicts between them [farmers and herders]. They went further to state that, LDPs would comprise of frameworks for the use of land resources, in the midst of possibly conflicting objectives and provide a solution to reducing tension over access to land resources.

Marietu, T. and Olarewaju, I. (2009:360) summarized the Nigerian situation in their paper on resource conflicts among farmers and herders. According to them, most conflicts involving lands matters in rural areas has to do with disputes over resources between farmers and herders on matters such as grazing areas. They blamed the state in three aspects as responsible for the conflict, first, the failure of the Nigerian state for instance, to take care of indigene-settler syndrome in its constitution has cause conflicts over claims and right over land on basis of indegineship. There also the critical issue which remains unresolved that are important to both herders and farmers livelihood. These issues include grazing areas, water points among others. Third, land tenure system in Nigeria does not favour the lower class and the poor.

In a more recent study, a better understanding of land tenure arrangement is suggested in order to carry along the pastoral as well as non-pastoral rights in order to involve all actors in the conflict. A strong framework for institutional support is necessary to accommodate the rights of both pastoral and non-pastoral rights so that they can co-exist side by side with each other. Lengoiboni, M. et al, (2010:587)

administration and management of laws governing land should not be narrowed to only ownership and control by individuals or groups. Rather periods of ownership should be clearly spelt out unambiguous to pastoralists. This may help and possibly reducing conflicts.’

In conclusion, after engagements with several literatures that are relevant to this study, there is inherent lack of sufficient research studies on the relationship between ethnicity and political marginalization in understanding the dynamics of farmer-herder conflicts in a multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria. The apparent ethnic divisions among people are some of the most common divisive tendencies that threaten peace among the Nigerian populace. However, in the last two decades, farmer-herder conflicts are often articulated as ethnic and to some extent religious conflicts. The manifestation and spread of violence among farmers and herder is very central to the research problem which the study intends to achieve by examining the causes and management of these conflicts in the study area.

3.3 RESOURCE SCARCITY AND CONFLICT: EXAMINING THE DEBATE

Since the historical evolution of sovereign nation states, there has been competition over who can access and who cannot access resources such as land. Most importantly is the control over these resources have been historically blamed as one of the genesis of numerous resource conflicts in most nations. Conflicts will rather increase under condition of environmental collapse, which unprecedentedly destabilizes states and nation to the extent that rebellion, famine and migration become inevitable (see Runner, et al, 1991). Wars are often over resources (Galtung, 1982:99). Most conflict relates to resources, which most a times tend to be scarce especially rural areas (Kratli and Swift, 1999:26).

Some scholars have concluded that continuous struggle to gain access and control over scarce resources has been a vital source of conflicts (Galtung, 1982; Brock, 1991; Runner, 1991; Gleich, 1993; Homer-Dixon, 1991, 1993, 1995; Percival and Homer-Dixon, 1998). However, there is no consensus by resource conflict scholars on this issue. Equally, some researchers on resource conflicts also question the arguments that the role of resources and climatic conditions in conflict (Deudney, 1991; Levy, 1995; Gledtsch, 1998). Their major objection on case study findings, which can hardly be generalized or define other characteristic obtainable in other distinct areas. Both stress on the environment and armed conflicts are or have been present, this means that no allowance made for variations in the independent and dependable variable (Hauge and Ellingsen, 1998:300).

Resource scarcities lead to competition over access, and subsequently degenerate into conflict. The link provides a relationship of independent and dependent variables that are central to the study of how resource scarcities turn into conflict between the state and resource users and within different users as the case of farmer-herder conflict. These tripartite concepts are important because farmers or herders can exploit it, to inflict harm to the detriment of either or both. Therefore, if scarcity is the main source of competition and conflicts between farmers and herders, so also, competition and conflicts is also another source of renewed scarcity of resources.

World Resources Institute (1992:223; 1998:145) predicted that, 'by the year 2050 the World's population may exceed nine billion and economic industrial output will quadruple'. If their prediction happens to be so, there will be expected increase pressure on renewable resources, and invariably exacerbate farmer-herder competition and conflict over scarce resources in Sub-Saharan Africa, where scarcity of renewable resources is so glaring. Moreover, renewable resource scarcity is

currently vulnerable; some analysts expect that, environmental decay will become severe in future (Westing, 1986; Myers, 1993; Homer-Dixon, 1994).

Environmental scarcity can emerge in so many ramifications, such as, desertification, land degradation or depletion, over use of resources and other human and natural factors. Perhaps, environmental resources may be abundant in certain areas and its scarcity in other areas can create a condition where groups are compelled to compete over it as the case in Lake Chad basin. Conflict of natural resources can manifest its self at different stages and different magnitude, from individuals to national and international levels. This also manifest through various contacts. Anthony and Fiki, (2005:15) provided five patterns of resource conflicts:

- i.* Family/household resource conflicts,
- ii.* Inter group conflicts between different livelihood and for ethnic groups,
- iii.* Intra group resource conflicts between different socio-economic groups,
- iv.* Resource conflicts between people and the state,
- v.* Inter regional and international resource conflicts between regions and between neighboring countries.

What are the sources of these scarcities? Homer – Dixon, (1994) categorized environmental scarcity into three dimensions:

- i.* Supply - induce scarcity: occur under condition of persistent depletion faster than they are renewed.

- ii. Demand – induce scarcity: caused by population growth or increased per capita consumption.
- iii. Structural scarcity: prevails when resources are inequitably distributed, and among people of the same community. The underprivileged affected by shortages.

Continued environmental scarcity precipitated by one or more of the above factors have several consequences, which subsequently lead to low intensity armed conflict. One of the most important intervening factors between environmental scarcity and conflict are decreased agricultural production, decrease economic activity, migration, and weak states. In 1999, Homer–Dixon, in his further analysis of how supply, demand and structural scarcities interact and enforce each other in extraordinarily pernicious ways, he reconceptualized two major sources of resource scarcity, that is:

- i.* Resources capture, and;
- ii.* Ecological marginalization.

Resource capture – means that when the resources of a community are control and dominated by few individuals and group who are assume the most powerful and influential. This powerful group of elites exercises some degree of control over these resources especially when scarcity exacerbates. They also try to manipulate laws and regulations governing such resources to their advantage and benefit. In doing so, the weak and underprivileged suffers the most from the actions of the influential group. Homer-Dixon, used Chiapas one the cities in Mexico as an example, where increase in population caused land scarcity and subsequently powerful landlords use the flaws in the nations land laws to disown land from poor peasants.

Ecological marginalization – another kind of interaction that occurs when structural inequality persists in conjunction with rapid population increase pushes the poor peasants to areas that are ecologically dangerous and marginalized. These areas are mostly at risk of ecological disaster in areas such as hillsides and valley-bottom sites. The implication is that, when population is increasing in these marginalized areas combine with lack of knowledge and technical inabilities to control local resources may further lead to poverty and migration of the poor. The case of Philippines is cited frequently, as an example (Homer-Dixon, 1991; 1995; 1999). Imbalances in land allocation between the rich and the poor, in addition to increasing population forced many poor peasants to move to a higher region of archipelago.

The most recent renaissance of concern over environmental scarcity begun in the mid 1980s, with the introduction of what is referred to as “sustainability” or “sustainable development” by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources [IUCN]. The term sustainable development gain currency with the rising awareness for the problems created by global environmental degradation. Concern for the environment also fought its way into the security debate (Hauge and Ellingson, 1998:300). However, fundamental to the current debate, is the ability of natural resources to support both current and future population as well as economic activities. In the views of Krautkraemer, (2005:5) ‘the effects of current economic activities on the basic environmental life support system now seem more critical than the availability of particular natural resource commodity’.

There are many extant conceptions on environmental scarcity or resource scarcity and conflicts. Since the mid 1980s scholars such as Westing, (1986:14) contemplated at extending conventional security thinking to include other issues such as

environmental change and resource depletion. They contend that, 'scarcity and conflicts interact in Sub-Saharan Africa in unleashing insecurity and conflicts.

According to Adger and Brookes, (2003:13) look at human security as the ability to contain or suppress threat arising from social, cultural and environmental. This also includes all threats, which undermines peace and stability of a community. These can happen suddenly or in long-term or seasonal circles. Scarcity emanating from environmental factors has been a recurring characteristic of societies and is a serious threat to human insecurity'.

Maxwell and Reuveny, (2000:303) provided some channels through which environmental scarcities may cause conflict. The first channel, from environmental scarcity to conflict involves economic decline due to decrease in the quantity or quality of natural resources, which may cause tensions over claims to the shrinking natural resources base. The second channel involves population migration. When individuals and groups attempt to replenish depleted resources new groups and host communities may face conflicts. Thirdly, when the most important political institutions are weak, the institution of the state may lose the confidence of its people, which re-enacts another conflict that might further weaken the existing political institutions of the state. The fourth channel places the preceding channels in the context of an already politically unstable region, exacerbating existing political cleavages, generating even more conflict. To further buttress Maxwell and Reuveny's claim Durham, (1979 cited in Maxwell and Reuveny, 2000:303) advanced the argument by citing an example of how natural resources scarcity caused migration from El Salvador to Honduras and eventually led to the 1969 soccer-war. Analyzing the post 1945 Philippines, Hawes, (1990:264) finds that, violence is link to deforestation; land degradation, high population growth and

population displacement. Goldman, (1991:126) also argued that, extreme environmental degradation generated empire-wide anti-Russian sentiments which contributed to the break-up of the Soviet empire. The case in Bangladesh since 1970, the water conflicts between Mauritania and Senegal, South Africa and Lesotho, Middle East nations in the 1980s and 1990s serves as a reference point.

However, the argument by environmental conflict theories tend to see the environment as an agent of behavioral change and has the influence to modify human behavior when it interact with other factors. Natural resources scarcity caused by earthquakes, flooding etc. intrinsically provokes immediate responses by human beings. How this interaction takes place in its natural environment remains a big question, which requires an answer.

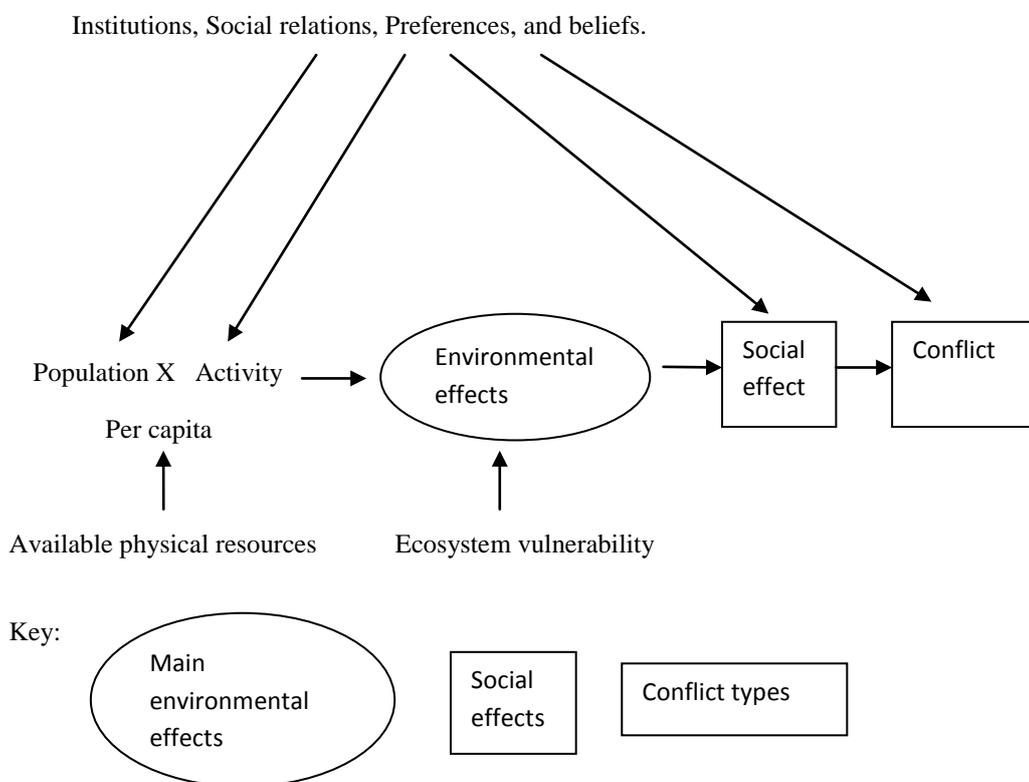
Nevertheless, another conception narrowed down on how environmental fluctuations affect conflict rather than security of livelihood. Some environmental conflict researchers, notably Homer-Dixon, (1991) argued that, climatic change cause conflicts in the same way as terrorism and war. In many cases, it may be loose or power causes of conflicts.

Environmental conflicts scholars like Gleick, (1993); Bachler, (1994); Swain, (1999) contend that, 'the underdeveloped or developing countries that are poor will generally be vulnerable to environmental change more than the developed or rich countries. There is likelihood that environmentally induced conflicts will precariously persist first in developing countries due to exerted pressures on the environment. Environmental pressures will in the near future probably unleash economic decline, decline in agricultural production and disintegration of social relationships. Hence, it may in combination with these social impacts lead to several

conflicts that are severe including conflicts between communities over scarce resources, clashes between farmers and herders and between ethnic nationalities as well as insurgencies.

Homer–Dixon (1991) in his analysis provided a model that explains the relationship between the environment and conflicts in order to help researchers address several issues in relation to environment and conflict.

FIGURE 2: ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE AND ACUTE CONFLICT MODEL



Source: Adopted from Thomas Homer- Dixon (1991)

The environmental change and acute conflict model suggest that the sum total impact of human activity on the environment in particular ecological region is the function of two variables, that is, total human population and capital. He based his arguments

on the influence of ecosystem on human activities. He posits that, human activities are dependent on the availability of resources such as land, water, oil, among others. The environment as setting has its negative impacts on conflicts.

Despite numerous explanations on the relationship between conflict and the environment, several scholars have questioned the entire argument. Deudney, (1990) and Simon, (1996) cited in Gleditsch, (1998:383) have listed a number of problems with the notion of increasing resource scarcity. First, it ignores human creation and changes in technological advancements, which help in the rate of resources extraction from raw material lodes. Modern industry is high in processing, which essentially means intensive in capital, technology and energy, rather than in raw materials such as minerals. Second, the pessimistic arguments overlook the role of international trade; most scarcities are local rather than universal. Third, raw materials can be substituted, so being dependent on particular resources today is not the same as being vulnerable tomorrow if the supply lines should be chocked off. Fourth, in the event of increasing scarcity, prices are likely to go up leading to greater economizing, and further technological change, trade and substitution. Deudney argues that, conflict over resources such as water may lead to joint exploitation of the resources and a network of common interest. Similarly, resource scarcity based on environmental degradation would encourage joint effort to halt degradation.

Levy, (1995:216) on his part, holds a different view being a critique of Homer-Dixon and his Toronto group. He argued that, climatic conditions could never be a major source of violent conflicts. He further argued that, it is not a national security issue for countries like United States. Moreover, is even unlikely prove interesting as a research area unless seen in conjunction with other causes of armed conflict.

Brock, (1991 cited in Gleditsch, 1998:382) argued that the role of natural resources in conflict has been over blurred by its advocates as rightly pointed by Lipschutz and Holdren, (1990) who argued that ‘... the problem of access to resources has not really played such a central role ...’.

From the foregoing debates, this study concludes that, nature and human action are covertly or overtly responsible for environmental scarcities, which subsequently lead to conflict. Moreover, conflict is an important elixir for environmental complexities. In Sub-Saharan Africa for example, bush burning, tree felling and over grazing are some of the major human activities that continued to threaten the environment. Even the current competition, confrontation and violent conflict between farmers and herders in the Lake Chad basin, is attributed to fast depletion and deforestation of the environment due to human unfriendly actions towards the environment they co-inhabit.

3.4 FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT AND THE RESOURCE ISSUE

The increasing farmer-herder conflict has been the most common characteristics of renewable resources crises in most developing countries. This is a reflection of the much dependence on dairy products such as milk, meat and grain (Turner, 2004:867). The rationale for struggle over these resources, which this conflict reflects, is not in dispute. When given the chance, unfenced animals will graze vegetation (including crops) within cultivated areas. While farmers too, will do everything possible to exclude animals from their farms (Tuner, 2004:867). The conflict between farmers and herders has been responsible for rules governing land use and practice in various communities including privatization of agricultural land (Canon, 1983; Thompson, 1991 and Chavas, 1995).

The unprecedented transformation of farmer-herder conflict in sub-Saharan Africa justifies the manifestation of resource scarcity-driven conflict as earlier argued by scholars such as (Bennet, 1991; Kaplan, 1994; Meyers, 1996 and Homer-Dixon, 1999). The most common images of farmer-herder conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa are seemingly inevitable, and their genesis needs no exhaustive explanation. Resource contradiction between farmers and herders are seemingly obvious manifesting under intense competition, which are sometimes express through violent and violent means. On a broader perspective, some researchers argued that, poverty enforces a strong material logic to the disputants' motivation along with a shorter-term planning horizon (Broad, 1994 and Homer-Dixon, 1999).

To some scholars, resource-related conflicts among farmers and herders in dry land Africa is viewed by many as a kind of "primitive war" affected less by deliberations, longer-term strategy, political ambition and higher moral purpose than by the competitive pressures over a dwindling resource held in common (Peluso and Watt, 2001; Turner, 2004).

Hendrickson, (1997:8) observe that, the arguement that resource related conflict is driven by the scarcity of natural resources dominates the resource management literature of the Sahel and other dry land areas of Africa. Blench, (1996) cited in Turner, (2004:868) added that, 'development projects in sub Saharan Africa are mostly unsuccessful due to long time neglect of resource competition. He argued that, when resources are short and population live on the edge, minor deficits in rainfall or pasture may generate major conflicts'.

The growing juxtaposition of resource scarcity and conflict in African dry land areas commonly used as an indicator of state failure and competition induced degradation

(Turner, 2004:868). Environmental security literatures opined that the growing intermittent resource conflict in sub-Saharan Africa that become prominent in their literatures, is considered as metaphors for insurgency movements, international border disputes, and other crime. They argued that, land degradation and resource scarcity are already exacerbating the north-south migration in the region, with consequences of increase in population and crime (Dalby, 1996; Kaplan, 1994; Turner, 2004). The incessant insecurity in sub Saharan Africa broadly explained as the combine forces of draught and resource scarcity (Bennet, 1991).

Researchers such as Hussein, et al, (1999) describe farmer-herder conflicts as long-term features of social life in Sub-Saharan Africa. He argued that farmer-herder conflict as a reminiscent struggle over resources as well as major source of social conflict and environmental degradation in the region. Farming communities often describe herders as “marauders” who move through an area overgrazing pasture, causing crop damage, and fleeing the area before the can be brought to justice (Turner, 2004:869). He also reported that, herders on their part also perceive farmers as responsible for gradual encroachment and blockage of cattle routes and grazing reserves that lead directly to reduction in the quantity of pasture and soil fertility which consequently forcing livestock into more constricted areas.

The study concludes that the conflict between farmers and herders is a struggle and defense of livelihood between the two communities over material interest that are oppose to each other. Central to this interest is the material resources that both parties struggle and defend as sources of livelihood.

Turner, (2004:869) stress that, the portrayal of farmer-herder conflict in the growing literature and histories as being fundamentally a social transformative struggle over

scarce natural resources is quite compelling. He further explained that, farmer-herder relations and agro pastoral production strategies in the Sahel suggest that the genesis and social implications of these conflicts are different and more complex than portrayed by local people and outside observers.’

Turner, (2004) has concluded that, resource scarcity is seen as currently contributing to social conflict. Resource related conflict between farmers and herders is a conglomeration of two images of two groups engaged in a zero sum conflict over a dwindling resource base. The underlying material basis for farmer-herder conflict is typically, seen as one over land cover. Herders require pasture, farmers destroy pasture to farm, and herders intrude into farmers fields to provide forage to their animals (Turner, 2004:875). The depiction that, narrowed farmer-herder conflict on material basis is criticized by some researchers that, these conflicts are long-standing and prevalent during periods of higher rainfall and lower human population densities (Bruiser, et al, 1998; Hussein, et al, 1999).

The resource competition between farmers and herders is much more diffuse than the common assumption of the Sahelian dry land. Rainfall is highly seasonal, falling from mid-June through mid-September. Livestock presence within agricultural fields is only a threat to farmers during the three months of the year when crops are growing. During the rest of the year, farmers seek to have livestock on their fields as a source of manure (Heasley and Delehanty, 1996; Powell, et al, 1996).

Turner, (2004) asserts that material scarcity is not always responsible for livestock-induced crop damage as concluded by some analysts. He argued that, the seasonality of agro pastoral production works to reduce the potential of crop-induced damage. Crop damage is very common in agro pastoral regions such as the Sub-Saharan

Africa. These conflicts are socially produced rather than an outcome of resource scarcity. Most crop damage is due to poor Livestock management on the part of the herders. Cattle do not enter cultivated areas due to resource scarcity but due to failures of herds' management emanating from exhaustion and lack of attention-precipitated by scarcity of labor within the managing family. Turner, (2004) in his appraisal of the conflict in Sub Sahara Africa asserts that:

The Sub-Saharan African States are commonly used examples for scarcity-induced conflicts. Conflict must be remembered as a necessary driven by rational rather than absolute scarcities. In Sub-Saharan Africa resources, attracting competitive interest may not be sufficient value to 'invest' in conflict. Moreover, the high spatio-temporal variability of productive resources leads to a situation in which there is little spatial fixity in the competition over land. Within such an ecological setting, conflicts are less likely to resemble strategic contest to maintain resources access over the long term (PP877).

Scarcity-driven economy may not be the only parameter in determining the competition and conflict of material interest, between farmers and herders. Farmer will vehemently react to crop damage resulting from poor management of herds than scarcity of resources emanating from climate change. On the other hand, herders are not likely to confront farmers solely over the loss of pastoral resources due to expansion in farmlands. Looking at the variability of rainfall and other natural resources in the Sahel, resource related conflicts are mostly stimulated by a range of factors, which require longer-term strategies than simply a mere resource upsurge.

Turner, (2004) further advanced this analysis, and contends that,

A major material dimension that has gone under-appreciated in the literature on farmer-herder conflict is that livestock are the major source of wealth for farmers and herders alike. Therefore, we have a situation of animals of high value to both farmers and herders grazing a very resource poor agro-pastoral landscape. Given this, one would expect farmer-

herder conflict to not simply involved dispute over the unproductive pasture or cropland but also, if not more importantly, involved divergent interest in the livestock and question of wealth within the community (pp. 880)

Historically, sub-Saharan Africa has for long, been in conflict arising from poor resource condition in terms of pasture, cropland and forest with land degradation, drought and desertification. Institutional failure becomes evident within the context of common property framework, based on the widespread occurrence of resource related conflicts, environmental mismanagement and land degradation. Perhaps farmer-herder conflict in region should be looked beyond resource issue to include broader set of tensions that have moral dimension between the two communities.

3.5 FARMERS, HERDERS AND THE NEOPATRIMONIAL STATES

States particularly in Middle East and Africa often perceive herding communities as very complex people to govern and exercise control over them. It has been prejudice by state authorities that, they set of people are lawless, disloyal and difficult to convince them on state constitutional issues such as payment of tax. While on the other hand, pastoralists too, because of their mobility and loyalty to tribal and cultural obligations, they see the state as a monster threatening their survival. Moreover, pastoralists going by their rural livelihood hardly acknowledge the role and significance of government as an institution (see Fratkin, 2005:1). These opposing perceptions have existed for centuries. Fratkin, (2005) have recently indicated that, even the great wall built by China was mainly to prevent nomadic horse riders from invading new China. Ibn Khaldum one of the prominent explorers during the early centuries concludes that, nomadic herders lay waste to civilization in their struggles between the desert and the sown.

The general argument in African literatures, on pastoralists or herders is the development of the neo-patrimonial states that negates and in opposition to nomadic societies. Which some researchers considered as a grievous misconception, which continued to be incompatible with the rural lives of pastoralists. This misconception further widens the gaps of on-going negative perceptions between the state and pastoral communities. The implication is that, pastoralists will continue to move inwards into more marginal and remote areas (see Moritz, 2005; Salih, 1990; Lenhart and Casimir, 2001; Klute, 1996).

Bratton and van de Valle (1994) cited in Kimchoeun, (2007) has provided a comprehensive definition of neo-patrimonialism. He summarized that:

“The chief executive maintains authority through personal patronage, rather than through ideology or law. As with classic patrimonialism, the right to rule is ascribed to a person rather than an office. In contemporary neo-patrimonialism, relationships of loyalty and dependence pervade a formal politics and administrative system and leaders occupy bureaucratic offices less to perform public service than to acquire personal wealth and status. The distinction between private and public interests is purposely blurred. The essence of neopatrimonialism is the award by public officials of personal favours, both within the state and in society. In return for material rewards, clients mobilise political support, and refer all decisions upwards as a mark of deference to patrons.”(p 49)

Weber’s earlier works on “Politics as a vocation” in 1965 and “Economy and Society” in 1978, describe neopatrimonialism as a combination of power and governance (Patrimonialism and rational bureaucracy). He posits that, bureaucratic arrangements should be operationally separate from any political manipulation.

Kamchoeun, P. et al, (2007) highlighted some common characteristics of neopatrimonialism across countries. These characteristics includes

- i. Neo-patrimonialism is extremely personalised, resources are centralized and controlled by few individuals who exercise unlimited control over it through the instrument of the state.
- ii. Neo-patrimonial is characterized by using formal and informal apparatus of the state in order to amass wealth through the rent-seeking behaviours.
- iii. It also disorganizes main values of societies by creating inequality and stratification among individuals and groups.
- iv. It causes economic crisis and fiscal uncertainties which some scholars described as referred to as “a systemic fiscal crisis.”
- v. Neo-patrimonialism over time becomes resistant to change and always wanting to avoid change as much as possible.

African states are often, considered as modern bureaucratic state with agentive and hegemonic power that is incompatible with herding societies. The image of African states in the growing literature on pastoral economies varies from the developing literatures in political science (Daloz, 1999; Van de Wall, 2001; Young, 2003). Moritz, (2005:1) argued that, overtly or covertly modern states distorts the structure of livelihood of pastoral societies. However, further studies on pastoral communities should focus towards more understanding of how state operation affects pastoral societies in a democratic setting.

In recent times, the dominant analysis on pastoralism and the state focuses on formal organization of the state, with its agencies and programs instead of the actions of those who steer the affairs of the state under neo-patrimonial regimes. Moritz, (2005:85) in his analysis of the state, summarized what Meir labeled the centripetal

forces of the state and the centrifugal forces of the nomadic pastoralists, while the latter seek to maintain their autonomy.

Today, beyond borders of states and pastoralists relations, generally, African states are referred, to as neo-patrimonial state in political science literatures (Van de Walle, 2001; Moritz, 2005). In the neo-patrimonial states, the institution of the state is weak and ineffective because the state operates through informal networks that are politically motivated --- African states are describe as neo-patrimonial state because their bureaucratic system function side by side with the characteristics of patrimonialism. Patrimonialism could exist as long as modern states have set of laws, policies and programs to pursue (see Van de Walle, 2001; Moritz, 2005).

Contact between farmers and herders, and with the state is limited to lower level bureaucrats of the agricultural or animal husbandry services, traditional authorities, the police and custom officials. Moritz, (2005:85) in his studies on pastoralists, reported the bureaucrats dealing with the nomadic pastoralists or herders as characterized by 'informal politics'. These agents of the state engaged in 'informal politics,' using the formal bureaucratic system and its official laws, policies and budgets --- e.g., vaccinations, permits for transhumance, transhumance tax, poll tax, cattle tax, identity cards, custom --- to seeking bribe and pre-bends from pastoralists. This means that for one to understand between pastoralists and the neo-patrimonial state requires an analytical approach that focuses on actual events every day encounter of nomadic pastoralists with these representatives of the state (Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Moritz, 2005).

Looking at the nature of Lake Chad basin area been shared between riparian countries of Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Nigeria, transhumance nomadic herders

move across these states which brings them into contacts with officials of different states across the basin. It is therefore, important to examine pastoralists' relation with the state within a larger regional framework, to cover the entire Lake Chad Basin Commission [LCBC] member countries (Krings and platte, 2004; Roitman, 2004; Moritz, 2005).

Our focus in this part of the literature review, tend to capture Chad basin as a linkage between neighboring states, but as a locus of several partially overlapping ecological, cultural, economic and political zones that are crossed by political, economic and criminal transnational networks (Roitman, 2004). Mortz, (2005) exemplified such transnational networks as, 'their transit of cattle following ancient trade routes from Sudan, Chad, Central Africa via Cameroon to livestock markets and consumers in Nigeria'.

The paradox of pastoralists-state relationship in the larger Chad basin is that, while modern institutions called the states have tempered with the traditional lives of pastoralist in the last 50 years, the states and its projects are often conspicuously absent in their everyday lives. This is another version of the paradox of the weak but at the same time hegemonic state (Young, 1994 cited in Moritz, 2005:93).

Another issue, which some analysts emphasized, in relation to the state and farmer-herder conflicts are in the area of insecurity. They looked at the state as 'weak' and unable to maintain security in the peripheries of the bush where these nomads reside with their herds of cattle. Insecurity and illegitimate activities, has been simply describe as the 'criminalization of the state' (Bayart, et al, 1999; Moritz, 2005). These criminalization ranges from cattle raiding, arm robbery, arm conflict, involvement of government officials in corruption, extortion and biasness. Virtually,

the state is often the greatest perpetrator of violence in Africa (Chabal and Daloz, 1999).

Nomadic pastoralists are the most vulnerable to insecurity as they live relatively isolated in the bush. According to Moritz, (2005:95) ‘bandits come to the camps and extort pastoralists under the threat of violence. They frequently announce their arrival in advance to ensure that nomadic pastoralists convert cattle into cash’.

The plight of herders in Somali has been drastically affected by “state collapse” because of war that wrecks the country for the past ten years. According to Little, (2005:127) the fall of Si’ad Barre’s government in 1991, has been difficult times for Somali herders. Herders, farmers and traders have been confronted by statelessness and volatile conditions. They were compelled to resist and contain with the difficult situations of political instability and environmental threats that has ravage the country in recent years. It has been estimated by some researchers that, pastoralism as a sector contributes to over eighty percent of Somali’s of exports annually, only about six percent of public expenditure, corresponding to 1.2 percent of Gross Domestic Product [GDP] annually during 1974-1988 (Mubarak, 1997:202).

Little, (2005:131) went further to revealed that, despite the fact that pastoral sub sector contributes to economic development of Somalia; comparatively the Somali state has failed in its responsibilities especially in remote rural communities. Herders in Somali have to struggle and compete over poor and inadequate infrastructure and absence of responsible government. The state in Somali extracts from local resources but is unable to provide basic facilities needed for pastoralism to thrive better. However, the state in Somali sometimes plays the role of mediation when there is conflict.

In addition to statelessness in Somalia, the existence of conflict and contestation between pastoralist and the state defines the character and politics of developing countries. Most recent examples are conflicts and contestations between pastoralists and states in Mali by the Taureq, in Ethiopia by the Oromo and Berber in Algeria. This is an expression of how sedentary states and pastoralists differ in both ideology and perception. Whenever the institution of the state collapse [as the case in Somali] pastoralists who have little or nothing to do with government, stand better chances of survival than other populations who depend on government, for their daily lives (Little, 2005:255).

According to Lawry (1990) the state have in many ways constrain benefits of over control of resources that are rural base through unnecessary reforms. Despite several legislative reforms, no tangible effort made to evolve an effective mechanism for managing natural resources and conflicts arising therein. Consequent upon that, pastoralists find easy reason for collective action against the state and its citizens.

3.6 PERSPECTIVES ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Conflict management as defined by Best, (2006:93) is ‘the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacities of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict’. This term is use interchangeably as synonymous with “conflict regulation”. This also involves conflict handling at various levels including those efforts to prevent conflict by being proactive.

However, to some conflicts analysts, the term conflict management accorded narrower definition than it deserved. Azem, (2005:2) posits that, the literal meaning of management in social and management sciences discipline are more broader than its ordinary definition in peace and conflict studies. Managing conflict entails a

process that involves conflict handling at all ramifications and at all stages for purposes of bringing the situation under control. In this case, conflict management covers all decisions and actions taken by parties, individuals, or groups to handle conflict. However this definition should be transcended to other disciplines to include how conflicts are initiated, how it escalates, how it is controlled , its final resolution among others things.

Supporting this assertion, Otite, (2004:11) sees conflict management more broadly and a wide concept, which does not necessarily, involves only resolution as well as transformation of conflict. He looked at it as also involving long-term institutionalization of rules and regulation for purposes of control and dealing with conflict at formal level.

Black, (1990:43) defined conflict management as the “handling of grievance”. He identified five types of conflict management and the social condition under which each of these is likely to occur. These “species” are self-help, avoidance, negotiation, settlement and toleration. Some of these strategies are more likely than others to be used as forms of “social control from above”, by individuals and groups of higher status against those of lower; “social control from below” by those of lower status against those of higher; and social control between those of relative equal status.

The term conflict management seems to be the “umbrella” term for conflict prevention, containment, resolution, and conflict transformation. It was against this background the study uses the term management to represent among other things the diverse concepts in conflict management studies. Hence, management was also use in this study to identify how farmer-herders conflicts are manage and resolve in the study area

The passion and interest in the study of conflict management unleashed a new paradigm of research interest after the cold war period due to persistence of upsurge of conflicts in some parts of Europe. The manifestation of low intensity conflicts [LIC] such as ethnic, religious, political and resource upsurge attracted much interest among researchers. Azem, (2005:3) observed that, the passion propelled the enthusiasms for building theories in the field of conflict studies in recent years.

In almost all African societies, there exist preference for peaceful and non-violent means of managing and resolving conflicts in line with the sanctity of the societal norms and values. In fact, in most African traditional societies, traditional ways of conflict management and resolution precedes colonialism. Prior to the scramble and partition of Africa, traditional institution were the sanctioning authorities. In recent times, modernization has evolved several methods of peaceful and non-violent management and resolution of community conflicts. The methods are classified into proactive and reactive methods.

3.6.1 PROACTIVE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

Proactive methods entail efforts that aimed to prevent or hinder the occurrences of conflict. This includes undocumented community-based trust and confidence building measures, communication, good governance, collaboration and etcetera. Some conflict scholars believed that, conflict prevention through all effort to make conflict not happen has been confirmed as the best way to avoid conflicts (Oтите, 2004:13; Best, 2006:102).

i. GRASSROOT COMMUNITY-BASED ACTIVITIES

Is one of the proactive processes that help to de-escalate potential conflicts, and to keep conflicts from becoming manifest. The diverse and rich cultures and traditions,

promotes togetherness, enhances team spirit, building cordial relationship among groups in such a way that conflicts are prevented. For instance, Best, (2006:103) explained that ‘village festivals like the new yam festivals among the *Ibos* in Nigeria, initiation rites and puberty festivities for young people, marriage ceremonies, the sharing of village and community markets, wedding, deaths are all community based – these activities and occurrences creates social bonding in ways that prevent dysfunctional conflicts’. Regrettably, many of these cherished traditional values, not adequately documented, by conflict management scholars as an important conflict prevention mechanism in Nigeria. However, when community group solidarity is lost to violent conflict as was the case in the conflict between farmers and herders in the Lake Chad basin, then the virtues and relevance of such community links will begin to get the desired recognition.

ii. GOOD GOVERNANCE

In terms of both curation and prevention of conflicts, having good governance is critical and necessary in conflict handling at all stages. Conflict management, is seen as the handling of state affairs in a way that benefit both the governors and governed for delivering good service Best, (2006:104). Though, there is no consensus of scholars on this definition but relatively the term good governance is associated with democracy and democratization, justice, fair to all, compliance to laws and order, responsiveness, division of responsibility and accountability to the people, respect for minority rights etc. This is what is lacking in most African states, because of that, Africa is currently bedeviled in so many conflicts both Low Intensity Conflicts [LIC] and the High Intensity Conflicts [HIC]. The spread of farmer-herder conflict in Sub Saharan Africa is an indication of the prevalence of low intensity conflicts.

iii. ENHANCED COMMUNICATION

Communication is also another vital method of proactive conflict prevention strategies that enhances community interaction. Sharing and exchange of vital information among the conflicting individuals or groups helps to remove doubt, suspicion and contribute to the process of confidence building among members of society. The ability to discuss and speak about the needs, grievance, interest, fears and feelings of potential parties in conflict serves as ingredients of peace building. Inadequate information dissemination as well as misguided information can easily lead to the escalation of conflict. Communication in the contemporary world of today is a strategic player in conflict management through the revolution in information and communication system management in the current global world.

iv. COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS

In any society, collaboration is considered to be among the links through which better relationships of confidence and trust are building among people. Collaboration helps in solving community problems by the community themselves by way of or engaging in collective activities with such as community development, which includes among other things, sharing schools, markets, hospitals and other utilities. This can happen at various levels, from interpersonal to group, community, national, regional to the international level. It is argue that, those who collaborate and do things together, are likely to build a stronger chain of relationship and friendship which in-turn enhances peaceful coexistence among people. Collaborative approach is one of the ways through which relationship and interactions play a significant role in strengthening peace and harmony in any society.

v. AVOIDANCE

Conflict can be confronted or managed through avoidance, group of individuals who feels unjust treatments is literally denied recognition by those alleged to be responsible for the injustice, can be seen as conflict avoidance. Wilmot and Hocker, (1998:114) described avoidance as character which denies conflict from happening, equivocation, changing and avoiding topics, being non-committal, and joking rather than dealing with the conflict at hand.' They further concluded that, 'avoidance is a strategy which does not allow conflict articulate by giving it an opportunity to do so. Generally, when violent conflicts happens the levels of physical and psychological destructions may be enormous, therefore avoiding conflict is not only important but necessary if society is to progress and achieve sustainable development.

3.6.2 REACTIVE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

The second classification is reactive methods, which deals with responses to situation that have already turn conflictive. This includes third party interventions like negotiation, reconciliation, mediation, arbitration, litigation, containment and etcetera.

i. NEGOTIATION

Negotiation has been define by Fisher, et al (2000) as a structurally organized way and processes of dialogue and individuals and groups in conflict, which has to do with the contentious issues they differ in opinion or perception. Miller, (2003) in his point of view, negotiation involves processes of dialogue and understanding through discussions among the parties in conflict or dispute. Both parties come to the realization that they have a problem, and both are aware that by talking to each other, they can find a solution to the problem. Contributing to the understanding of

negotiation, university of peace, one of the famous universities in peace and conflict studies define negotiation as a communication system guided by the laid down procedure and processes that are acceptable to the parties in conflict. The above definitions attested the position of communication as the engine of any negotiation. Negotiation thrives and becomes feasible only when there is effective communication network.

ii. RECONCILIATION

In many literatures, conciliation is to some extent associated with mediation. Nevertheless, recent researches have shown the two concepts differ in approach. Conciliation is more of facilitation and persuasion of the conflict parties. Conciliation is the voluntary processes of conflict management by creating an avenue or ground to be determine by an unbiased person or groups. Reconciliation can explore more techniques strategies for conflict management. Reconciliation takes longer time than other process of conflict resolution. It involves lengthy discussion with the parties in conflict in order to explore directly from the parties in conflict (Miller, 2003:6-7). The key role of a conciliator is to have a separate discussion with the parties in conflict with a view to providing assistance needed from the neutral third party platform. In most cases, conciliation clears the road for easy mediation.

iii. MEDIATION

Is also another third party intervention method for conflict management and resolution. Miller, (2002:23) summarized the definition provided by the United Nation University for Peace as entirely voluntary process at informal level and the outcome must not necessarily be binding on the parties in conflicts. It helps in enhancing settlements of disputes by external party. While to some scholars,

mediation is seen as the third party intervention, which in most cases the mediator keeps the information to himself. However, it is our conviction that, mediation is a skill embedded in everybody depending on the person's ability to discover the potentials of a mediator in him. It is a voluntary process which an individual, group or society can engaged in whenever they are committed to solving a problem. In African context, characteristics of mediation are not as popular as arbitration. Mediation is most commonly associated with western conflict management systems. In recent years, mediation has been gaining prominence in Africa because of activities of Non-governmental Organizations [NGO].

iv. ARBITRATION

In any third party conflict management, arbitration is advance than mediation. Best, (2006:109) explain that, arbitration is synonymous with mediation and to some extent close to adjudication, and sometime differ from both the first and the later. By definition, is the primarily the role of third party, who listens to all the parties in conflict for the purpose of giving decision that and mandatory on the parties. In other words, the decisions of the arbitrator are binding, which makes it different from mediation. In conflict management, negotiation, mediation and arbitration are all inclusive rather than exclusive because they are all dependent on communication, dialogue and negotiation.

v. LITIGATION

Litigation is an instrument used by the state in managing conflict through peaceful and non-violent means. Litigation is the responsibility of courts of law. Parties to conflict may decide to ignore all the conflict management processes above, and

resort to going to litigation in a court of law. The decision of the court, is binding on all parties.

vi. CONTAINMENT

Containment is a way of dealing with conflict through suppression. It has to do with constitutional responsibilities of the state in terms of maintenance of law and order. When violent conflict occurs, government uses its coercive force in order to de-escalate the situation and bring a cessation to violence. Most frequently is the use of coercion to contain conflict. In African society, coercion is frequently use in containing conflicts. For example, peacekeeping operations in Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia among others, was purposely to suppress arm conflicts in these countries.

vii. PROBLEM SOLVING

According to Otite, (2004:35) is the condition under which parties in conflict seek solution to their problem either by themselves or by seeking the intervention of third parties. This kind of conflict management is participatory in character. Problem solving as a conflict management strategy contribute in promoting peace building and the development strategies towards reconciliation among the parties. The most general question that comes up is, how can parties to a conflict peacefully work together in a community they both own and share with one another? How do the two cultures merge into the production of a “third” culture? Third culture according to Broome, (1993:104) only occur in a conflict situation where the parties are open and ready to understand new meanings that emerges. In addition, respond to requirements emerging from engagement in genuine dialogue.

Elaborating on the manifestation of “third culture” Casmir and Asuncion-Lande (1989:294) noted that; to start with contrasting perception and behaviors, individuals by virtue of their differences in culture and traditions create a symbolic atmosphere for interaction. In trying to understand each other’s culture, they establish a third culture. Both parties will now start interacting at the level of the third party culture through effective communication networks. Perhaps a third party culture emerge not because of their differences in culture but because they are able to integrate the characteristics of the two cultures together. This approach is one of the best approaches in confronting or managing conflicts. It is self supporting and beneficial to all parties in the conflict.

Conflict management in the Nigerian situation is more of reactive (curative) approaches than proactive approach. In most cases, even the state that is saddle with the responsibility of maintaining peace respond to conflict only when conflict has happen by setting up committees of enquiry and the use of security forces to stop the parties in conflict. Most of these committee’s reports are kept for administrative records rather than achieving its purpose as rightly observed by Otite, (2004:38) ‘the report of the commission is presented to government at a widely publicized occasion and the people never hear anything after that until another round of violence breaks out in the area.’ For instance, the militarization of the Niger Delta issue, the establishment of several committees on ethno-religious crisis in plateau state, the coercive approach to farmer-herder conflicts has only succeed in calming the situation for a while but the grievances of the conflicting parties are not addressed.

3.7 LEVELS OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

In Northern Nigeria, there exist informal institutions through which conflicts are resolved at different levels depending on the nature and magnitude of the conflict.

These cultural/traditional arrangements include:

- i. Individual level – traditionally minor conflicts are in many cases resolved by the disputants themselves through negotiations and better understanding between them.
- ii. Household level – conflicts that are unresolved at individual level may receive the attention of family members for intervention and subsequent resolution.
- iii. Community level – in the event that conflicts are not resolved within a household, usually brought to the attention of members of the community particularly to the community elders for consideration.
- iv. Traditional Institutions – this is the highest level under the traditional arrangement. The traditional arrangements comprised of traditional leaders such as the Ward Head, Village Head, District Head and the Chief or Emir. All unresolved conflicts are first, reported to the Ward Head and it will reach up to the Emir when it not resolved at each stage. The Emirs and Chiefs are the highest hierarchy under the traditional arrangement for managing conflicts between individuals and groups (see table 2 below for further analysis).

Anthony and Fiki, (2005:20) group these traditional levels of conflict management based on their traditional roles and systems of authority and legitimacy in structures such as family, chieftaincy hierarchy, village council, and native or indigenous court

system. Their work summarized some institutional levels, types of institutions involved and defining characteristic of each conflict management settings under the Northern Nigerian traditional societies (see table 3 below).

TABLE 3: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

institutions	Type of Institution	Defining Characteristics
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family, Kinship & Clan • Age-grade & ethnic • Land Tenure Associations • Fadama Associations • Miyetti-Allah Cattle Rearers Associations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network of relationships • Emphasize collective decision-making • Communal ownership of land • Have appropriate technologies for primary resource utilization • Experiential knowledge
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various Craft Organizations • Indigenous Cooperative Societies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist in times of crises • Rooted in local culture and social values • Uphold holistic view of nature
Judicial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Native Court system at family to Chiefdom levels • Village Bye-Laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Settle internal dispute and litigations • Guided by precedents and wisdom of elders
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chieftaincy system from Family to chiefdom levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Custodian of lands • Transactive decision making • Hierarchical levels of authority
Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ancestral Worship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forms basis of morality • Dictate code of conduct

Source: Adopted from Anthony and Fiki, 2005

In recent times, virtues of these traditional norms are regarded as a valuable pathway to achieving sustainable development (Watson, 2001:4). Despite the fact that western cultures and norms continued to threaten the efficacy of these traditional institutional arrangements for conflict management, has its own potentials for different experiences.

In Northern Nigerian states, conflicts involving household members are considered as family issue, which in most cases is not detrimental to community network of interrelationship and collective security. It is therefore controlled and managed privately among the disputing parties. On the other hand, when conflict escalates between two or more families or households, when conflict are reported to the above institution of the community, conflict management becomes the function of the third parties for example, traditional rulers, respectable community elders and leaders of thoughts in a community.

Moreover, the traditional systems of conflict management need to be harmonize with national and international development policies to effectively manage and resolve farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad basin area. This is necessary because the Lake is shared between four countries of Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Nigeria. The trans-boarder movements of the pastoralists may have implications on the riparian nations.

3.8 REFLECTIONS ON FARMER-HERDER CLASHES IN NIGERIA

Hagher, (2002:95) summarized the report of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) which is the umbrella association of all Fulani pastoralists or herders in Nigeria, and recounted the following incidence of violence against nomadic herders.

- In *Shaki* conflicts between indigenes and nomadic herders in *Oyo* state, more than 800 herders were killed, 4000 cattle and sheep lost.
- In *Gombe* State, more than 500 pastoralists were killed in ethnic clashes, and other acts of violence.
- In *Mambilla* Plateau of *Sardauna* Local Government Area of *Taraba* State, thousands of cattle have been lost and 112 herders killed by ethnic militia called Mambilla Patriotic Front, which forcibly seized grazing reserves.
- In *Kogi* between February and May 2001, 17 pastoralists were killed, 336 cattle lost and homesteads destroyed by tribal groups claiming the pastoralists had destroyed their crops.
- In 2001, hundred of nomadic *Fulani* were killed and thousands of cattle were lost in the conflict between them and *Sayawa* in *Bauchi*.
- In *Plateeau* State from 2001-2002, pastoralists were attacked several times
- In ethnic conflicts in *Benue*, *Nasarawa* and *Taraba* States hundreds of pastoralists lost their life.

Alubo, (2006:10-33) also chronicled some incidences of violence including farmer-herder conflict in his book ethnic conflict and citizenship crises in the north central region of Nigeria.

- Alubo, (2006) also reported the case of *Karin Lamido*, between *Fulanis* herders and Farmers clashed in may 1999 leading to lose of lives and houses burnt.
- While in *Sanusi* village, about 50 heads of cattle were killed (The Standard 17/6/1999 cited in Alubo, 2006).

- There was reprisal attack from cattle herders in may 2001, in Borno State leaving many dead (Vanguard 21/3/2001 cited in Alubo, 2006).
- Reprisal attack by *Fulani* herders in response to September 2001 killings of *Fulani* herders in *Jos* (Thisday 2/1/2002 cited in Alubo, 2006).
- Reprisal attack on farmers by the *Fulani* herders community in *Barikin Ladi* (Alubo, 2006:23).
- There was fighting between *Fulani* herders and native *Berom* many injured and killed (Thisday 20/6/2002 cited in Alubo, 2006.).
- A night attack was also reported between *Fulani* herders on the village of *Heipang* in *Jos*, leaving many dead and houses destroyed (DailyTrust 15/10/2002 cited in Alubo, 2006).
- In Adamawa still the same, where *Fulani* cattle herders and *Darfur* natives clashed over crop damage leaving many casualties including death (WeeklyTrust, 4/10/2002 cited in Alubo, 2006).
- There was an attack by the *Fulani* herders on *Dume*, in response to the attack by the farmers. Several people perish and properties destroyed. (Vanguard, 6/3/2003 cited in Alubo, 2006).
- Not fewer than two people feared dead while four others sustained injuries in a clash between farmers and herders in *Sindimina* villege in *Jigawa* State (DailyTrust, 16/7/2009).

These unrelenting hostilities between the two communities of herders and farmers is not limited to Nigeria, but mostly attributed to the weaknesses of the neo-patrimonial African States towards pastoralism (Moritz, 2005:84). Richard Nisbett and Dov Cohen (cited in Moritz, 2008:99) argued that, herders stands the risk of so many insecurity and conflicts such as raids and killings because their economies are in rural areas. However, the presence of government in rural areas is absent or less compared to the urban centers.

Under this circumstance, they become vulnerable to unlimited attacks from both farmers and their fellow herders. This led to herders develop certain cultures that are extremely aggressive and the eagerness to fight any threat to their livelihood. Currently, it has become part of the most cherished norms in the *Fulani* culture. That means nomadic herders have to provide security of their lives and properties either individually or collectively despite the fact that the state exist.

The intensification of farmer-herder clashes in Northern Nigeria in my opinion is a combination of multiple factors such as institutional neglect, ethnic contestation, and lack of virile policies on pastoral economies among others, cumulatively made herders to be ostracize and frustrated which led them engage in violence as their ultimate solution. Unfortunately, the approach towards resolution of these conflicts becomes a nightmare because they are more of documentation than practical solutions. For example, the establishment of several committees including Emmanuel Abisoye Panel and the Judicial Commission of Enquiry in 2008 under Justice Bola Ajibola to address the lingering farmer-herder crisis in Jos is now a glorified historical document cited in several literatures. Either of the various committees and commission's recommendation was fully utilize for resolving the long-standing

conflict in Jos. Consequently, this conflict remains a strong divisive force in Nigeria's nationhood.

3.9 BRIEF REVIEW OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS IN SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES

i. ETHIOPIA IN EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia is one of the African states that is engulfed by competition and conflicts between farmers and herders arising from scarcity of renewable and other socio-economic and political factors. Currently, the country has a population of over sixty million. Eighty five percent of these populations are rural dwellers whose livelihood depends on agricultural activities (CSA, 2002:9).

The increase in the populations of people and livestock, in conjunction with the dwindling fortunes of renewable resources, accounted for several changes in land and resources use administration. Access to land and resources use, are subjected to rigorous redistribution strategies by both current and preceding regimes. About sixty-five percent of the total farmer populations in the country have less than one hectare of land at their disposal (CSA, 2002:13). According to Daniel, (2003:2) 'the exalted pressure emanating from resource degradation and increase in the number of resource users has further compounded the problem between farmers and herders particularly in *Quowet Wareda* of the highland and lowland zones of Amhara region'.

A survey assessment research on conflict occurrences between farmers and herders carried out in Quowet Wereda covering the period 1994-2002 revealed that, one hundred and seventy four cases of violent clashes occurred involving farmers and

herders. Out of these cases, forty eight people lost their lives, one hundred and twenty six cattle raided, and one hundred and sixteen people injured at various degrees (Daniel, 2003:74).

ii. CAMEROON IN CENTRAL AFRICA

In Cameroon, there is growing conflict particularly between nomadic Fulani pastoralist and *Tupuri* farmers in *Mayo Kobo* in the Northern part of the Country. Moritz, (2001:4) analyzed how the conflict started in 1996, *Tupuri* are farming communities in northern Cameroun. The farmers happen to temper with the fodder of nomadic herders in the process of clearing their farms, which generated heavy protest from herders. It has been brought to the attention of traditional rulers in the area, for settlement and decides in favor of the herders. This is an indication of how resources such as fodder become central and most critical in farmer-herder conflict. Pastoralists value fodder for the betterment of their livestock. While farmers too, on the other hand need fodder to enhance fertility of their farmlands. Farmer-pastoralist conflict described in the words of Moritz, (2001:5) “politics of the belly” by traditional and state authorities in his research titled the politics of permanent conflict in North of Cameroon.

iii. NIGER IN CENTRAL AFRICA

The case of farmer-pastoralists conflict in Niger Republic around the Lake Chad area is not different from the cases in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Pastoralists right to land have been subdued for long. Pastoralists have no right to land even after several years of continuous cultivation. Modern laws are silent on pastoralism as significant production sector in comparism with other resources, such as farming, forest resources, and wildlife reserves (Thebaud and Batterbury). Thus, pastoralists

must be ready to unwillingly, forfeit their lands to the state for agricultural and any other purposes.

Recent legislations and land reforms were inadequate and unfavorable to pastoral societies. For example, Lund, (1998) reported that, the Code Rural of 1993 as amended in 1991 and 1996 still faced partial implementation. Resources such as water and pasture are required at every time by the users especially in pastoral common property regimes. Pastoralists engaged in providing local wells for them in order to guaranty sustainable availability of resources during the dry season. The introduction of boreholes and modern hydraulic system has change the scenario, access to these properties are no longer negotiated as hitherto done under common property regime. Batterbury and Forsyth, (1999) blamed ‘social, economic and institutional factors for destabilizing pastoral communities...Conflicts in Northern Sahel have been simmering for decades, but in some areas...notably in Mali and Niger, armed rebel movements have disrupted relations with the state...’

The province of *Diffa* in Niger Republic is the most notorious part of the country in terms of farmer-pastoralists conflict. *Diffa* is a sandy desert plain, which covers a vast area of about 140,000 square kilometers stretching from the *Termit* Mountains to the Northeastern part of the Lake Chad. Three ethnic groups (*Kanuri, Manga* and *Mobeur*) formed sixty percent of their population, the *Fulani* constitute twenty percent and others (*Tubu, Daza, Azza and Shuwa Arab*) ten percent (Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001). The inhabitants of *Diffa* are generally pastoralists or agro-pastoralists as their main economic livelihood. Because of variations in pasture conditions due to climatic change and other environmental problems, these communities had to compete over limited resources. For example, the long-standing conflict between *Tubu* and *Fulani* pastoralists over local wells and water points

begun since early 1980s. Many attributed the conflict to closely inter-connected complex problems such as drought, insecurity and the inability of government to provide clear and well defined regulatory mechanisms for resource usage in the region. In the words of Thebaud and Batterbury, (2001),

'By contrast, in Diffa region- a pastoral zone – cement-lined wells and boreholes have often constituted the focal point for inter-ethnic communal strife. In the absence of clearly defined regulatory mechanisms, modern watering points have become an open access resource according to immediate priority to the most forceful herders.'

This development culminated into the emergence of two parallel systems. First, the tradition wells serves as a means of controlling resource access. Secondly, modern cement line-wells provided by government became the center of conflict between pastoral communities. In response to protracted conflict between these communities, the government of Niger had to call its army many times to suppress conflicts between *Tubu* who are well-armed with automatic weapons, against the *Fulani Wodaabe* who are mostly unarmed. Few years later, the *Tubu*, forcing the *Fulani Wodaabe* to retreat into southern shores of the Lake Chad, controls most cement line-wells. The fall of Chadian government under Hissene Habre in the 1990s, led some of his army to retreat to *Diffa* region. Their retreat to *Diffa* marked the beginning of spread of arms and ammunition among pastoralists in the region. Throughout 1990s, *Diffa* region became the battlefield for pastoral communities to the extent that *Tubu* and *Fulani* pastoralists established official separate rebel groups against the Government of Niger (Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001).

iv. BURKINO FASO IN WEST AFRICA

Conflicts between farmers and herders in South West of Burkina Faso are frequent and sometimes violent. These conflicts emanate from competition for resources caused by land depletion and degradation, as well as increase in the number of users. Farmers and herders opposition to traditional and modern laws is also a contributing factor. However, a study conducted by Brockhause, et al, (2004) revealed that:

'Migration of Fulani pastoralists, forced by droughts from the north and political changes from the south (crises in Ivory Coast) brought new challenges to the region. Over the last decades farmer-herder conflicts, especially between local agricultural ethnicities and Fulani pastoralists became more and more visible, frequent and violent.'

Their findings revealed that decentralization and land tenure reform is very critical to the conflict between farmers and pastoralists in Burkina Faso.

3.10 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to Encarta, (2007) a theory is an idea or believes about something arrived at through assumption and in some instances represents facts - mostly operational to understand phenomenon especially in sciences. Conflict is inevitable part of human existence (Isard, 1992:2). Social conflict theorists found it difficult to identify one major factor as being responsible for order in society. In the same vein, they found it difficult to identify a single explanation that can be hold accountable for manifestation or articulation of conflict, whether violent or otherwise. Conflict in most parts of the world, including conflict between farmers and herders are perceived as something abnormal, dysfunctional and therefore, detestable. Yet, conflict is a fact of live and sometimes can be a precursor of positive change (Otite, et al 2004:1).

In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the relationships and interactions of scarcity and other socio-cultural and political factors in the causation of farmer-herder conflict, this study seeks to explore three underpinning theories that best explains the phenomenon under investigation. These theories include:

- Environmental Economic Theory;
- Psycho-cultural Conflict Theory; and
- Theory of Neo-patrimonial State.

i. ENVIRONMENTAL ECONOMIC THEORY

From Malthus to Neo-Malthusian and the recent moderate neo-Malthusian, theories have played a dominant role in the post-cold war conflict and security issues. Thomas Malthus 18th century English demographer has earlier propounded and developed the theory and principles of population. In his early literatures, he warned that the exponential increase in human population would soon outstrip the resources

of the planet, leading to famine and other socio-economic complications in the 19th century. While population is expanding geometrically, subsistence [resources] increases arithmetically on the other hand. He believes that people's ability to increase their supply was constrained in three ways. a) Land scarcity b) limited production capacity of cultivated land c) the law of diminishing returns. Under these circumstances Malthus argued that private ownership of land, became the means of provision or subsistence for humans. The development of neo-Malthusian theorists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, predicted that the rapidly increasing world population would soon exceed the resource base and lead to serious environmental destruction, widespread hunger, and violent conflicts (ECSP Report, 2005). Malthusian theorists are optimistic that rapid increase in population will lead to resource scarcity faster than it is expected and also cause violent conflict over these resources. Tietenberg, (1996) analyzed that 'when society's demand for resources suddenly exceeds their availability, rather than anticipating a smooth transition to a steady state—system will overshoot the resource base precipitating a collapse.'

The emergence of the concept of environment as a security issue in the international discourse re-opened a new paradigm, which led to growing literatures on environmental resource conflicts in the 1990s. Advanced by some moderate neo-Malthusian scholars comprised of environmental conflict researchers at the University of Toronto proposed and developed by Thomas Homer-Dixon. The theoretical exposition of the "Toronto Group" was exhaustively articulated in the works of Homer-Dixon, (1995); Howard and Homer-Dixon, (1995); Kelly and Homer-Dixon, (1995); Percival and Homer-Dixon, (1998). In their analysis, they agreed that scarcity on its own could hardly invite conflicts directly at whatever circumstances. However, they believe that scarcity can interact with increase in

population, climate change and flaws in resource distribution, which consequently lead to arm conflict in the long-term.

Gizewski, (1997:4) attempts to link conflict between multiple resources users to increased tension between these groups resulting from growing vulnerability and insecurity of their livelihoods. It considers conflict between multiple resource users as an inevitable outcome of the competition for scarce natural resources to achieve security of livelihood. Generally, environmental conflict school emphasized that population is an important source of conflict when there is excessive demand for resources in the mist of growing population, will definitely diminish resource base of the state.

Kahl, (2002) has further moderated the neo-Malthusian theory. ‘He argued that conflict might also arise under condition of “state exploitation” when powerful elites exploit using scarcities and corresponding grievances in order to consolidate power’.

In this context, the study seeks to accentuate that the influx of pastoralist from other ecological zones into the basin as fundamentally responsible for renewable resource scarcity exacerbated by population increase. Thereafter, population pressures caused demand-induced conflicts between farmers and herders. The imbalances between population and available resources as posits by the growing theories on environmental security is fundamental in explaining and understanding farmer-herder conflict in the study area. Population growth exerted pressure on natural resources such as pasture, water, forest, etc. with consequences of conflict between resource users. The neo-Malthusian theorists articulated some outlets through which population pressures that may easily influence arm conflict. First, is population growth, second, population density relative to productive land area, third, continued

population growth when productive land area is already scarce and, fourth, urbanization. Scarcities emanating from population pressures, unequal resource distribution and the role of neo-patrimonial states have been the nexus for farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad basin.

The theoretical relationship between environmental economic theory and farmer-herder conflict in the context of this study can be deduced, from the environmental point of view. Summarily, the assumption of environmental economic theorists is that population pressure and unequal resource distribution affects resources such as land, forest and etcetera, which eventually culminates into resource scarcity which is one of the critical factors causing farmer-herder conflicts in the study area

ii. NEO-PATRIMONIAL STATES THEORY

Bratton and Van de Walle, (1994) defined neo-patrimony as a regime where “the chief executive maintains authority through personal patronage, rather than through ideology and law... In contemporary neo-patrimonialism, relationship of loyalty and dependence pervade a formal politics and administrative system and leaders occupy bureaucratic offices less to perform public service than to acquire personal wealth and status. The distinction between private and public interest is purposely blurred...” The growing political science literatures predominantly referred to African states as neo-patrimonial (see Chabal and Daloz, 1999; van de Walle, 2001; Moritz, 2005). According to Moritz, (2005) in a neo-patrimonial state, the state is a mere institution with less influence and formal authority because act of governance done through personal networks. The African states are label neo-patrimonial because the state accommodates patrimonialism and work to exist side by side in a bureaucratic system. He exhaustively articulated the relationship between neo-

patrimonial states and pastoral societies in his study, he argued that, most state in Africa are less interested or refrain to impacts on the lives of nomadic pastoralists. Moreover, the same state tempered the pastoralist traditional structures in the last centuries by reducing grazing lands, unnecessary bureaucracy, and etcetera.

In a presidential system such as Nigeria, neo-patrimonialism concentrated the benefits of resource extraction to small group of elites who controls the state apparatus. Such regimes devolve much resource in favor of the leader instead of the led. The power to allocate land and its resources are concentrated in the hands of the Governors and Local Government Councils through bureaucratic laws and policies of the state. This is incompatible with the lives and livelihood of pastoralists, and specifically concern with dominance and encapsulation of nomadic pastoralists.

iii. PSYCHO-CULTURAL CONFLICT THEORY

In a plural society like Nigeria, culturally induced conflicts are widespread and common. This explains the deep-seated conflicts of identity that has bedeviled the state in the 20th and 21st centuries. Psycho-cultural conflict theorists generally believed that when some group of individuals or persons, are denied certain basic needs because of their race might culminate into violent conflict. However, Maslow, (1970) and Burton, (1990) have both elaborately discussed how individuals or groups seeks to satisfy a range of needs from essentials of life to self-actualization. Ross, (1993 in Ademola, 2006) contend that, 'even though there are different forms of identities, but the one that has been bequeathed by ancestors several year back is said to be the originating identity.

The *Fulani* are the largest pastoral group in the world and exclusively preserved their culture from the threat of assimilation with other cultures. Their action always guided

by the sanctity of their culture and tradition. Therefore, conflict between farmers and herders are in most cases termed as ethnic, because farming and herding communities belongs to distinct ethnic group. Culturally, the two groups are opposed to each other. Any threat against either are considered rebellion against not only an individual but also all the ethnic people and reprisal must be from group as solidarity. Farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad area and other areas in Northern Nigeria has turned to ethnic conflict between the two groups with high sense of solidarity between them.

Base on the assumptions of environmental economic theory; the Neopatrimonial state theory and the psycho-cultural conflict theory, the study deduced and conceptualized four kinds of induced behavioral changes, reflecting in the relationship between farmers and herders. These include:

1) Resource scarcity and other socio-economic and political factors - is not always natural, actions like bush-burning, tree felling, over cultivation and over grazing etc. are perpetrated by human behavior which threatens the environment and subsequently cause scarcity, competition and insecurity. Other factors includes lack of grazing facilities, inability of state and its agencies to carry out their responsibilities and other socio-cultural cleavages among these producer groups.

2) Resource scarcity and other socio-economic and political factors have metamorphosed into competition and group solidarity in the form of adversarial claims for resources. This scenario represents the actual measures taken and/or intensions held by these groups to acquire more resources and to actually, prevent others from using the resources, they consider is theirs or nobody's as the case between farmers and herders in the Lake Chad basin area. This has been the source

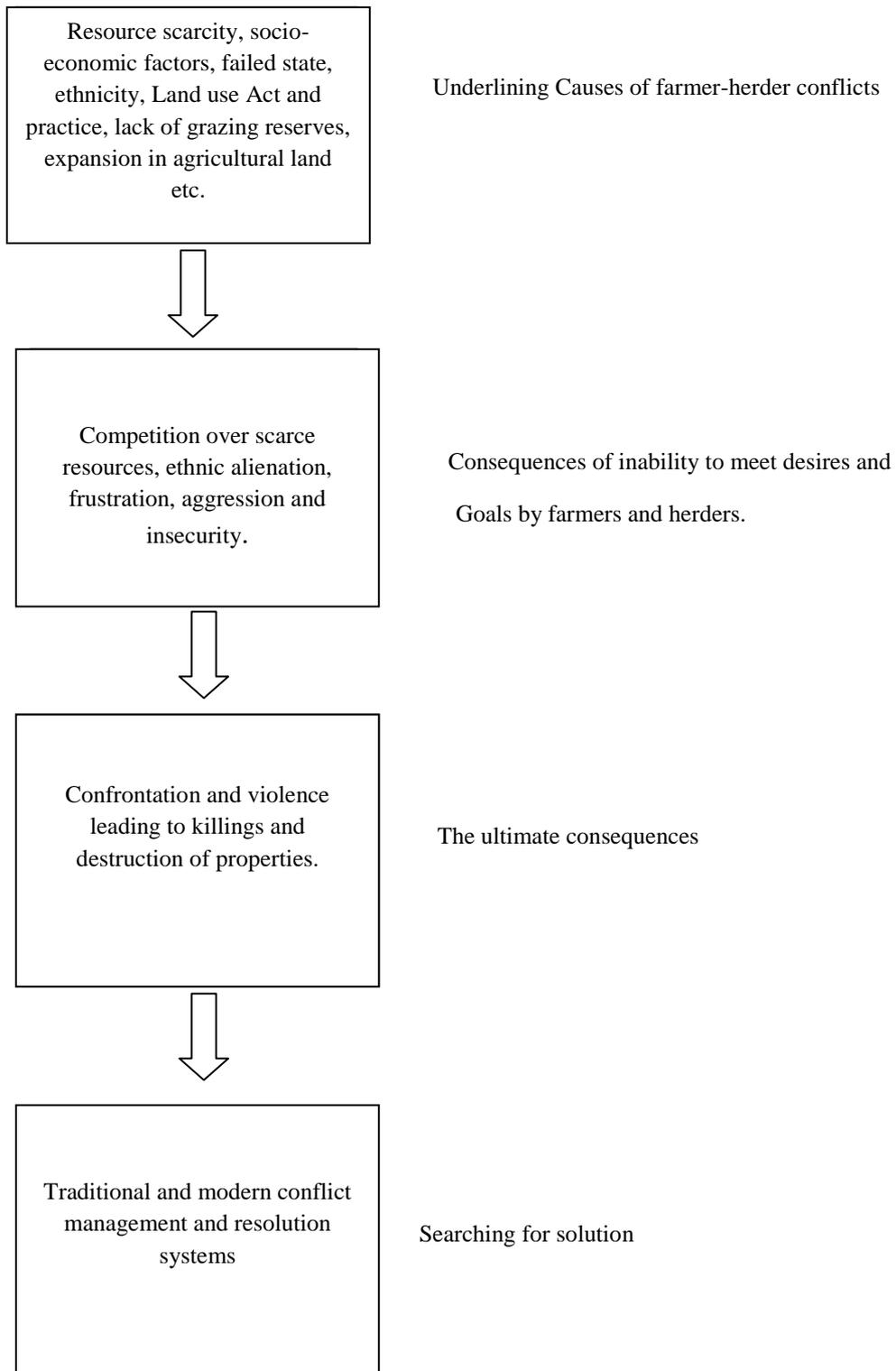
of alienation in form deprivation, isolation and exclusion, which is common among farmers and pastoralists who feel that they are getting less than what they deserve or below their expectations. There is a feeling of disappointment, exasperation caused by goals or desires thwarted. Frustration are sometimes, expressed aggressively.

3) Violent Conflicts – violence in this case is interpreted as a consequences of frustration due inability to achieve desires or goals. Under this circumstance, parties express their feelings through aggressive means. For example, farmers and herders readiness to kill in defense of their farms and herds is an indication of violence against possible threats and obstacles to achieving desires and goals. Hence, violence becomes manifest under conditions of insecurity, injustice, corruption, poverty and lack of strong government especially in developing countries like Nigeria.

4) Conflict management – This is the last stage in conflict circle. Sometimes farmers and herders voluntarily manage their conflicts either by the parties themselves or through the traditional sanctioning authorities such as families, community elders and leaders of thought, religious faithful, traditional leaders, local associations and etcetera. When these traditional mechanisms fail, conflicting parties may have to resort to the non-voluntary means. This involves the use of litigation in courts and sometimes government uses coercive forces at its disposal such as the police to suppress violence by virtue of superior power. Government decisions are binding on all parties. In Nigeria most farmer-herder conflict are reacted to when damages occurred. Moreover, the evolution of modern state eroded the spirit of traditional conflict management systems.

The conclusions made on the assumptions of the underpinning theories discussed in this theoretical framework, are summarize in figure 4 below.

FIGURE 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK MODEL



CHAPTER FOUR: INSIGHTS INTO THE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter forms the study findings on factors contributing to the causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area. My engagements with the data from collection to analysis revealed that, there are long-term and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area. The themes and categories presented in table 4 below accounts for the major long-term causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad basin region. These includes among others: inadequate and poor state of grazing reserves; Changes in land tenure and use practice; Insufficient legislation on pastoralism; Agricultural development policies; economic factor and; Climate change. While table 5 represents the themes and categories identified as the immediate and ultimate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area. This includes crop damage; cattle raids; lawlessness; ethnicity and socio-cultural believes; the role of the state and; political factors. The analysis that followed provides the detailed interpretation of what each of the factors stands for, its dimension and how the existence or otherwise of these factors generates conflict between farming and herding communities in the study area.

The chapter also summarized and presented the views of both farmers and herders from the separate Focus Group Discussion [FGD] held with them. All findings presented is in the researcher's perspectives with the exception of some empirical figures. Figures such as the level of desertification, total area of grazing reserves among others, were base on past empirical studies conducted by some International Organizations such the United Nation Development Program [UNDP] and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

4.2 LONG-TERM CAUSES OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS

IN THE STUDY AREA

TABLE 4: THEMES AND CATEGORIES OF LONG-TERM CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

S/N	THEME	CATEGORIES
i.	Inadequate and poor state of Grazing Reserves and Stock Routes	Encroachment Blockage of stock routes Grazing on cultivated areas
ii.	Changes in Land Tenure and use Practice	Land ownership Access right to usage
iii.	Insufficient Legislation on Pastoralism	Unregulated farmlands Unregulated herding
iv.	Agricultural Development Policies	Shrinkage of grazing land space
v.	Economic factor	Commercialization of crop residues
vi.	Climate Change	Drought Desertification Land Degradation

i. INADEQUATE AND POOR STATE OF GRAZING RESERVES AND STOCK ROUTES

The concept of grazing reserves and stock routes was born out of a study conducted in 1954, on Fulani pastoralists, instituted by the then Colonial Government. The then Colonial administration established grazing areas and stock routes purposely to encourage sedentarization of pastoralists as one of the efforts for minimizing violent conflict between farmers and herders. In the report, “stabilizing the pastoral mode of production,” suggested as most significant factors in the expansion and modernization of livestock production in Nigeria. The report recommended three main areas for immediate development:

- ❖ Establish grazing reserve to be protected by law, where cultivation would be restricted under permit and grazing reserve rights subject to supervision;
- ❖ Study the pastoral *Fulani* with the possibility of providing them with land rights;
- ❖ Develop communal grazing reserves as a strategy for bringing livestock into peasant farming system.

This proposal had a legal backing in 1965, to protect nomadic cattle owners by law.

Section 3 of the grazing reserve law (1965) provides that:

‘the following lands may in accordance with section 12 and subject to section 4 – 10 be constituted as Government Grazing Reserve – (a) Lands at the disposal of Government or Native lands (b) any land in respect of which it appears to the Minister that grazing on such lands should be protected or reserved or grazing management should be practiced’.

To intensify the institutionalization of grazing reserves in Nigeria, recent agricultural policies indicates that a minimum of 10 percent of Nigeria’s land area will be legally acquired, and constituted into grazing reserve for lease allocation to grazers (Sulaiman, 1988). Despite necessary legal framework and policy proclamations on the establishment, protection and management of grazing reserves, little was achieved beyond identification and demarcation. In northern Nigeria for example, 299 reserves were on the proposal list totaling about 2.3 million hectares, but only 28 were documented in the state gazette with an area of just 500,000 hectares (Sulaiman, 1988).

Like any other state in Northern Nigeria grazing reserve in the Lake Chad basin has been the central issue and gradual source of farmer-herder conflicts in the area. My several visits to the area revealed that, the basin is having only seven out of a total of eighteen grazing reserves in Borno State that were established under the then Northern Nigeria Grazing Reserve Law 1965. These grazing reserves were located in *Mafa North, Mafa North-East, Mafa South-East, Gajiram North, Kwanasa Village, Sedagu Village* and *Diksawa Villages* in Mafa, Monguno and Nganzai Local Governments areas. Table five below shows the gazzetted grazing reserves in the Nigerian sector of the basin, their location, name, year of gazette and total area in square kilometers.

TABLE 5: GAZETTED GRAZING RESERVES IN THE STUDY AREA

S/N	NAME OF GRAZING RESERVE	AREA SIZE	LOCAL GOVT. AREA	YEAR OF GAZZETE	LOCATION
1	NGARNAM	11.2sqkm	MAFA	1969	MAFA NORTH
2	DONGO	6.4sqkm	MAFA	1969	MAFA NORTH EAST
3	HASSANARI	16.0sqkm	MAFA	1966	MAFA SOUTH EAST
4	GAJIRAM (Manun/Kuda	253.0sqkm	NGANZAI	1967	GAJIRAM NORTH
5	BADU	36.16sqkm	NGANZAI	1967	KWANASA VILLEGE
6	SEDAGU	26.08sqkm	NGANZAI	1967	SEDAGU VILLEGE
7	DIKSAWA	14.4sqkm	MONGUNO	1967	DICKSAWA VILLEGE

Source: Directorate of Livestock, Ministry of Agriculture, Borno State, Nigeria (2008).

Currently, all the seven grazing reserves are in a state of dilapidation and depletion due to poor management of existing facilities and overgrazing arising from increase in the number of users. The above grazing reserves were demarcated since 1960s. Since then, no effort made to establish more grazing reserves to supplement the existing ones in order to cope with the herder's demand for grazing space. This

resulted in rangeland deterioration and poor balance between stock number and carrying capacity. Virtually all the grazing reserve is poorly developed and bare. They have little or no vegetation because of over grazing and poor management. Gefu, (1989) has earlier described these grazing reserves as ‘characterized by unpalatable or inedible shrubs and weeds, lack of water facility and other infrastructure has compelled pastoralists to move towards the river basin for viable fodder to feed their cattle, which consequently exposed them to clashes with farmers over access to these resources’. During my interview with Bulama Jamna a 51 years old ward head of Bula-Kumkum in Mafa Local Government, Borno State, revealed that:

‘All the first generation reserves are no longer viable for grazing because of over exploitation. Hence, the inability of government to demarcate new grazing lands in order to accommodate the increasing pastoralists demand has contributed in making them ponder grazing on cultivated lands as the only viable alternative. Therefore, government must also be accountable to farmer-herder conflicts for its laxity in providing not only adequate grazing land but also viable for herding communities in the last two decades.’

Since 1990s, the Borno State Ministry of Agriculture proposed twenty-nine grazing reserves for the entire state, with three located around the basin. They are located in *Ngollom, Mongulo and Wamiri* villages. Regrettably, no grazing reserves from the proposal have been gazzetted into law. Because the proposal lacked necessary legal framework, these reserves suffered encroachment from farmers leaving pastoralists with little or no grazing space. Table six below shows the non-gazzetted reserves, their village and local government location, name of the grazing reserves, their total area size and the date these reserves surveyed.

TABLE 6: NON-GAZETTED GRAZING RESERVES IN THE STUDY AREA

S/N	NAME GRAZING RESERVE	SIZE AREA	LOCAL GOVT. AREA	DATE SURVEYED	LOCATION	REMARKS
1	NGOLLOM	30.00SQKM	MONGUNO	1988	NGOLLOM	PARTIAL ENCROACH -MENT
2	MONGULO NGUZOWA	76.0SQKM	MONGUNO	1981	MONGULO VILLAGE	PARTIAL ECHROACH -MENT
3	BOLORI	64.0SQKM	KUKAWA	1979	WAMIRI VILLAGE	PARTIAL ENCROACH -MENT

Source: Directorate of Livestock, Ministry of Agriculture, Borno State, Nigeria (2008)

Incessant encroachment into grazing areas by cultivators has during the years under review, undermined the essence and quintessence to which these grazing reserves were established. Colonial administrations conceived and nurtured the concept of grazing reserves for two reasons. First, was to encourage sedentarization of nomadic pastoralists. Secondly, introduce them to modern technologies such as veterinary clinics among others. Base on the objectives above, what is obtainable in the Lake Chad basin opposed the rationale for establishing these reserves. While the reserves are suffering from lack of legal framework on one hand, encroachment had already shrunk the reserve by 50 percent on the other hand. As grazing land, suffer from continuous encroachment sedentarization of nomadic pastoralists also became near

impossible. Furthermore, as encroachment continuous, farmer-herder conflict will also persist because there will be no future grazing space which poses conflict between farmers and herders in the basin.

Apart from encroachment, six local governments around the Lake Chad area have no grazing reserves. Absence of reserves has also contributed in exacerbating farmer-herder conflicts in the basin. These local governments are listed in table seven below:

**TABLE 7: LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WITH NO GRAZING RESERVES
IN THE STUDY AREA**

S/N	NAME OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT	GRAZING RESERVE
1	MARTE	NO GRAZING RESERVE
2	NGALA	“
3	ABADAM	“
4	GUDZAMALA	“
5	MOBBAR	“
6	DIKWA	“

The absence of grazing reserves and cattle routes in these areas means pastoralists have no official grazing space and have no access routes that will enable them move from one point to the other. The implication is that, pastoralists’ invariably rear their cattle on farmlands or places not designated as grazing reserves. Furthermore, since there are no cattle routes, pastoralists move their herds on farms or other places not meant for cattle routes. The inability of government to provide grazing reserves and cattle routes in these areas has generated conflicts triggered by crop damage. Absence of grazing reserve and cattle routes inevitably guarantees conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. During my in-depth interview with Safio Ngulde the desk

officer in charge of grazing reserves and stock routes in the Directorate of livestock, Borno State revealed that:

'Pastoral grazing reserve and cattle routes in Borno State cover an area of about 3000 kilometers including the traditional routes, linking grazing reserves and water points from one village to the other. This excludes international cattle routes linking Nigeria and neighboring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroun. However, these grazing reserves and cattle routes are inadequate due to increase in the number of users. Plans are been made to established more grazing reserve and cattle routes in areas that is lacking in order to reduce tension and conflicts between farmers and herders.'

Notably, cattle routes become fertile over time due to dropping of animal dung in their process of movement. My practical assessment of these stock routes revealed that, there is systematic blockage and reduction in size because of its soil fertility, impeding free passage of herds into grazing reserve and water ponds. Some of the ponds serving pastoralists converted to irrigation sites. In some of the cattle routes, billboards placed by the roadside indicating cattle route but in actual sense, these routes are either encroached making it narrower or completely blocked by farmers. Thus, boundaries between grazing reserves/stock routes and farms are no longer traceable. Over the years, this has been a major source of farmer-herder conflicts in Lake Chad basin (see appendix 4).

It is my view that, as long as cattle routes and grazing reserves become fertile over time due to droppings from animal dung, farmers will continue to encroach by advancing their farms towards reserves and routes. Herders on their part will continue to create alternative routes on farms to access water points. The laws that established grazing reserves and cattle routes lacked enforcement from the authorities concern. Consequently, lack of enforcing necessary laws on grazing reserves and cattle routes lead to both farmers and herders going beyond the

boundaries of the law in order to achieve their economic interest, which are sometimes express through violence.

ii. CHANGES IN LAND TENURE AND USE PRACTICES

Changes in land tenure and use practices in Northern Nigeria specifically, contributed immensely to farmer-pastoralist conflict through the way they have evolved. Prior to the scramble and partition of Africa, traditionally, lands were own on collective basis as community. By virtue of membership of that community, individuals or family can access it based on first-come first serve. Therefore, no permanent lands ownership during the years under review. Communal lands considered as tribal land. This tribal land is at the disposal of Emir or Chief who allocate these lands to families that their numbers have outgrown their farms or to strangers, who desire to settle among the tribesmen, provided they paid the customary tribute and allegiance. Family lands are at the disposal of the head of the family, and every member of the family have a right to a share in the land – a right that ordinarily cannot be forfeit even by prolonged absence. As rightly observed by Davidson, (1969) ‘...land ownership is central to African self definition. African sees land not in purely economic terms, but as belonging to a vast family of which many are death, few are living, and the countless members are unborn.’ The family as holders as well as their dependants have undisturbed right of ownership but they cannot alienate the land to deprive the Emir of his ultimate control over it. The occupier possesses what is on the land as produce but he cannot own the land. In the words of Lugard, (1965):

‘ He (the occupier) may sale or pawns the crops on his land, or trees own by him but not the land itself. He may be ousted from his holdings for offences against the community, including failure to pay customary tributes, and upon the general acknowledgement of their

right to allocate land and to enforce punishment in respect of it, depend on the prestige of the Chiefs... A Chief act as trustee, for the tribe in regards to land. He is the joint owner with his people, and he cannot exercise any proprietary right without the co-operation of his people'

Soon after independence, the idea of communal land ownership gradually collapsed. Land tenure system shifted from communal ownership to individual ownership. This unprecedented change was because first, the primitive evolution of land tenure is not communal in its real sense, but ownership from a common pool at the discretion of the chief or head of a tribal lineage. Lugard, (1965) has earlier analyzed this type of tenure as, 'individual tenure of land derived from the common stock at the disposal of tribe or family.' Secondly, the introduction and spread of European conception of land tenure has also contributed. Thirdly, the natural processes of population growth gave the land economic value for the residents or for its produce. Lastly, planting and cultivation of permanent crops, which take long time to mature, such as mango, gum-arabic trees among others, promoted individual land ownership.

In areas like the Lake Chad basin considerable number of nomadic tribes have establish grazing rights but otherwise claim no rights of ownership in the land. Lugard, (1965) specifically reported the case of Borno State where the basin is located. He said:

'In other regions, such as Borno in Nigeria, --- poverty of the soil, and the migratory habits of the people, lead to the frequent transfer of villages from one site to another, and consequently to a similar absence of any rigid system of land tenure. Elsewhere we find wandering tribes, who accord to them rights of grazing for their cattle---as the Fulani and Shuwa in Nigeria'.

Herding communities, particularly the nomadic *Fulani* enjoy only temporary right of grazing even under the traditional arrangement. Rights to land ownership have been

associated with tribal lineage and early settlement. Nomadic herding communities being migrants and strangers, find it difficult to own land on permanent basis even after staying for several years. Rather they only enjoy temporary right to usage. This arrangement negated the principle of pastoralist's sedentarization and equity among farming and herding communities. Herders' landlessness due to imbalances in tenure use and practice coupled with lack of clearly defined tenure processes and procedures have also been responsible for nomadic herders' aggressiveness. During my interview with Bello Humma one of the nomadic herders, explained that:

'Both traditional and modern land tenure systems have never been accorded nomadic pastoralists any right to land ownership; even the right to usage is temporary and can be withdrawn at the discretion of the traditional and government authorities with or without prior notice. Our migratory livelihood has nothing to do with rights to land ownership.'

With the promulgation of land use act of 1978, all rights regarding land vested within the jurisdiction of States and Local Governments. The Governor of a state given the power to allocate lands in urban cities; likewise, the local councils can also allocate land in rural areas within their jurisdiction if the land does not belong to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

According to part [1a and b] of Land Use Law (1978):

- a) All land in urban areas shall be under the control and management of the Governor of each state.
- b) All other land shall subject to this Act, be under the control and management of Local Government, within the area of jurisdiction of which the land is situated.

The above Land Use Act, promulgated thirty-two years ago, failed to address sufficiently the previous changes that have taken place in the traditional tenure system by treating land as a free commodity. Besides, the Act concentrated political and economic power over land in the hands of few individuals who currently compromised the rationale for promulgating the Act. With Nigeria's return to democratic rule in 1999, the power of allocation hitherto vested on the Governor of the state were misused through scandalous allocation to few politically influential individuals. This led to the emergence and growth of large fenced farms in the rural areas. Accessing certain grazing areas by pastoralists hindered in many areas. These fences blocked some designated cattle routes. Most of these large fenced farms remain uncultivated by the bourgeois new owners. Instead, these farms are lease out for rent to farmers earlier displaced of their traditionally claimed lands. This situation led to migration of several farmers and pastoralists to other marginalized areas. Moreover, in the process of claiming access rights to these marginalized areas farmers and herders have conflict. One of my respondents from the farming population during my interview disclosed that:

'The right to land enjoyed by farmers under the traditional system has been usurped by the evolution of modern state, which vested all land at the disposal of the governors. The new land tenure system succeeded in dislodging many farmers' right of ownership and not only that traditional grazing reserves and cattle routes turn to be individual farms. New owners began to emerge from the political classes who have less or even no interest in farming. Farmers and herders were force by the proliferation of large fenced farms to migrate into barren lands as the last resort with implication for conflicts.'

My personal experience during my field trip to the area is that, rural farmers and herders may soon lose their traditionally acquired farmlands, grazing reserves and water points due to incessant allocation of these vast lands to few individuals under

the new tenure arrangement. Fencing of these large farms impedes free movement of herds through the traditional routes, access to traditional water ponds barred and access to certain grazing reserves by herders becomes impossible. It is noticeable that, there is gradual but steady migration of both farmers and herders into the Lake Chad region towards the rivers banks. The new tenure arrangement is in opposition with the traditional system of land acquisition. The concentration of large number of farmers and herders on some limited space caused many conflicts.

iii. INSUFFICIENT LEGISLATION ON PASTORALISM

Laws are purposely, made to regulate the conduct and behavior of individuals, groups and society. Insufficient laws, lead to behavioral excesses including conflicts. Insufficient legal framework to regulate pastoralism in the Lake Chad basin and Nigeria at large resulted into some behavioral excesses from both farmers and herders. Against this backdrop, farmers and herders take the advantage of these inadequacies by engaging in crop damage, encroachment into grazing reserves among others leading to violent conflict with killings and destructions of lives and properties. Alhaji Abba Kawu a former national president of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria [MACBAN] an umbrella association of all *Fulani* herders in Nigeria admitted that:

'Lack of sufficient laws for regulating pastoral issues such as night grazing, encroachment into grazing reserves and etcetera has been responsible for frequent violence between farmers and herders because there is no standing law to deter them from committing such actions. In a situation where the law is either silent or has not been effective due to lack of enforcement, farmers and herders take advantage of such weakness to the extreme in order to achieve their interest at the detriment of others.'

Available record revealed that, in the whole of Sub Saharan African states including Nigeria with the exception of Mauritania and Chad Republics, pastoralism has not accorded sufficient laws that can regulate the activities of herders (see Turner, 2003). Because livestock production and trade contributes substantially to the Chadian economic development, and the importance attached to it by the Government of Chad, earned pastoralism some legal instruments to safeguard the sector.

In the case of states that have insufficient pastoral laws like Nigeria means that, pastoralists are operating in a lawless society where laws are either absent or weak. By definition, a state is an institution where government is functional and responsive; laws are effective and efficient within a definite territory. Fundamentally, the question goes beyond whether pastoralism contributes to states economy or not but the impacts of these conflicts has continue to threaten the most cherished peace and security directly or indirectly.

The study relates this development with the characteristics of neo-patrimonialism advance by neo-patrimonial theorist such as Chabal and Daloz, (1999); Van de Walle, (2001); Morit, (2005) which also forms part of the theoretical foundation of the study. The theory earlier explains the relationship between the state and pastoral societies. The theory argued that the state is weak and have little impacts on pastoral societies because the state has overtly and covertly, altered the lives and livelihood of nomadic herders. Moreover, the business of the state are virtually, maintained through personal patronage rather than through ideology and the law.

The study argued that, the insufficiencies in pastoral laws are direct consequences of neo-patrimonial practices in Nigeria. For example, since the oil boom of 1970s and 80s, livestock sector is facing institutional neglect because of unprecedented shift

from agricultural and livestock economy to the booming oil economy. Government focus tilted towards oil economy at the detriment of other sector such agriculture and livestock.

iv. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Changes in agricultural development policies since 1990s have continued to shrink grazing space in developing countries as a whole. Land currently used in crop production in the developing countries amounts to some 760 million ha of land made production through irrigation (FAO, 1995).

Most vital grazing areas around the swampy and shallow areas of the basin's riverbanks, have already been threatened by rapid agricultural expansion programs. For example, the establishment of Chad Basin Development Authority [CBDA] in 1986 to utilize water from the Lake Chad for agricultural development acquired over 1,000,000ha of land in *Marte, Ngala* and *Kukawa* in Borno state. The introduction of South Chad Irrigation Project [SCIP] consumed about 67,000ha of land to agricultural production (GIWA, 2004). In addition, the recent establishment of National *Fadama* Development Project [NFDP] to ensure all year round production of crops in all states of the federation approximately occupied over 500ha in each state of the federation including the Chad basin area (World Bank, 2003).

The existence of these agricultural development programs and its importance is never in question. However, the rapid expansion in agricultural lands has shrunk grazing space and consequently herders eventually pushed to share little marginal space which is inadequate to contain their grazing requirements.

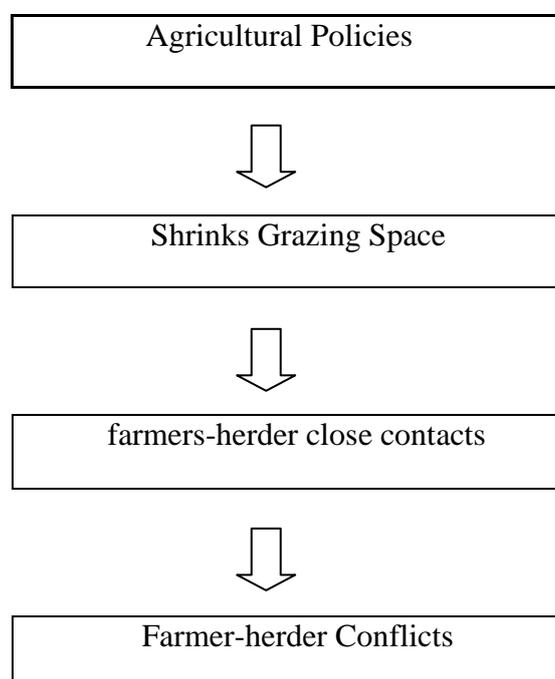
The study argued that, while agricultural lands increases rapidly, the existing grazing reserves in the Lake Chad region remain static. No passionate attempt was made to

either expand the old grazing reserves or establish new ones. These agricultural development policies does not only shrink grazing space and cattle roots, but also are fast chasing the existing reserves, which may probably disappear in the near future. The perception of an ordinary herder is that, none of the recent agricultural development policies has taken into cognizance herding or pastoralism as an important part of agricultural development. Alhaji Abba Kawu shades more light on this issue from his several years of experience as a former National Chairman of all Cattle breeders in Nigeria. He said:

'It is fascinating that, no sustainable development policy was ever made to enhance pastoral activities in Nigeria. Moreover, most agricultural policies focus on boosting crop production forgetting pastoralism was also an important agricultural sector. These agricultural policies acquired huge land spaces that are formerly grazing reserves and cattle routes with the aim of enhancing crop production at the disadvantage of herders. Herders are indirectly force to either choose opting out of herding as an occupation or remain as herders with no grazing space, which also guarantees inevitable conflicts with farmers.'

The linkage between agricultural policies and farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad basin is not direct. However, continues expansion in agricultural lands policies without recourse to grazing space, cattle roots and water points, is the most critical aspect, which lead to these critical herding facilities perishes faster and consequently endangers the livelihood of both the herders and the herds. Moreover, shrinkage of grazing space brings farmers and herders closely with consequences of conflict. In figure six below, the study presented how agricultural policies indirectly causes farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad basin.

FIGURE 4: LINKS BETWEEN AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS



Agricultural Policies – the establishment of some agricultural development policies such as the Chad Basin Development Authority [CBDA], South Chad irrigation Project [SCIP] and the recent National *Fadama* Development Program [NFDP] has further shrunk grazing space by over one million hectares of lands acquired by these projects as indicated in the earlier discussion on this issue.

Shrinkage in Grazing Space – these agricultural development policies has not only acquired huge land but has converted some traditional grazing reserves and cattle routes in the Lake Chad region into farmland for such projects. Either all the traditional facilities turned to agricultural land or shrunk to smaller space that cannot contain the herds grazing requirements.

Farmer-herder close contact – the collapse of traditional grazing facilities due to expansion in agricultural land led to convergence of *Fulani*, *Shuwa-Arab* and *Koyam-Kanuri* herders to a limited space, which exposes them to crop damage and conflicts over crop damage with their farming counterparts in the Lake Chad basin.

Farmer-herder conflicts – when farmers and herders converge in a limited space, due to agricultural policies or otherwise conflicts become inevitable. Increased population, expansion in agriculture and struggles over scarce resources exacerbates conflicts.

v. ECONOMIC FACTOR

The recent commercialization of crop residues (fodder) by farmers, which currently attract some monetary value, has also contributed in causing farmer-herder conflicts. Crop residues that hitherto freely used by both agro-pastoralists and nomadic herders in the basin at the end of seasonal harvest, turned to be economic commodities. Commercialization of crop residues has limited the earlier free access to these resources enjoyed by herders in the past. This has also limited their dry season pasture requirements. By this development, pastoralists and farmers engaged in bargaining over sale of crop residues. Sales can be in cash or through giving small calves in exchange for crop residues. Thus, pastoralists whose purchasing power is low may not have access to better fodder for his herds. Nomadic pastoralists see this as a deliberate action by farmers to exploit herders. Bello Kawu a herder, revealed that:

‘Commercialization of crop residues by farmers in recent times, unleashed difficulties to pastoralists in providing better fodder for their herds, completely unusual traditional practice. Not all herders have the financial capability of buying crop residues to feed herds. This has been the plight of herders and this is one of the sources of

our agony and frustration which some emotionally venture into herding on farms with crop damage and possible violence.'

While farmers on other hand, consider commercialization of crop residue as a means of reducing cost on the total expenses of their production. The previous free access to crop residues by pastoralist in the Lake Chad basin is now a history. Rising cost of production such as labor, capital among others led to commercialization of crop residues. Therefore, pastoralists who want to feed herds on crop residues must buy through process of bargaining. Modu Bukar a farmer in *Ngala* Local Government revealed that:

'We invest our time, energy and capital to produce crops and its residues, why should we allow pastoralists access or harvest what they have not cultivated. Therefore, commercialization of crop residue is necessary to mitigate the growing cost of labor. Moreover, we will continue to resist and fight pastoralists over unauthorized use of crop residues in our farms'.

From my economic point of view, the sudden shift from free usage of crop residues to commercialization led to the collapse of traditional complementarities hitherto enjoyed by both. For example, farmers always need animal dung from animal droppings as local fertilizer, which herders render free, herders on the other hand, expect free access to crop residues to compensate the earlier gesture. However, these complementarities unprecedentedly changed because crop residues become more valuable over time than animal dung. Farmers no longer see the economic value of animal dung especially with modern fertilizers. Poor herders, who cannot afford to buy crop residues for their herds, venture into actions like night grazing and other deliberate damages on farmlands, as a means accessing vital crop residues for their herds and consequently degenerate into conflicts with their farmers' victims.

vi. CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change have no direct linkage with conflict but its gradual impacts over long period of time interplay with other tendencies to cause farmer-herder conflicts. In previous researches on some case studies in developing countries, environmental conflict analysts see climatic changes as already contributing to violent conflict in many parts of developing world. They also look at these conflicts as probably the early signs of an upsurge of violence in coming decades aggravated by resource scarcity and competition over scarce resources (Homer-Dixon, 1991; Maxwell and Reuveny, 2000).

In this study, we established linkages between environmental resources and conflict base on peculiarities of our case study. Although, the findings in some specific case studies are similar but differs in both adversity and vulnerability. The case in Lake Chad basin is more glaring and mind boggling, probably worse than any other region in Sub-Saharan African States. The links between climate change and farmer-herder conflicts in the context of this study are analyze from three perspectives:

- ❖ Draughts due to shortages in rainfall
- ❖ Desertification due to natural and human factors
- ❖ Land depletion due to overgrazing and over cultivation

First, variability in rainfall due to climate change affects agriculture and livestock sector in several ways. For example, uncertainties in rainfall characteristics lead to draught and crop failure, which poses threat to livelihood such as food shortages and inadequate fodder for livestock consumption. In drier areas of Northern Nigeria such as the case in Lake Chad region, shortage of rainfall causes draught. Draught

thereafter compelled both farmers and herders to move further towards the riverbanks in order to meet up with their food requirements while herders too migrate towards the riverbanks to meet up their livestock fodder requirements. For instance, the receding lake water forced some farmers and herders to migrate from *Baga* town to present *Doron-Baga* one of the villages closer to the basin. This brought the two producer groups in close contact. Their motivating factor is the availability of better pasture and fertile land around the riverbank. Over time the Lake Chad riverbanks becomes the ultimate point of convergence for both farmers and herders under conditions of draught due to shortage in rainfall. Hence, the centrifugal forces of draught brought farmers and herders in close contact over access to limited fertile lands around the riverbanks with consequences of conflicts. The gradual impacts of drought, due to shortages in rainfall potentially creates resource scarcity and competition between resource user groups [farmers and herders], which ultimately trigger conflicts. Historically, several evidences have shown that the Lake Chad area has experienced series of severe drought episodes over the past 40years (GIWA, 2004). Earlier studies by Lamb, (1978); Coe and Foleys, (2001) reported that, rainfall events in particular has reduced and in turn led to drought in the Lake Chad region.

Secondly, desertification due to climate change and human factors, a substantial proportion of the Lake Chad basin has already been vulnerable to desertification defined as land degradation in Arid, Semi-arid, and dry Sub-humid areas including climate change and human factor. This has been one of the serious environmental problems facing Nigeria including the Lake Chad basin (World Bank, 2002 in GIWA, 2004). In Nigeria, desertification and other ecological problems accounts for about 73 percent of the estimated total cost of 5.1billion USD per year the country is losing from environmental degradation. Is considered as the most pressing

environmental problem particularly, in northeastern states, where the Lake Chad is located (FGN, 2002 in GIWA, 2004). It has been estimated that between 50 – 75 percent of northeastern states around the basin and some parts of northwestern states are been affected by desertification. The country is currently losing an estimated 351,000 acres' of land mass to desert-like conditions advancing southward at the rate of 0.6 kilometer annually (FGN, 2002 in GIWA, 2004). Despite all these environmental challenges, the basin serves as a source of livelihood to over 37million dependants who engaged in various activities such as farming, herding, fishing, hunting and etcetera. Out of these numbers, the Nigerian sector of the basin is supporting 2/3 of the population based on GIWA Report (2004). Unfortunately, we lack accurate statistics of farmers, herders and their cattle occupying the basin, whether they are sedentarized or non-sedentarized due to their migratory trends. Some group of farmers in the basin also to some extent, migrate like the herders in search of fertile land that can yield better produce. Arising from the backdrop of this environmental decadence, the study concludes that, approximately over 20 million people representing 2/3 of the estimated population are unprecedentedly competing for access-use and control over these dwindling scarce resources. This development ensue the emergence of 'competitive process' and 'insecurity' between farmers and herders. Both intensify group solidarity struggle to have access and maximum utilization of resources such as forest, water, vegetation etc. Many a times, this competitive scenario metamorphoses into arm conflict, where both farmers and herders take arms against each other in defense of their cattle and farms leading to killings and destruction of lives and properties on several occasions.

Thirdly, land depletion due to over-grazing and over-cultivation by both farmers and herders has continued to deplete the natural resource faster, which facilitates resource

scarcity. For example, herders' engagements in night grazing are considered as "over-grazing". Continues night grazing contributes to the fast depletion of the land. Consequently, land depletion causes migration of farmers and herders towards few fertile areas in the Lake Chad riverbanks with consequences of conflicts.

In order to better comprehend the peculiarities of the case study, the study anchored the argument in line with the neo-Malthusian environmental economic theorists proposed by Homer-Dixon one of the leading environmental economic theorists in the 21st Century. They developed a model of demand-induced scarcity, supply-induced scarcity and unequal distribution of resource. They argued that the persistence of either of the above conditions might lead to conflict.

Based on the understanding of environmental economic theory, the study synthesizes three different outlets through which draughts, desertification and land depletion play a long-term role in causing conflicts between farmers and herders in the Lake Chad basin area.

- a) Firstly, draughts, desertification and land depletion causes decrease in the quantity and quality of natural resources and hence causes tension over passionate claims to the shrinking natural resource base in the Lake Chad basin.
- b) Secondly, there is also an increase in population due to migration and influx of nomadic *Fulani* herders from other draught and desert prone zones into the Lake Chad basin area. Immigrants always have conflict with the host communities over right to land and its resources.

c) Thirdly, imbalances in resource distribution led to marginalization of herders.

Marginalized herders lost confidence in the state. They see the state as bias against pastoralism in favor of agriculture.

The first outlet is that, the basin's economic activities are declining very fast do to decrease in quality and quantity of natural resources emanating from draughts, desertification and land depletion. Resources such as forest, water, vegetation among others are depleted faster than they are renewed which is referred to as supply-induced resource conflicts. In the Lake Chad region, beside changes in climatic conditions, combine effects of tree felling arising from desperate demand for wood as a source of energy, bush burning and the receding lake water accelerates supply-induced resource conflicts. For example, firewood has been the source of energy for about 95 percent of household in the Lake Chad area (Eaton and Sarch, 1997). This led to massive felling of trees with implications of increased draught and desertification. Easton and Sarch, (1997) further reported that the total area required to meet present demand for firewood is 150,000kms as against 136,000kms the total area of the Nigerian sector of the Chad basin. However, even the pastoralists' uses firewood as their source of energy but massive logging of forest is detrimental to the survival of their livestock, thus partly contributing to their acrimony and grievances. These facts was also confirmed during my interview with Jauro Buba a pastoralist who has been seasonally coming with his herds of cattle to the Lake Chad area since 1980s. He said:

'We pastoralists may soon wake up with no grazing space in the universe. Every season I visited the Lake Chad area with my herds of cattle, forests are fast becoming desert due to over exploitation, and the lake water is continuously receding. Under these circumstances claims and right over little productive land space in the Lake Chad basin is always the arena of convergence, competition and conflict between farmers' and us (herders).'

My personal account of the situation during my several visits to the Lake Chad basin revealed that, there is massive felling of trees for domestic and commercial purposes as a source of energy. Unregulated felling of trees exposes the forest to desertification. For instance, the approximate distance between one tree and the other is about two to three hundred meters. Grasses and other natural vegetations are further expose to dry conditions. Hips of sand dunes gradually replaced the forest.

The manifestation of forest degradation led to simultaneous shrink in farming and grazing resources. The shrinking natural resources brought farmers and herders into close contact competing over claims and ownership to these resources in the study area. The exerted pressures over claims and ownership of these shared scarce resources, including space, eventually led to unprecedented conflicts. During our in-depth interview with a farmer called Baban Saleh in Koleram village, he posits that:

‘While herders are looking for better fodder in fertile areas, farmers are also desperate for fertile lands to realize their dream for maximum crop yield. Unfortunately, fertile lands are limited due to increasing impacts of draughts, desertification and land depletion that besiege the region in the last thirty years. Ultimately, farmers and herders will continue to have their conflicts over access and claims to these limited resources.’

The decrease in the quantity and quality of natural resources because of draught and desertification over time has been another metaphor for conflicts between these communities.

The second outlet is population increase due to influx of immigrants from other ecological zones into the Lake Chad area. Immigrants are unlike refugees their movement is determine by ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors while refugees are determine by only ‘push’ factors. Every dry season the basin is witnessing massive influx of

immigrants from other ecological zones in West and Central Africa into the Lake area. According to Baechler, (1996) 'migration threatened by environmental degradation arise from poverty and underdevelopment as such. These includes the crises of traditional agriculture and rural population growth....mechanization of agriculture, dam building, partial industrialization and urbanization....which the endangered growing population are forced by socio-economic and demographic factors to settle in marginal lands or threaten region...' Apart from the exigencies of degradation, the porous nature of land borders between Nigeria and its neighbors [Cameroun, Niger and Chad] has contributed in free movement across these borders without recourse to necessary documentation. These immigrants comprised of majority *Fulani* pastoralists and very few farmers who migrate into the Lake Chad for dry season farming. The *Fulani* transhumance nomadic pastoralists are of different groups such as the *Bororo*, *Udawa*, *Hanagamba*, *Bokologi*, *Ma'are*, *Wodaabe* among others who are pushed by drought and desertification that heated their ecological base in West and Central Africa. Moreover, on the other hand, they were attracted (pulled) by the attractive fodder and vegetation that are untapped by its traditional owners in the basin area. According to the Nigerian Livestock Survey Report, conducted by Resource Inventory Management [RIM], (1992) 'Availability of fodder has attracted herders from all over countries bordering on the lake and during 1990s cattle densities were higher than any other survey site in Africa.'

Increase in the population of immigrant farmers and herders combine with decline in quality and quantity of resources in the basin inflicted demand-induced conflicts caused by population growth or increase in per capita consumption. The increase consumption exacerbated scarcity of renewable resource that caused tensions and conflicts between the nomadic pastoralist and their host farming communities.

Thirdly, the existing imbalances in the distribution of limited land and forest resources in favor of farming communities led to the marginalization of herders. The traditional principles of collective ownership based on first-come first serve basis by virtue of membership of that community was jettisoned. There has been conflict between ownership rights and use rights. Pastoralists continue to consider land, pasture and water as God-given free resources to which they should have unlimited access. While traditional leaders who are locally the custodians of these lands, unequally distributes lands to few individuals who controlled and exercise rights over this lands. According to Jauro Buba one of the herders interviewed said:

'It is our belief that, resources such as land, forest and water are endowed by nature; therefore, farmers and herders should have equal right to access. Regrettably, only the rich and those in position of authority get the land. Herders whose livelihood is dependent on land and forest resource are now landless'

The shift from collective to individual ownership led to concentration of resources in the hands of few individuals while the remaining population suffers from resource shortages. Herders who hitherto access these resources free were compelled to hire or rent these resources from either the traditional leaders or some few individuals who claim ownership of the land. Marginalized herders always have conflicts with the farming communities on one hand and the state on the other hand.

4.3 IMMEDIATE AND ULTIMATE CAUSES OF FARMER-HERDER

CONFLICTS IN THE STUDY AREA

TABLE 8: THEMES AND CATEGORIES OF THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE CONFLICTS

S/N	THEMES	CATEGORIES
i.	Crop damage	Absentee cattle owner Night grazing Blockage of routes
ii.	Cattle raids	Cattle killing Cattle poisoning
iii.	Ethnicity and socio-cultural believes	Ethnic divisions Indigene-settler issue Disparity in culture and traditions
iv.	The role of the state	Injustice, marginalization and corruption
v.	Political factor	Helpless and defenseless
vi.	Herders' aggressiveness	Hostile and volatile

i. CROP DAMAGE

Cases of crop damage have been one the most critical knotty issue that ultimately triggers violent conflict between farmers and herders. In most cases farmers whose crops damaged instantly becomes volatile and run out of patience by attacking either the herds or the herder as revenge to the damage inflicted. With the increasing plantations of gum arabic trees and other long-term economic trees such as orange, mango among others, farmers increasingly prohibit herders from grazing their stock from foliage because it limit gum arabic production. The expansion in mechanized farming systems in the last three decades, also led to the development of large fenced

farms. Fencing of large farms leads to encroachment and blockage of some vital stock routes. Eventually herders engage in straying herds into various bifurcations and farmlands as alternative routes with consequences of crop damage. The two opposing economic interest has been the ultimate source of violent conflict between farmers and herders. A farmer does everything possible to protect his farm including blockage of routes without taking into cognizance herder's right to free movement through the access routes. While a herder finds alternative ways of moving his herds even on farmlands unmindful of crop damage. This has generated violent reactions with attacks and counter attacks from both the farmers and herders.

More recently, there is also increasing cases of absentee cattle owner and night grazing which becomes widespread and common norm especially among the nomadic herders in the Lake Chad basin. This development has further raise tension which attracted widespread specter of violent conflict over crop damage. Absentee cattle owner, means cattle left wittingly or unwittingly graze freely with owner, or his caretaker been proxy or absent. The issue of absentee cattle owner has become a major causation of farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad basin. Farmers always accuse pastoralists of cattle grazing by proxy-owner as a deliberate action to graze in cultivated lands under the pretence of absentee caretaker. While pastoralists always pretend that, sometimes herds sneak into farmlands without the knowledge of the caretaker. Overtime pastoralists also developed the habit of assigning child teenagers to take care of herds especially during market days when the elders must have gone to market. Child teenagers sometimes concentrate on their play rather than guiding the herds. Indeed cattle themselves cannot separate boundaries between grazing areas and farmlands or neither can they distinguish between farmlands and other areas. A farmer named Ali Aisami view absentee cattle owner during our interview as:

'As a deliberate action intended to feed on crops in the name of absentee cattle owners. Herders lure their herds into farmlands pretending on absentee owner or child herding. But in real sense, it is purposely intended to feed their cattle with the best fodder unmindful of damage inflicted to farmers and his farms and we will not let them go free.'

Besides absentee cattle owner, there is also increasing cases of night grazing among herders, which currently turn to be more volatile and violent between farmers and herders in the basin. Nomadic herders engage in night grazing in order to balance the feeding requirement of their herds. In the process of night grazing, they became vulnerable to crop damage. Crop damage occurs in the night when farmers must have retired to their homes. These attitudes are mostly associated with *Fulani* nomadic herders because of their desperation for crop residues to keep their animals fat at all times. More so, whenever they engaged in this action, they migrate the following day to avoid been attacked by farmers whose crops are damaged. Farmers also in return, launch attacks on herders of *Fulani* origin including innocent ones.

This development is in tandem with among other expositions of psycho-cultural conflict theorists, which partly forms the theoretical foundations of the study. Psycho-cultural conflict theorists have elaborately discussed how individuals or groups seek to satisfy a range of needs from essentials of life to self-actualization. Both farmers and herders have two conflicting economic interest which they seek to achieve and protect at all cost. However, any attempt to subvert these interests is termed as rebellion and either of the conflicting parties (farmers and herders) may unmindfully venture into violence as the ultimate ends.

My conclusion on the situation is that, the case of crop damage due to absentee cattle owner and night grazing are more common among agro-pastoral societies and is more of social constructs rather than the consequences of resource scarcity. Crop

damage occurs due to poor livestock management by herders because of exhaustion and lack of attention precipitated by scarcity of labor within the managing family. Crop damage becomes common norm among nomadic herders of *Fulani* origin than the *Shuwa-Arab* and the *Koyam-Kanuri* herders who are settle agro-pastoralist confine within the lake region. Moreover, they always maintain manageable number of herds. Their several years of engagements in both farming and herding simultaneously earn them greater experience in managing both farms and herds. The nomadic herders' desperation to enhance herds feeding requirements through night grazing contravenes the common norms and values of traditional grazing behavior that existed from the time immemorial.

ii. CATTLE RAIDS

In response to crop damage, volatile farmers worsen the conflict to the point of violence by responding to crop damage through reprisal attacks and raids on cattle or herds. Besides, these farmers pour poisonous substances on crops at strategic locations targeted at killing the herds after they might have consumed the crops. Many cattle massacred to death through poison in response to crops damage or as a mark of warning to deter both the herders and the herds from future crop damage.

Bulama Jamna one of the village heads interviewed revealed that:

'Poisoning of herds is becoming more common among farmers, but this action can neither recover damage crops nor suppress the existing conflict. Rather it has further deepened the specter of violent attacks and reprisal attacks between farmers and the herders. Moreover, nomadic herder equates the life of any of their herds as equal to human life. Therefore, losing the life of one cattle means losing the life of one of their kith and kin. Traditionally, nomadic herders never forgive and forget any threat against their herds, and they must reciprocate with diverstating reprisal attacks when the farmers must have forgotten their earlier attacks.'

Cattle raid and poisoning has further re-articulated the conflict to the brink of complex and vicious circle of violence with killings and destruction of properties. Ultimately, both herding and farming societies take laws into their hands by perpetrating violence and hostilities as a means of settling grievances. In an ideal society violence shall never be a solution or a means to bringing justice to the parties in conflict. Paradoxically, violent approach such as reprisal attacks and counter attacks between farmers and herders, as revenge, seems to be gradually replacing dialogue, negotiation, arbitration etcetera that are necessary for peaceful and sustainable conflict management and resolution.

iii. ETHNICITY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL BELIEVES

Several previous researches on farmer-herder conflict either have refrained or have not elaborately analyzed the role of ethnic factor in farmer-herder conflicts. Nevertheless, recent experiences have shown how farmer-herder conflicts turned into ethnic conflicts between *Fulani* ethnic pastoralists and other ethnic farmers in the Lake Chad basin. Ethnic influence neither can be ignore nor under scored in the conflict. In recent times, several farmer-herder conflicts turned into ethnic conflict because the ethnic and socio-cultural beliefs of the two-production community of farmers and herders are completely opposed to each other; as such, farmer-herder conflicts are easily termed as ethnic conflict.

The *Fulani* nomadic people are scattered across West Africa from Senegal and Gambia to Nigeria, Chad, Cameroun and Central African Republic to the east. In Nigeria, their greatest concentration is in northern part of the country, from the northwest down to the northeast around the shores of Lake Chad. Over 4 million *Fulani* pastoralists live around these areas (Azarya, 1978). The *Fulani* ethnic

community, though they differ in family clan and language ascents but they all have distinct culture and tradition which distinguish them from other population whom they live in the basin. Historically, the *Fulani's* are originally pastoral group, herding is their main occupation from the time immemorial. Even the *Wa'adobe Fulani* clan who earlier in their search for water and grazing land sedentarized in the basin area, refrain agriculture and continued to maintain their special ties with their cattle. Table 9 and 10 below represents the various pastoral and farming ethnic communities around in the region.

TABLE 9: PASTORAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE STUDY AREA

ETHNIC GROUPS	LOCATION	TYPE OF ANIMAL
SHUWA ARABS GROUP		
Baggara	Geidam south	Cattle
Shuwa	Northern Borno/Chad/Cameroun	Cattle
Uled Sulaiman	Komadugu-Yobe Valley	Camels
FULANI GROUP		
Hanagamba	Northern Borno	Cattle
Bokooloji	Northern Borno	Cattle
Maare	Southern Borno	Cattle
Sankara	Northern Borno	Cattle
Uda'en	Northeastern Nigeria	Sheep
WoDaaBe	Northeastern Nigeria	Cattle
KANURI GROUP		
Badawai	Central Borno	Cattle
Jetko	Geidam North/Niger	Camels
Kanuri	Borno North/Central	Cattle
Koyam	Borno North/Central	Cattle
Manga	Northern Borno	Cattle/Camels
Mober	Northern Borno/Niger	Cattle
KANEMBU GROUP		
Kuburi	Northern Borno/Niger	Cattle
Sugurti	Lake Chad Shores	Cattle
SAHARANS		
Teda (Tubu)	Northern Borno/Niger	Camels
OTHERS		
Yedina (Buduma)	Lake Chad Area	Cattle

Source: Adopted from (RIM, 1992 in Blench, R. 1999), with modification after fieldwork research.

Note: only major pastoral groups reported. Almost all groups herd small ruminants.

TABLE 10: MAJOR FARMING ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE STUDY AREA

ETHNIC GROUP	ACTIVITY
Hausawa Group	Fishing and Farming
Kanuri Group	Farming and Hunting
Buduma Group	Fishing and Farming
Kanembu Group	Fishing and Farming
Jukun/Taraba Group	Fishing
Gwoza/Marghi Groups	Farming

Source: Fieldwork Research

Note: Only major farming groups were represented here, there those who combines both farming and Pastoralism.

Unlike other ethnic nationalities, the *Fulani's* are reckoned for preserving and displaying their culture and traditions at all times, and wherever they find themselves. These were the strategies used in consolidating their cultural norms and values, for fear of dangers of assimilation with the majority non-*Fulanis* and continue with the preferred code developed over long time. It was against this background they develop a symbolic code called “*Pullaku*” meaning *Fulani* ethics, which set the boundaries between *Fulani* identity and other majority ethnic groups. The word “*Pullaku*” is a domesticated social character of all *Fulanis*, which encompasses shame, exclusiveness, bravery, firmness, superiority, and neither forgives nor forgets external attacks among others. Our consideration of ethnic factor in farmer-herder conflicts are base on the following reasons:

First, many *Fulani* pastoralists participated in the Jihad of Usman Danfodio in 1804 when they established *Sokoto* Caliphate, *Adamawa* Emirates among others. They

have subjected and enslaved non-Muslims populations believed to be majority farmers from non-*Fulani* ethnic communities. The resentment between these groups remains strong today and when conflict occur the idioms of war and slavery are often used to describe the other group (Moritz, 2002). This created a superiority complex for the *Fulani's* over other ethnic communities. They consider all non-*Fulani* as “*Habe*” (pagan) and are subject to raid, attack and harassment irrespective of their religion, position or social status.

Secondly, the *Fulani* being minorities in the basin have developed high sense of solidarity and group action in defense of any conflict involving one or more *Fulani*. Any fight against one is a fight against all, and it is termed as ethnic. Distribution of “cola nuts” to their people especially during market days where majority meets symbolizes communication network over anticipated threat or solicitation of support to launch an attack. When they are threatened, they fight not only the perpetrators but also all non-*Fulani* who are mostly farmers.

Thirdly, there is superstitious believe among the *Mbororo, Bokooloji and Udawa Fulani* that, they must feed their cattle on cultivated farms at least once every year knowingly or unknowingly in order to protect their herds from unnecessary deaths and calamities. In my focus group discussion with some *Fulani*, a *Fulani* man whispered his friend, unknown to them the researcher understands *Fulani* language.

He said:

‘We believe in grazing on cultivated lands as a seasonal tradition bequeathed by our ancestors. It can be deliberate or otherwise, unmindful of the consequences, we must graze our herds on cultivated farms for once every farming season in order to protect our herds from unforeseen calamities.’

In order to fulfill this traditional obligation, herders engaged in night grazing when farmers are absent in their farms. Moreover, sometimes they leave the cattle in the hands of teenagers or no caretaker.

Fourthly, farming communities on the other hand, has stigmatized pastoralists of *Fulani* origin as an opportunist, exploitative, hostile and threat to agricultural crop production. When there is crop-damage by a particular herder, ethnic farmers gang and raid all *Fulani* including innocent ones.

Since 1990s, available evidence has shown that ethnicity is a major player in farmer-herders conflicts. For instance, in 1998, conflict between a Kanuri farmer and a *Fulani* herder over crop damage, at *Bulabulin Ngaburawa Village* in *Konduga Local Government Area* of Borno State, Nigeria, resulted into ethnic conflicts between *Kanuri* and *Fulani* ethnic groups. Both groups combated themselves using dangerous weapons killing one another and set their houses ablaze. The hostilities resulted in the killing of over forty persons as officially announced by the police and several persons were injured mostly innocent *Kanuri* farmers and *Fulani* herders alike (DailyTrust, December 27, 2008). The current upsurge of attack and counter attacks between *Fulani* pastoralists and *Berom* Farmers in Plateau state metamorphosed into ethnic carnage between the two ethnic communities. For instance, it was reported that:

'Armed pastoralists stormed Berom ethnic villages of Dogo Nahawa, Ramsat and Kamang in Jos South local government at about 3:00am, shooting in the air created pandemonium as villagers scamper for cover. People who came out of their homes were bludgeoned or machete to death' (DailyTrust, Newspapers, March 8, 2010).

After two months, a reprisal attack was also launched on some group of innocent *Fulani* pastoralists in *Barikin Ladi* in the same state. The print media reported that:

'Fulani herdsmen were yesterday murdered, roasted and buried in a shallow grave in Tasung village in Barikin Ladi by people suspected to be Birom Youths' (ThisDay Newspapers, May 23, 2010).

The 21st century witnessed the changing context and dynamics of resource conflicts turning into ethnic conflicts in many parts of the country including the Lake Chad basin area. The juxtaposition of the conflict with ethnic coloration has not only complicated the conflict but also obscured a new dimension of farmer-herder conflict with more threats to peace and security. In a plural society such as Nigeria where ethnicity has been one of the metaphors for Nigeria's instability since independence, resource conflicts can easily be transforming into ethnic wars between farmers and herders. The ethnic dimension of the conflict poses more threats than the primary issue of resources.

iv. THE ROLE OF THE STATE

However, problem of state failure is widespread in Africa, but state intervention in farmer-herder conflicts was prejudice by taking side with the farming population in the Lake Chad basin. The state bureaucratic structure perceived *Fulani* nomadic pastoral lifestyle as a threat not only to farmers but also to the state as an institution. They viewed pastoralists as hostile, lawless and difficult to administer. According to Usman Yusuf, the Director of livestock in the Borno State Ministry of Agriculture, describe nomadic herding communities as:

'Remote uneducated communities that have less respect for constituted authorities, laws and territorial state boundaries make no meaning to them. Their cultural norms and values do not recognize the state as an important institution. The state bureaucracies find it difficult to administer tax and other government programs.'

The state media also repeatedly portrayed *Fulani* herdsmen as aggressive, gun-toting who have abused the hospitality of the host communities and ready to use force to gain access to resources in their communities. While pastoral societies see the institution of the state as strange, irrelevant and a big enemy threatening the survival of pastoralists. The relationship between herders and the state in my study area confirmed to be similar with the conclusions made by Mark Moritz in 2005 in his analysis of pastoralists and the patrimonial states in the Chad basin area of Cameroun. He said ‘African states are portrayed as modern, bureaucratic state with agentive and hegemonic powers that is irreconcilable conflict with pastoralists’.

The expulsion of hundreds of nomadic herders of *Fulani* origin by the Government of *Plateau* state in 2004, and similar expulsion in *Zamfara*, *Kano* and *Damboa* in *Borno* state is a clear testimony of state bias against pastoralism in favor of agriculture. These states simply used expulsion to banish the pastoralists as a panacea to farmer-herder conflicts instead of exploring several avenues for conflict resolution and peace building measures. Farmers who hitherto dialogued with herders to resolve conflict, now find it easier to call upon government to assist them expel *Fulani* pastoralists in the area. Expulsions of nomadic pastoralists in several quotas neither mitigated, nor resolve farmer-herder insurgence in Nigeria. The case in Nigeria can best be explain with case of Ghana during 1988/89 and 1990/2000. Ghana’s national and local authorities resort to expulsion and coercive eviction of nomadic *Fulani* herdsmen, their families and their cattle across the national borders as a policy for dealing with farmer-herder impasse. Unfortunately, the decision has posed negative impacts on not only the nomads but also the entire population and the economy at large.

Contact between pastoralists and the state officials is mostly at grassroots community level involving local government officials, traditional rulers and some security personnel. An example of such contact is the cross boarder transit of cattle through the ancient routes, from Sudan and Chad through Cameroun, to cattle market in *Gomboru* and *Banki* boarders in Nigeria. Artificial boarders are never a barrier to the nomadic *Fulani*. Their migratory trend in Sub Saharan African boarders in search of pasture without recourse to any documentation has brought them in close contact with the bureaucrats of the state.

It is a known fact that, livestock sector of the economy contributes immensely to the milk and protein needs of the Nigerian community. Moreover, the introduction of tax on livestock (*Jangali*) in the 1960s and 1970s, livestock sector has contributed to the revenue earnings of these states. The study argued that, states and local governments have overtly and covertly, altered the lives and livelihoods of nomadic pastoralists in the Lake Chad basin through expulsion, reduction of pastoral land in favor of agricultural development programs and lack of necessary legal framework governing pastoralism. This development has undermined the principles of both traditional and modern conflict management processes. The expulsion exercise is a reinvention of farmer-herder conflicts in a different face, with consequences of pastoralist taking arms against not only herders but also the state.

Besides, there is corruption on the part of traditional rulers and some officials of state and local government bureaucracy. Pastoralists who want to utilize some viable grazing areas must not only seek permission from traditional rulers but must also be ready to give some inducements in cash or kind. During my interview with Adamu Ardo a cattle herders in *Mafa* local government disclosed that:

‘Whenever we settled in a village in the process our migration, we normally inform the village head and some local council officials of our arrival through our leaders. For us to gain access into vital grazing areas we must not only inform them of our arrival, but we must also give some money or calves. Yet, whenever conflict occurs between our people and farmers, we always bear the consequences, because farmers are their kith and kin’.

It is evident therefore to conclude that the failure of the Nigerian state to fully recognize pastoralists as an important economic sector, have played a vital role in exacerbating farmer-herder conflicts as well as herders rising against the state particularly in the 21st century. Corrupt practices on the part of the bureaucrats also influence negatively on the conflict and its management process.

v. POLITICAL FACTOR

Herders’ political powerlessness compared to their farming counterparts is another source of political marginalization of pastoralism in favor of agricultural development. The general perception of pastoralists is that the state and farming communities are in close alliance in colonizing herders. Compare to farmers, the herders are few in population and their conservative opposition to western education since colonial days, made them less or not represented in government. This made them to be politically powerless and defenseless in the affairs of governance.

The Nigerian state is yet to accord pastoralism as a sector, the necessary basic support that will enable it thrive as a significant economic sector in the nation’s economy. Moreover, when conflict escalates the management and resolution institutions such as the Police, Traditional institutions, and Local Government officials among others only listen to farmers, thus leaving the pastoralists as helpless victims. These arbitrators always say the most common rhetoric that “farms are immovable properties” therefore, the herds and the herders are to be responsible for

crop damage. Herders are been “criminalized” as causing the conflict before even determining the substantive matter.

The case in the Lake Chad region is similar with the case reported by Rowley and Winter, (1998) cited in Shettima and Tar, (2008) on *Hadejia-Nguru* wetland in northwestern Nigeria, where farmers enforce laws and penalties for trespass. They revealed that, judgments by *Alkalis* (judges) would always say, “It’s the cattle that move to meet the farm; it’s not the farm that move to meet the cattle”. Pastoralists have become victims of political marginalization and economic oppression in the hands of farmers and their close allies in government. In my interview with Yaya Bappa a herder in *Kerenewa* village, posits that:

‘Herders have become victims of political marginalization due lack of education, few in population compared to farmers and politically not so relevant to the political class. Farmers became politically, powerful, and well represented in government, and uses these opportunities as a tool for oppressing herders for their personal gains. Herders are most at times, perceived as culprits, without even ascertaining their wrongs and rights. This is the agony of herders, which sometimes lead to violence out of frustration.’

Consequently, this manifested into herders becoming landless because of their political powerlessness. Because land ownership and use rights is been politically determine, they are always at disadvantage. Herders whose rights to land use has been politically threaten and frustrated might ordinarily think of straying herds on restricted areas even if it will cost their life.

vi. HERDERS AGGRESSIVENESS BEHAVIOR

Because herders live in remote rural areas, where state hegemony is absent, insecurity of lives and properties become the major concern of herding communities

in the Lake Chad basin. Eventually, herders develop aggressive behavior in defense of their herds as a critical security measures against raids from farmers, armed robbers and cattle theft from other herding communities. Collaborative violence is most commonly use by herders to defend and fight-off raids and arm robbers. Aggressive defense gradually becomes an important cultural braveness of herders especially the nomads. Hence, even child teenagers among herding communities are oblige to embrace not only skills and braveness required for herding but also develop the courage and enthusiasm to aggressively, defend their herds from raids and attacks. Because herding is a tedious work, it requires not only the skills but also agility and physical braveness that often protect them from raids and attacks.

This resulted into herders carrying along with them various locally made weapons of all kinds such as bows and arrows, spears, long knives, locally made guns among others, in readiness to defend their herds from any possible attack. This development also symbolizes the culture of bravery and aggression among herding societies. Culturally, aggression have been currently associated and valued among herding communities as an inevitable defense mechanism against any threats. They developed a local term called “Pullaku” which symbolizes braveness and perseverance.

Consequently, because of aggressive behavior developed by herders over long time, the use of confrontation and violence in responding to social conflicts becomes probably an instinct among nomadic herders. Their aggressive tendencies made them to be lawless, economically uncompromising, socially intolerant and politically incompatible with the state. Therefore, herder’s aggressiveness is also responsible for the ultimate causes of farmer-herder conflicts in the study area.

4.4 FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

My first Focus Group Discussion [FGD] convened on January 16, 2010 with six herders in a village called *Madayi* in *Kukawa* Local Government, Borno State. While my second focus group discussion convened on February 5, 2010 with a group of six farmers in *Koleram* village of *Marte* Local Government. These villages are closely located between the Lake Chad and its hinterland. The rationale for selecting these villages as places identified for the focus group discussion was influenced by its incredible potentials for herding, farming and fishing activities. There is relative abundance of fodder for herders; land is fertile for dry season [irrigation] farming and fishing activities is booming throughout the year. Eventually the rich economic potentials for particularly herding and farming activities attracted the convergence of both farmers and herders in the two villages.

During my earlier visits to *Madayi* village to organize the discussion, I realized that the perception of the herders towards me is that, being highly educated and looks neater than the villagers look; they became suspicious and skeptical in relating with me. Beyond the normal greetings, they hardly talk to me further because they perceive I might probably be security personnel who want to spy the secret of their community.

As earlier planned in my method of data collection, I sought the intervention of their leaders and the village head by clearly expressing my mission. I have to overcome this challenge by convincing their leaders and the village head that I am a university student not security personnel. They finally became convinced that I am really a student not a security man as earlier perceived. Then they relaxed and open-up issues during the discussion.

Unlike the herders, during the second focus group discussion in *Koleram* village, farmers responded to our request for interview without any skepticism being strangers in the community. Fortunately, one out of the six farmers arranged for the discussion can speak a little bit of English, he understands our mission, so there was less challenges in convincing them for the discussion.

i. HERDERS VIEW FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

With the intervention of the Village Head, I was able to assemble six herders targeted for the group discussion. The six herders comprised of three nomadic herders, two sedentarized herders and one agro-pastoral herder who combines both herding and farming. I triggered the discussion by asking them their duration and experiences in herding as their economic livelihood. All the respondents happen to be herders since birth by antecedents of their ancestors being herders. They were born and brought up in herding as their only means of livelihood bequeathed by their parents. Even the agro-pastoralist among them was initially a pure herder, venture into crop production side by side herding necessitated by the difficulties in maintaining herds amidst the dwindling condition of natural resources in the region due threatening menace of desert encroachment; over-grazing and over-cultivation among others.

One of the major issues raised by all the respondents' herders during the discussion on causes of their conflict with farmers is that, while they agree firewood logging is the only source of energy to both communities [farmers and herders], which also contributes to depleting the forest faster. They blamed farmers for continually ravaging large forest resources in the name of farm clearing. This action according to them is responsible for their close contacts in areas assumed more fertile for both herding and farming alike. According to the eldest man among the herders:

'The last fifteen years, we were around Gajiram village; we migrated to Madayi village because the forest there is no longer viable for our herds due to ravaging effects of natural and human factors. Our search for better fodder brought us to the village where grazing space is limited, and competition with farming communities who also earnestly search for fertile lands. Therefore, if human activities such as firewood logging and unnecessary clearing of forests for farmlands are unchecked, in the next few years both herders and farmers will be compelled to compete over limited resources with consequences of conflicts'

However, my eyewitness account of the situation at the time of several visits to the hinterland of the Lake Chad region reveals that, hills of sand dunes covered a large expanse of oasis, water ponds, farmlands, grazing lands and in some cases burying access feeder roads linking villages in the area. All the tree shelterbelts planted by the Borno State Government along the fringes of the Lake Chad under the World Bank-assisted forestation program to mitigate the effects of advancing dunes, yielded less impacts due to high temperature, inadequate rainfall and drought. The withering of the forest resources also aggravates by human activities such as felling trees for firewood as source of energy and forest clearing for large farms.

Another issue raised by the herders during our discussion, is the issue of grazing reserves and stock routes. There was no single grazing reserve in most villages around the lake area. The traditional cattle routes linking villages and water ponds are been consistently encroached by farmers making it to be narrower and sometimes completely blocked. The host states and local government failed to provide them grazing reserves and cattle routes that would enable their herds graze and move freely without necessarily trespassing through the cultivated areas. For water points, they relied on the natural ponds and inlet tributaries of the Lake Chad, which is not healthy for animal consumption. Beside, most of these tributaries and its banks became irrigation sites. This is another critical area of frequent contacts and

encounters with farmers. However, they contend that they have no any other alternative source of water since government is unable to provide modern water points purposely for herders.

Their agony with the state and its modern bureaucracies are enormous, they see the institutions of the state as bias and not contributing towards improving pastoral live and livelihood. Generally, their perception is that:

The state is in close alliance and collaboration with farmers, because some bureaucrats of the state are also potential farmers. This informal collaboration tends to favor crop production over pastoralism. They gave instances where government distributes farming implements and materials such as fertilizers, tractors etcetera, to farmers annually while pastoral communities are grappling with unattended problems of lack of grazing reserves, veterinary clinics, modern water ponds and insecurity.

The acrimony arising from the inability of the state institutions to provide grazing facilities, couple with the inherent biasness against pastoralism as a productive economic sector, has been partly responsible for violent clashes between farmers and herders over resource access.

They also raise the issue of orchestration of pastoralist by farmers based on ethnicity and socio-cultural differences during the focus group interaction. Particularly, nomadic pastoralists who migrate from one place to the other in search of pasture often becomes exposed to ethnicity and indigene/settler orchestration from their various farming ethnicities in the Lake Chad region. As strangers, they mostly face problems of accessing grazing lands and water ponds. The traditional rights and claims over land and its resources lie with the farming communities and traditional leaders. Traditionally nomads' belief that, land and its resources such as forest, trees etcetera belongs to nobody but God and any claim or right should be over usage but

not ownership. Moreover, in the process of exercising rights and claims over access to these resources by farmers face resistance from herders. To some extent, the herders open-up during focus group discussion and said:

'Herding is our primary livelihood, any attempt to limit our access to renewable resources by farmers and their collaborators in government on the basis of ethnicity or indigene is unacceptable and we will fight to the last in defense of our herds.'

The herders went further to expressed how they became politically powerless and landless. The introduction of National Commission for Nomadic Education, in the 1980s, have not substantially influence their strong opposition to western education. Their conservative mine-set on western education made them to be politically powerless in the affairs of governance in the Lake Chad region. Farmers, traditional leaders and government bureaucrats take decisions on pastoral issues such as land, forest etcetera, without representation from pastoral communities. Politically, this also contributes in fuelling the conflict with the farming communities. On the issue of landlessness, the herders cried the way modern laws tactically transferred traditional land allocation and ownership to the state. This development rendered pastoralists as landless citizens.

I also triggered discussion on management and resolution of farmer-herder conflicts. All the herders were unanimous during the discussion on their choice on ways of managing conflicts arising between them and their farming counterparts. They all believe in traditional approach to resolving such conflicts, which is brief, straight, not costly and simple in procedure. Modern conflict management system is time consuming, unnecessary bureaucracy, expensive and cumbersome for the understanding of rural populace. They cited a case between some of their kith and

kin and some farmers over crop damage and trespass, which started in court since 2004, are still inconclusive. They lacked confidence in the judicial process of the state because of biasness and corrupt tendencies. They opined that:

'Our experience with the judicial process in farmer-herder conflict resolution in recent years, especially the Area Courts at the rural areas, corruption continue to mar dispensation of justice. Cases are not dispense on the basis of its merit instead the highest bidder is assured of winning the case at all cost'

Finally, the discussion was rounded-up with the understanding that violent conflict has some negative consequences on not only the parties in conflict but also the society. They also believe that violence can never be a permanent solution to problems; moreover, these conflicts can be surmountable through several peaceful means. Government should provide pastoral facilities, justice, effective laws governing land use and access rights and continuous integration programs for farming and herding communities.

In my conclusion, both farmers and herders during our separate focus group discussion raised the issue of ethnicity. Farmers look at herders particularly of *Fulani* origin as ethnically selfish and isolated with less interaction with other ethnic communities. While Fulani nomadic herders, look at ethnic farmers as ethnically dominating and culturally irreconcilable with the sanctity of their tradition. Therefore, conflicts involving injustice, marginalization, land ownership etcetera easily articulates and interprets by both communities with ethnic faces.

ii. FARMERS' VIEW FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

The most critical and fundamental issue raised by farmers on the causes of farmer-herder conflicts is that of crop damage by herders. They accused herders for

deliberate trespass and grazing on farmlands, which causes crop damage with consequences of conflict. Most crop damage occur when the herders noticed that the farm-owner is away from his farm or in the night when farmers must have gone back home. Farmers believe that even if there are adequate designated grazing areas herders can hardly stop crop damage because it has been their attitude. This led to stigmatization of herding communities by famers who considered them as opportunist, hostile and selfish. One of the respondents during the discussion was categorical by saying that:

'Our major area of conflict with herders is over crop damage. It is disgusting to see crops been destroyed one day by a selfish and opportunistic herder, after investing huge money, time and energy in sustaining the crops for couple of months. Perhaps this is an attempt not only to feed their herds with better fodder but also a deliberate attempt to sabotage farmers' basic livelihood and consequently unleash food shortages to the larger society.'

Responses from the farmers during the discussion also raised some inadequacies of the state and its institutions for a number of factors. First, the state as custodians of lands failed to provide adequate and well-equipped grazing reserves for herding communities to reduce cases of crop damage. Secondly, failure to provide necessary laws on pastoralism led to some behavioral excesses by the herding communities such as uncontrolled grazing and trespass. Thirdly, the porous nature of borders led to unchecked influx of nomadic herders with no proper documentation from neighboring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroun. Their influx led several conflicts with the host communities over grazing space and other privileges. Fourthly, there was less emphasis on sedentarization and integration of nomadic pastoralist into the modern livestock production.

Farmers also look at the conflict from ethnic point of view. They see herders as ethnically segregate, and hostile in their nature. Because of their hostilities, they always carry along with them local spears and knives in anticipation of violence. Traditionally, nomadic herders believe in revenge rather than resolution through the normal process. When there is a problem, they mobilize their kith and kin for revenge by launching reprisal attacks on farming communities and migrate for fear of arrest. The *Fulani* herders perceive a non-*Fulani* as an inferior, and he and his properties are subject to attack and raid. In the case of *Shuwa-Arab* and *Koyam* herders, they have been enjoying relative peaceful co-existence with their farming communities because majority of them are sedentarized and have since embraced farming as their second economic livelihood. The two herding communities limited their movement within the Lake Chad region and live for decades with farmers of different ethnic background in the basin. This led to the development of mutual respect between the farmers and *Shuwa-Arab* as well as *Koyam* agro-pastoralist on the other hand.

Farmers also accused traditional leaders for collaborating with nomadic herders by allowing them graze crop residues on farms when farmers have not finish harvesting their crops. The farmers view this collaboration from the economic point of view. Traditional leaders benefit more from newly arrived herders than the existing farmers do. The farmers revealed that:

‘Every year the newly arrived nomadic herders clear their way by tipping the traditional leaders with some cows to guarantee uninterrupted access to crop residues at the end of crop harvest.’

During our discussion, farmers also raised the issue of common traditional believe that have become a traditional obligation for most herders especially the nomadic herders. Nomadic herders believe that they must at least once every year graze their animals on crop farms in order to protect their animals from calamities such as deaths, diseases among others. This traditional believe lure them into grazing on farmlands while farmers always bear the consequences of crop damage. In addition, any attempt to prevent them from such actions always faces stiff resistance from the herders leading to violence.

The farmer's preference for the management of such conflicts differs from that of herder's. Herders prefer the judicial process instead of traditional approach especially the traditional institutional approach to managing such conflicts. Farmers believe that, because traditional leaders economically benefit more from herders than from them, they lack confidence in the traditional leaders. Therefore, judicial process is the most preferred by farmers. They opined that:

'We believe in the judicial process to the management and resolution of these conflicts because we believe no matter how long it can take and how costly it is justice can be done more than the traditional approach.'

At the end of the discussion, they believe that violent conflict have negative impacts on not only farmers and herders but on the entire society. Violent attacks and counter attack can never be a solution to conflict situations. They argued that, to avoid the diverstating effects of violent clashes between farmers and herders, government must be committed to justice and fairness.

CHAPTER FIVE: FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

APPROACHES IN THE STUDY AREA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In most cases, the term conflict management is interchangeably use as synonymous with ‘conflict regulation’. Indeed conflict management covers all aspect of both proactive and reactive efforts to handling conflict at different stages. However, traditional non-violent conflict management systems existed in almost all African societies prior to the evolution of modern state. Conflict management under the traditional arrangement, as the case in the Lake Chad region, are strictly guided by the sanctity of traditional norms and values of the society. Conflict management in most traditional African societies is not a function of a specialized institution of the state, rather, embedded in the way the traditional societies was structured through its network of activities, structures and cultures. Management of conflict situations in Northern Nigeria for instance, are base on the social formation of the early empires such as *Kanem Borno*, *Sokoto Caliphate* among others. These social formations characterized by centralized authority system, under the leadership of Emirs who have existed prior to the inception of colonial rule in Africa. Under the centralized system, approaches towards conflict management differ as conflict manifest from one level to the other depending on the magnitude.

In table 11 below, the study, summarized themes and categories generated on various approaches to conflict management that is most commonly used in managing farmer-herder conflict in the study area.

**TABLE 11: THEMES AND CATEGORIZATION OF EXISTING CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT APPROACHES IN THE STUDY AREA**

S/N	THEMES	CATEGORIES
2	Traditional Conflict Management Approaches	Social Approach Economic Approach Political Approach Traditional Institutional Approach
3	Modern Conflict Management Approaches	Non-Governmental Organizations Administrative Approach Legislative Approach Judicial Approach

The categories of conflict management above combine both traditional and modern approaches, which exists side by side. Indeed some of the traditional and modern approaches are proactive oriented while others are focus on reactive approach. Nevertheless, in most traditional societies such as Lake Chad communities, rely much on proactive approaches than reactive. While institution of the state, rely heavily on reactive approach in tackling conflicts.

***5.2 TRADITIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT APPROACHES IN
THE STUDY AREA***

The successes or failures of conflict management at each level under the traditional approach depend on the parties’ cooperation as well as their openness towards issues at stake. However, conflict management under the traditional approach is limited to issues that have not escalated into violence such as murder. Table 12 below presents the summary of traditional approaches to conflict management and their defining characteristics.

**TABLE 12: TRADITIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT APPROACHES
IN THE STUDY AREA**

TRADITIONAL APPROACH	INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED	DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS
Social Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers & Herders • Families & Clans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance and Avoidance • Migration • Cross-cultural Marriages • Social Festivals
Economic Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers & Herders • Families & Clans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resilience to new Livelihood • Economic Complementarities
Political Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MACBAN • FAN • ALHAYA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alliance and Collaboration • Local Associations
Traditional Institutional Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village Heads • District Heads • Emirs and Chiefs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiations • Expulsion • Fines

NOTE: MACBAN – Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria; FAN – Farmers Association of Nigeria; ALHAYA – is a Shuwa-Arab Local Language meaning Herders Association.

i. SOCIAL APPROACH

Both farmers and herders have their social ways of preventing conflict that are socially rooted from various cultures and traditions overtime. These social ties have been the chain of relationships that brings different interest groups together. In the Lake Chad region for example, social approaches such as tolerance and avoidance; migration; cross-cultural marriages; village festivals, family friendship among others,

are use by both farmers and herders to de-escalate conflict tendencies and to some extent build stronger relationships.

Tolerance and Avoidance - farmers and herders sometimes do tolerate each other for the sake of avoiding conflict between them. This is one of the traditional social approaches evolved by socio-cultural formations of farming and herding communities in the Lake Chad region. Farmers tolerate minor crop damage in the interest of peace. While herders also, tolerate minor encroachment into grazing reserves for the sake of peace. For example, the Fulani herding communities have developed a traditional acronym called “*pullaku*” meaning determination to contain and overlook conflicting issues. *Fulani* natives are obliged by virtue of their respect for traditional norms and values; imbibe “*pullaku*” as part of lifestyle. Various farming ethnicities in the basin also prefer conflict avoidance by tolerating herders instead of engaging them in conflict, which may have negative consequences on both farmers and herders. Moreover, being a predominant Muslim region, the religion of Islam has also influence their idea of conflict avoidance, which was emphasize under the Islamic conflict resolution system. However, the concept of tolerance and avoidance was stress by both farmers and herders during my in-depth interview.

According to Hassan Maidugu one of the farmers interviewed said:

‘Conflict between farmers and herders has existed for long, claiming many lives and properties, government failed to provide lasting management and resolution system that will curb the menace of the conflict. The best alternative for us [farmers] is to tolerate certain things in order to avoid violent clashes that have become common and widespread between the two communities.’

One of my respondents from the nomadic herding group called Bello Kawu also disclosed that:

'Because of migratory nature of our livelihood, whenever we settle in a village in the process of our migration, we try to tolerate the native farmers and adjust to their norms and values in other to avoid any thing that may probably turn conflictive between us. Tolerance and avoidance are less costly than engaging in violent conflict'

My personal experience during the fieldwork reveals that, both farmers and herders in most cases prefer tolerance and avoidance in order to prevent conflict occurrences over minor crop damage or cattle raid because they belief in forgiveness for the sake of avoiding violence but they can hardly forget. Traditionally, tolerance and avoidance are commonly practice as conflict prevention strategy in rural Lake Chad region.

Migration – migration is also another social approach commonly practice by rural farmers and herders to prevent conflict. Migration from one place to the other for purposes of avoiding conflict, are most common norm among herders especially nomadic herders. Nomadic herders' depends largely on migration as their means of livelihood as well as a strategy to avoid conflict with farmers. They in most cases migrate from areas where there is intense competition over renewable resources to marginal areas with less fodder and less possibility of conflict with farmers. For example, every rainy season *Mbororo*, *Udawa* and *Bokologi* nomadic *Fulani* herders in the Lake Chad basin migrate to less fertile lands to avoid intergroup conflict between them and the farmers. Farmer also avoids farming in conflict vulnerable areas but their migration is not frequent like the nomads. According to Baban Saleh one of my respondents from the farming group disclosed during interview that:

'Despite the fact that farmers need areas occupied by herds because is more fertile due to animal droppings, which yields had better harvest but for the avoidance of violent conflict with herders, we

distance ourselves from farming near their cattle routes, grazing reserves and their water points.'

While Yaya Bappa a herder in *Kerenewa* village also revealed his experiences over their migratory strategy for avoiding violent conflict. He said:

'Our migratory livelihood is not only for the popular desperation for fodder to better the condition of our herds. Traditionally, migration is seen as a means of avoiding not only conflict but also as a means of avoiding other anticipated calamities such as diseases, raids and frequent conflicts with farming communities over crop damage.'

Generally, migration is been determine by “push” and “pull” factors. Push factors such as violent conflicts, drought and famine, water scarcity among others, which compels farmers and herders to migrate in order to avoid the diverstating consequences of these factors. While pull factors, are factors such as availability of water, fodder, fertile lands, peace and security among others attracts farmers and herders to migrate in order to better their living condition. Migration in the case of herders has no time, it maybe planned and unplanned migration depends on the prevailing circumstances at a point in time.

Cross-cultural Marriages – intermarriages between farming and herding communities is another common social practice use in building inter-ethnic and inter-group relationships that prevents escalation of conflict. For example, conflict between *Shuwa-Arab* and *Kanuri* farmers is less frequent in the Lake Chad region, because the two ethnic groups have integrated their cultures and traditions through assimilation and intermarriages. Because there are rear intermarriages between *Fulani* nomadic herders and their *Kanuri* host communities, conflict between them

became frequent and widespread. According to Alamin Mohammad a Shuwa-Arab herder, observe that:

'Conflict between Shuwa-Arab herders and their Kanuri farming communities rarely can turn into violence because the two cultures believe in managing conflicts through intermarriages that existed for centuries. Most farmer-herder conflict experiences in the Lake Chad region are between the Fulani herding people and the Kanuri farmers who live for decades with social plays between them, but failed to enhance these social ties through intermarriages and intercultural assimilation. Their frequent conflicts with ethnic dimension could have been de-escalated and managed effectively without necessarily degenerating into violence.'

The Fulani ethnic group, predominantly herders worldwide, avoids cross-cultural marriages for fear of adulteration of their cultures that has been preserved centuries ago. However, cross-cultural marriages in a plural society like Nigeria, is an important social tie that enhances social cohesion among diverse ethnic groups.

Social Festivals – cultural festivals is a social activity that enhances relationship between different interest groups in the society. In the case of farmers and herders, there are common social gatherings that tend to bind them together and forget the past or existing conflicts. For example, there is a popular annual festival among the *Fulani* herders called “*shadi*” means display of braveness. During these festivals *Fulani* herders invite people mostly farmers to share the social pleasure. While farmers too, invite herders to attend social gatherings such as naming ceremonies, marriages among others. Social interaction contributes to improving relationships among individuals and groups in the society.

ii. ECONOMIC APPROACH

Resilience to new Livelihood - economically both farming and herding communities in the Lake Chad basin adapt to new livelihood emanating from climate change, environmental degradation, as a strategy to cope with the changes and avert conflict that may probably follow. Adaptive strategies implored by these communities, are fundamentally to reduce the cause of confrontation among them. Unsuccessful farmers engage in livestock herding and pastoralists too venture into farming. Nomadic herders were sometimes encouraged by farmers to settle by giving them land to engage in farming activities. This has been the gradual process of economic integration between farming and herding communities in order to prevent conflicts. For example, it was adaptation to livelihood confined *Koyam and Shuwa Arab* cattle herders within the Lake Chad basin area. These groups of pastoralists are nomadic and purely dependent on livestock production for their livelihood. Because of resilience to environmental changes, majority if not all *Koyam and Shuwa-Arab* herders have settled and combined herding and farming simultaneously around the Lake Chad area. This has greatly integrated them with several farming communities. Alamin Muhammand a *Shuwa* herder revealed that:

'Changes in climatic condition have drastically affected herding economies. Herders practice farming as their second livelihood in order to cope with the environmental changes and economically tighten symbiotic relationship with farmers to avoid possible conflicts. This is how some of us gradually became agro-pastoralists peacefully living side by side with the farming communities in the Lake Chad area.'

Sedentarization of this group of herders has further strengthened the chain of relationship between farmers and herders.

Economic Complementarities – the relationship between farmers and herders are economically dependent and complementary. Herders depend on farmers for crop residues while farmers need meat and dairy products produced by herders. This relationship has been mutual and beneficial to both parties. Economically, this long established relationship has influenced positively in socio-economic and political harmony between the two communities. For instance, settled herders in the Lake Chad basin have since established economic relationships with their farming communities, which may hardly turn conflictive because of mutual respect that has become part of their new societal norms. In the past, these complementarities are unknown to be relevant until recently when conflict brokered between a farmer and herder in *Ngom* villege, which led herders refusing to sale their cattle and dairy products for two weeks in solidarity with their fellow herdsman. This led to scarcity of meat and dairy products in the area, and not only that it prompted the villagers including farmers to realize the need to manage and resolve the conflict in order to restore the supply of meat and dairy products. According to Bulama Jamna a traditional leader in the area said:

‘Sometimes we use economic approach to manage farmer-herder conflicts because both parties cannot economically thrive without depending on the other. Therefore, this economic complementarity that exists between the two producer groups also contributes in resolving such conflicts.’

iii. POLITICAL APPROACH

Alliance and Collaboration - Sometimes farmers and herders collaborate by collectively taking decisions, on mutual conflict prevention and management strategies acceptable to all. Negotiations among leaders or representatives of both farmers and herders are the platforms for collaboration. All decisions taken in the

interest of peace are binding on all parties. For example, collaboration became a tradition between farmers and herders in *Ajiri* one of the villages in the Lake Chad region, every season negotiations towards conflict prevention and management between the two community leaderships often held at the instance of village or district head as an observer. These negotiations included among other issues, that nomadic pastoralists have to leave farming areas at the beginning of every rainy season, that is, during cultivation period and must also seek clearance before coming back to graze at the end of every rainy season when farmers must have harvested their crops. While farmers too must ensure speedy harvest of their crops at the end of every raining season to enable herders access their crop residues. In addition, the leadership of both farmers and herders meet regularly in form of local committee under the supervision of the village or district head to review situations. They exercise powers in their own traditional ways, to sanction their erring members in order to serve as deterrence to others. Lawan Mai Umar one of the village heads who supervise these stakeholder collaborative efforts in his domain revealed that:

'Farmers and herders in this village believe in traditional collaborative approach as a practical solution to farmer-herder conflicts. The leadership of both parties discusses and collaborates annually on issues relating to conflict prevention and management strategies that are acceptable and beneficial to all. At the end parties easily collaborate and work together.'

Hence, the use of traditional stakeholder collaboration may contribute in reducing the menace of farmer-herder conflicts because parties determines what type of collaboration and where to collaborate in order to effectively manage and resolve conflicts.

Local Associations – association of farmers and pastoralists as voluntary institutions sometimes intervene and mediate between and among its members when there is conflict. Prominent among these associations are Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria [MACBAN], Farmers Association of Nigeria [FAN] and Alhaya.

Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria [MACBAN] is the umbrella association of all *Fulani* related herders and they are widely spread with branches in most states across the country. They are involved in many farmer-herder conflicts management and resolutions not only in the Lake Chad region but also all over the country. For example, the association has participated in various conflict resolution committees/commission on farmer-herder conflict, recent among these commissions, are the establishment of Judicial Panel of Enquiry under Justice Bola Ajibola 2008 – 2009 on farmer-herder conflicts in Jos. The association is also been known for its role in supporting mass education for its members since the establishment of National Commission for Nomadic Education in the 1990s, have been in the vanguard of mobilizing nomads to embrace western education as a means of improving their livelihood.

Farmers Association of Nigeria [FAN] is also another strong umbrella association of farmers in Nigeria. This association of farmers is not active like the association of herders because of their large population and unnecessary interference from government. However, the association has spread across the nation with several specialized farmers associations under it, but it has not been prominent in the management and resolution of conflicts between its members and herders.

Alhaya means pastoralist's in *Shuwa-Arab* local language. Is a herder's association as well as a non-governmental organization exclusively for *Shuwa-Arab* ethnic pastoral people, predominantly confine to Borno around the Lake Chad region where most of them domiciled. These organizations participate in conflict resolution processes in various herding and farming communities. Most at times government use them as mediators or as interveners in farmer-herder conflicts. They also organize local public enlightenment campaigns for their members on conflict issues.

iv. TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

This is the last stage under the traditional approaches to conflict in the study area. Traditional leaders such as Wards Heads, Village Heads, District Heads to Emir and Chiefs have been in the vanguard of conflict management and resolution prior to the inception colonial authorities. Conflicts that are not resolved at family level, may receive the attention of Ward head. If parties are not satisfied with the outcome from the Ward Head or the Ward Head himself sometimes, refer cases beyond his jurisdiction to the Village Head. At any level, if negotiations failed the case will continue through the traditional hierarchies from Ward Head up to the Emir or Chief, which is the apex under the traditional hierarchies. Traditional institutions uses dialogue, negotiation, sanctions, fines, expulsion, suspension among other to manage conflicts between farmers and herders. These sanctions depend largely on the nature of the conflict and the magnitude of the damage. Sanctions meted at various degrees are to compel and deter erring individuals to comply with outcome of resolutions and serves as a punishment. Conflicts that are not resolved at this stage go to the courts.

The study argued that, some potentials of traditional conflict management approaches that was developing several decades are fast eroding because, first, the

diversity of cultural norms and values has influenced some traditional approaches to conflict management. Secondly, the dominant religion of Islam and Christianity has also altered the traditional method, in the same way they have altered the culture of people. For instance, in Islamic society like the Lake Chad basin, religion has comprehensively prescribed conflict resolution involving believers. This has gradually eroded the pre-Islamic (traditional) conflict resolutions. Thirdly, the evolution of modern state structure with its bureaucratic system has shifted greater part of the management mechanism in its favor. Nevertheless, the increasing demand for non-violent management of conflict whether traditional or modern has generally debunked the way media portrayed violence as a means of settling scores.

5.3 MODERN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT APPROACHES IN THE

STUDY AREA

Table 13 below summarizes the modern approaches to conflict management in the study area.

TABLE 13: MODERN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT APPROACHES IN THE STUDY AREA

S/N	MODERN APPROACH	INSTITUTION INVOLVED	DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS
1	NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ALHAYA • MACBAN • NCNE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enlightenment • Collaboration • Education
2	Administrative Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Government • States & LGAs • Committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mediation • Policies
3	Legislative Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Assembly • Houses of Assembly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws • Resolutions
4	Judicial Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • Courts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conviction • Fines

NOTE

NGOs – Non-governmental Organizations

MACBAN – Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria

ALHAYA – Is a local NGO in Shuwa-Arab language

NCNE – National Commission for Nomadic Education

i. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Non-Governmental organizations [NGOs] have been playing a significant role in the promotion of Alternative Dispute Resolution [ADR] among farmers and herders. Their approach focuses on education and peace-building activities among conflicting parties in order resolve existing conflict and prevent further escalation. Most

prominent among these Non-Governmental Organizations is *Alhaya*, a locally based NGO founded by the *Shuwa-Arab* ethnic people within the Lake Chad region. The organization's activities centered on collaboration with other sister NGOs and Government organization such as the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria [MACBAN], National Commission for Nomadic Education [NCNE]. Through these collaborative efforts, they initiated a pastoral program called 'Pastoral Resolve'. The program engages in campaign for mass education for the nomads, enlightenment campaigns, conflicts management and resolution and peace-building activities in collaboration with other NGOs.

ii. ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACH

States and Local Governments authorities by the promulgation of Land Use Act of 1978 assumed control of not only land but also all conflicts over resources such as water ponds, forest, grazing reserves, and cattle routes among others on the land. Law vests rights and privileges over allocation, supervision, revocation and general administration of these resources in the States and Local Government authorities. This includes management and resolution of conflicts arising from, as the case between farmers and herders.

In the year 2000 for example, Borno State, in exercising constitutional powers and in response to the wide spread farmer-herder conflicts, established standing committees at the State and Local Governments levels. A 15-member committee established at the state level under the Chairmanship of Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Animal and Forest Resources (MAFR). Their responsibilities include:

- ❖ To monitor and protect grazing reserves and stock routes from encroachments

- ❖ To assess the wide spread farmer-herder conflicts in the state. And
- ❖ Manage and resolve farmer-herder conflicts in the state.

Same committees were established in all the Local Governments in the state. The work of these committees on resolution of farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad basin faced a lot of set back because first, the institutional approach is not community-based. Secondly, it lacked confidence from the community because it opposes their usual traditional system of conflict resolution. Thirdly, the institutional approach is curative rather than preventive. Based on these reasons, traditional communities prefer traditional methodologies in resolving their conflicts. Introducing modern conflict resolution systems means that their traditional status quo will change. Traditionally, people always resist change because they do not want their status quo to change.

iii. LEGISLATIVE APPROACH

The legislative organs such as the National Assembly, the state Houses of Assembly and the local government legislative councils, by virtue of constitutional powers conferred on them can make laws that may compel parties end conflicts. Under any democratic system, the legislature is an important body that manages conflict through legislative processes that finally becomes law. For example, the grazing reserve law 1988 has contributed in reduced conflicts between farmers and herders over encroachment and blockage of cattle routes.

iv. JUDICIAL APPROACH

The Police as a law enforcement institution are empowered by law to maintain law and order, settle disputes between individuals and groups and prosecution of parties

where necessary. The Law Courts is also another institution, which addresses conflicts including farmer-herder conflicts. In Northern Nigeria, we have the Sharia Courts and magistrate courts at the grassroots level where most farmer-herder conflicts are ultimately settled. It is only when the parties were not satisfied with the judgments of the lower courts that they seek redress in higher courts such as High Courts and Court of Appeal.

Both farmers and herders prefer settlement of their cases under the traditional system rather than in courts. And the reasons is that first, there is delay in the dispensation of justice through unnecessary adjournment of cases, secondly, is time consuming which interferes with their farming and herding schedules. Thirdly, is not cost effective and too much expenses involved.

In conclusion, all the extant approaches discussed above, for managing farmer-herder conflicts, with the exception of administrative, legislative and judicial approach, are voluntary and the success and failure of each approach depends largely on the cooperation of the parties' in conflict [farmers and herders]. As primary parties to the conflict, negotiation and dialogue are the primary technique been use in managing such conflicts. While administrative, legislative and judicial approaches sometimes use coercion or force as a technique in addition to dialogue and negotiation to suppress conflicting parties from further conflicts.

5.4 MECHANISMS FOR FARMER-HERDER CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The mechanisms or methods used in managing conflicts between farmers and herders depend on the magnitude and severity of the conflict. Conflicts involving crop damage for instance, the offending herdsman accept guilt and interpersonal settlement may be reach. This also depends on the extent of the damage. Compensation often demanded for huge damage while minor crop damage attracts warning not to repeat again.

Minor crop damage and cattle raids, are resolved by the disputants themselves through negotiation and better understanding between the two parties. This is more common among farmers and sedentarized herders who stayed together for several years. Their long stay has developed mutual respect and good relationships that they always try to settle their conflicts within themselves. For example, *Shuwa-Arab* herders and their *Kanuri* farmers in the Lake Chad region may always prefer settling their conflicts at interpersonal level because of their long social ties such as intermarriages, speaking both languages fluently and common similarities in the two cultures and traditions.

Managing minor or major crop damage depends on the effectiveness of negotiation and acceptance of the outcome of negotiation by the parties. Traditionally, all minor conflicts handled at personal or family stage without been reported to higher authorities because of fear of breakdown of mutual relationship. Sometimes the victim forgets whatever damage for the sake of peace without necessary involving third party. In some cases where the relationship between the farmer and the herder is not cordial, conflicts that involve crop damage are not usually resolve by personal intervention.

Conflicts that are not settle at interpersonal level, third parties from within the family intervene for amicable settlement. Family lineage and ties among communities mostly play an important role in resolving conflicts amongst members of the same family or between two different families. For instance, the Fulani ethnic herders in the Lake Chad region believes in family social ties, because of that, individuals are duty bound to take instructions and final decisions from heads of families, which they referred to as “*Ardabe*”. Intra-family conflicts are resolved within one family, which is easier than the inter-family conflicts. When there is conflict between a farmer and a herder both families intervene through their family elders whose decision is binding upon all parties by virtue of their influence on their respective families or the parties in conflict.

Conflicts differ in magnitude and complexity, which may go beyond the limit for family intervention or if family fail to resolve the conflict, may attract the intervention of village elders. In cases, such as killing of cattle for crop damage, night grazing on cultivated areas etcetera. In most villages in the Lake Chad region, have village elders comprised of elderly persons, religious leaders and other respected persons. By virtue of their age, knowledge and experience they earn respect and loyalty from their people. As such, they also intervene, resolve and sanction erring members of their village in their own traditional ways. Moreover, not only that they negotiate and determine things like compensation for victims.

Traditional institutions have been in the vanguard of conflict management prior to the evolution of modern state. Traditional empires such the *Kanem* Borno Empire in the Lake Chad region has existed for over five centuries. They have established administrative structures at wards, villages, districts up to the emirate level. If parties are not satisfied with the outcome from the Ward Head or the Ward Head himself

sometimes, refer cases beyond his jurisdiction to the Village Head. At any level, if negotiations failed the case will continue through the traditional hierarchies from Ward Head up to the Emir or Chief. Under the traditional system, the Emir or Chief is the apex in the traditional hierarchies. Conflicts that have not been previously resolved at the preceding stages eventually referred to the traditional authorities, through the traditional hierarchies. Before the coming of colonial masters, traditional rulers were both traditional leaders and judges in the various communities. However, they still have influence on their subjects.

The mechanisms and method above are the most common and frequent form of conflict management between farmers and herders in the study area. However, farmers whose crops have been damage usually ask for outrageous and unrealistic compensation from the herder. The herder on the other hand, is not prepared to pay the compensation demanded by the aggrieved farmer. This is the most common stalemates in managing farmer-herder conflicts, which involves high-level negotiation by the traditional leaders. If negotiation fails, litigation is the last resort.

When the preceding levels are been exhausted and negotiation fails then the law will take its course. At this stage, the police can prosecute parties in conflict or of the parties directly seeks the intervention of court of law. Decisions taken by court of law are binding on all parties. However, traditional societies always discourage intervention through the courts because it destroys social ties and the process is too cumbersome to the understanding of the rural populace. Above all, the most hated mode of conflict management is the police/courts and it is rarely use among herders of Fulani origin. The experiences of the Fulani herders with the police, is that, they often exploit and brutalize them in the event of a reported conflict. Inevitably,

farmer-herder conflicts that turn violent with ethnic dimensions mostly end-up in court of law.

5.5 ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL FOR CONSIDERATION

Management of conflict in a plural society like Nigeria where farmer-herder conflicts have been on the current list of major threats to national cohesion requires both reactive and proactive strategies. Apart from the cleavages of ethnicity, religion and resource conflicts, the Nigerian state experienced prolong military rule. Under the Military dictatorship, conflict management approach is coercive rather than consensus. The return to democratic rule in 1999 accompanied with Militarized orientation to conflict management. Successive democratic regimes responded to conflicts only when it occurred and damages recorded. The on-going crises in Jos between *Fulani* herders and *Biom* natives as well as hostilities in the Niger-Delta Region of Nigeria, is a point of reference. The state approach to conflict management end up in widely publicizing the establishment of several committees of inquiry that compiled compendium of reports meant to advertise their commitment. These reports are now a mere dissipation of time, energy and resources because they are unattended to, in government archives.

In order to effectively, manage widespread farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, the study argued and proposed that, the reactive instruments and approach institutionalized by the state though potentially relevant in aftermath of conflict situation but is inadequate in effectively tackling conflicts during pre-conflict stage. There is the need to adopt proactive approach through the institutionalization of good governance, education and youth empowerment, grassroots community-based activities, communication and enlightenment, collaboration and negotiation, among others, as pre-conflict management strategies. Proactive conflict management

strategies proposed by this study are premise on two reasons. First, prevention of conflict is cheaper than managing conflict that has already occurred. Second, conflict prevention has to do with behavioral change rather than apportioning blame or ascertaining who is right and who is wrong.

i. GOOD GOVERNANCE

The concept of good governance is yet to earn a consensus definition among social scientists. However, in contemporary development literatures the concept of good governance has been a precondition for international development partnership and corporation in the globalized world. Recently, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific [ESCAP] of the United Nations provided a more general overview of the concept good governance. They looked at good governance as a combination of decision-making and implementation. It focuses on the formal and informal actors that are involved in decision-making and implementation through the formal and informal institutions provided for such purposes. Ordinarily, good governance refers to handling of the affairs of government in accordance with the laid down processes and procedures for the progress and benefit of both the governors and the governed. Government is the primary actor in good governance. There are other secondary actors in rural areas such as property owners, association of peasant farmers, leaders of herding groups, Non-governmental organizations [NGOs], research institutes, traditional and religious leaders, political parties, the Media etc. Lack of good governance has been the foundation of instabilities in Nigeria and Africa at large. Good governance is one of the pillars for proactive conflict prevention strategies.

Table 14 below shows some major characteristics associated with good governance

TABLE 14: CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

GOOD GOVERNANCE	CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE
	Participation
	Consensus Oriented
	Accountability
	Transparency
	Responsiveness
	Effectiveness and efficiency
	Equitability and Inclusiveness
	Observance of Rule of Law
	Democracy and Democratization
	Fundamental Human Rights

Participatory – participation in a representative democracy is not limited to taking the yearnings and concerns of communities and groups in decision-making but also requires informing and organizing people by providing platforms for freedom of association and expression on one hand and organized Civil Society Organizations [CSO] on the other hand. Farmers and herders for example, are to be given the opportunity to express their views as stakeholders and participate in decisions relating to farmer-herder conflicts.

Consensus Oriented – good governance provides wide range of consensus among diverse interest groups in the society. Consensus building is achievable through dialogue and negotiation on broad and long-term perspective. There is also the need to have a better understanding of historical, cultural and social antecedents in a given society in order to achieve sustainable development.

Accountability – is also another important prerequisite for good governance. The principles of accountability should be the road map. Public and Private sectors, civil society organizations must be accountable to the people that may be affected by their decisions and actions and inactions.

Transparency – this means decisions reached openly and enforcement done in accordance with the rules and procedures. This also requires free, adequate and accessible information that is explicit and comprehensible to those that will be affected by such decisions.

Responsiveness – good governance requires been responsive to people especially the stakeholders at the appropriate time.

Effectiveness and efficiency – In order to promote good governance, efficiency and effectiveness needs to push the processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs aspirations of society by maximizing the resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency and effectiveness in the context of good governance also encompasses the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

Equitability and inclusiveness – There must be equity among people especially the vulnerable in the society should be included as stakeholders. This requires all individuals and groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.

Observance of Rule of Law – the Rule of Law is a fundamental ingredient for democracy and good governance to thrive. There should be impartial enforcement of laws. The institutions of the judiciary and the police have to be credible devoid of impartiality and corruption.

Democracy and democratization – democracy gives people the opportunity to elect their leaders through popular participation. This gives people the sense of participation in producing who governs them.

Fundamental Human Rights – good governance requires the protection of fundamental rights of the people. Some of these rights include freedom of speech, association, religion, etc.

ii. EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT

Many violent conflicts in Nigeria are attributed to lack of education and mass unemployment the country is experiencing over the years. Mass education and youth empowerment of the Nigeria's teeming population have the potentials to de-escalate and stop conflict from manifesting. Available records have shown that sixty percent of Nigerians are un-educated and are predominantly rural populace (UNDP, 2008). Under this situation, education is necessary to bring awareness among the conflicting rural dwellers as the case of farmer-herder conflicts. These will open their minds towards conflict management and peace building at various stages.

iii. GRASSROOTS COMMUNITY-BASED ACTIVITIES

Grassroots community-based activities enhance togetherness, team spirit and collective responsibility among people. It has been notice during my fieldwork observation that the social interaction between farmers and herders are mostly in the markets. In order to tighten the chain of social and economic cohesion among these groups social interaction such as collaboration, inter-marriages, inter-tribal or intra-tribal festivals and other community-based activities should be encouraged. Social interaction among the rural populace contributes to conflict prevention because of social and economic ties developed over long time.

iv. COMMUNICATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

There should be effective communication and enlightenment programs between individuals and groups, between leaders and the governed as well as potential parties in conflict. Sharing and exchanging information helps in removing doubts, suspicion and facilitates confidence-building process among individuals and groups. Communication is an important ingredient of peace building. Through communication, individuals and groups express their feelings and grievances that are vital for proactive conflict prevention. Lack of communication and dissemination of misguided information can easily ignite conflict or aggravate existing conflicts.

v. COLLABORATION AND NEGOTIATION

The spirit of collaboration and negotiation should be encourage and inculcated among communities. Parties should work in self-partnership through constructive dialogue or any activity that helps in building trust, confidence and mutual respect among individuals and groups. The idea is that those who collaborate and do things in partnership are likely to develop friendship and mutual respect among themselves than those who do not. By building friendship and trust, the possibility that conflict is degenerated into violence will be less. However, communication and negotiation should be the guiding principles of community collaboration.

In conclusion, it is my opinion that lack of good governance is partly responsible for the existence and escalation of incessant farmer-herder conflict and other economic, political, ethnic and religious instabilities in Nigeria. Hence, because there is lack of good governance management of these conflicts is becoming near impossible. As rightly concluded by neo-patrimonial state theorists, that where neopatrimonialism exist side by side with the bureaucratic structures the act of governance is largely

dependent on patronage rather than the ideology and law. Therefore, the absence of good governance in Nigeria guarantees not only conflicts between farmers and herders but also increases cleavages among its diverse ethnic nationalities along economic, political and social interest. The case in Somalia should be a good lesson for Nigeria, where collapse of the state and lack of good governance led to bloody civil wars including farmer-herders conflicts.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 CONCLUSION

The Nigerian state is a heterogeneous society comprised of about 360 ethnic nationalities. National cohesion among these ethnic cleavages became a challenge and nightmare. The country has experienced period of turbulence because of prolonged Military dictatorship. Celebrated return to democracy in 1999, was welcome with an upsurge of resource conflicts especially violence in the Niger Delta region; contestations and violence between farmers and herders in Northern Nigeria. Most of the preceding literatures reviewed leading to the current research, generally dwelled first, on changing patterns of resource use and tension over resource use. Secondly, there is unprecedented shift from traditional system of managing both resources and conflicts therein. Thirdly, the failure of states to meet-up to their responsibility combined to cause instability and tension in Nigeria.

Historically, interaction between farmers and herders existed since history can remember. Interactions begun to be soar in the Lake Chad basin because of increase competition for scarce resources. Influx of pastoralists from other ecological zones to the basin is partly responsible for breakdown of social ties between these groups. Many environmental conflict scholars view the collapse of traditional ties between these groups beyond resource conflicts. They posit that factors such as ethnicity, indigene-settler problem and host-stranger crisis has contributed in diversification of the conflict.

The Lake Chad basin area has been a major arena for farmer-herder conflict in the two pastoral corridors of Northern Nigeria. The lake is strategically the center of convergence of both farmers and pastoralists. Availability of water, fodder and forest resources has been the motivating factors. Conflict between these groups became

unrelenting because of competition and struggles over access to resources. Despite incessant conflicts between farmers and herders, there is no record of proliferation of modern arms among the pastoralists of the Lake Chad basin. The case in the basin is unlike the pastoralists of East Africa where arms are increasingly becoming common among pastoralists. In the last two decades, there is growing evidence that farmer-herder conflicts in Northern Nigeria are rottenly articulated into ethnic, religious and political contestations, which makes it more complicated. The case in *Jos* and other part of the Northern region is a good example.

Transformation of conflict over renewable resources into an ethnic conflict between farmers and herders is a clear indication of breakdown of complementary relationship that hitherto existed from the time immemorial. This development has obscured the role of ethnicity as an important player in farmer-herder conflicts. In fact, this has opened a new paradigm in the study of conflict between these two production communities. In order to understand the dynamics of these interactions, we need to channel some intellectual energy and resources. Though, in this study, we discuss the role of ethnicity in the causation of farmer-herder conflicts but its interactions with other variables requires an exhaustive study beyond the scope of this study.

The *Fulani* nomadic pastoralists being the largest pastoral group in the world are widely spread especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. In their transhumance movement, they were exposed to different farming, hunting and fishing societies, yet their assimilation with these societies is minimal. Limited inter-marriages and other social and cultural linkages kept them isolated from the host communities. This further widens the scope of disintegration of shared common values between farmers and herders with consequences of continued conflict. In addition to that, their trans-

boundary criss-crossing of Sub-Saharan African countries, as the case in the Lake Chad basin, without necessary documentation are in total opposition to the Governments of these states. It was against this background the patrimonial states are in opposition with the pastoral groups. Pastoralists pay allegiance to fodder as the basis of their allegiance to the state. The state questions their nationalities and always treats them as foreign and stateless society.

Under this scenario, the future of pastoralism seems to be bleak due to non-consideration of pastoralism as an important productive economic sector. Bias against pastoralism in favor of agriculture, lack of enough grazing reserves, blockage of cattle routes, and expansion of development programs and above all the threatening impacts of desertification, land depletion/degradation, climate change, among others have been the agony of pastoralists. Nevertheless, it is a known fact that livestock sector provides dairy products and protein needs of most states in West Africa as a whole. Besides, West Africa is a large center of livestock trade, which contributes to the local revenue earnings of many states in the sub-region.

Sub-Saharan African states must urgently respond to farmer-herder conflicts by exploring multi-faceted strategies to conflict resolution. This may require not only the usual reactive responses to conflict but also proactive programs that will create vertical and horizontal windows for dialogue between and within stakeholders, in order to promote peace-building mechanisms. The potential role of traditional conflict management systems needs integration into the modern system. Good governance, education, awareness, collaboration, communication, negotiation, community-based activities among others is necessary for conflict prevention.

It is the hope of this study that Sub-Saharan African states will prove otherwise, the predictions of some environmental conflict theorists that developing countries may not adequately respond to exigencies of environmental degradation because they lacked the technical capacity to do that. As such, conflict over resources including farmer-herder conflicts will exacerbate. This study concludes that environmental degradation due climate change has really ravaged the African soil, but the conflicts over these resources are surmountable through proactive approaches to conflict management.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to reduce or mitigate widespread farmer-herder conflicts in the Lake Chad and by extension Northern Nigeria in general, the following recommendations are proffered base on the findings of the study. These recommendations provide suggestions for addressing both remote and immediate causes of farmer-herder conflicts and its management systems. The recommendations included both community-based and institutional response to conflict involving farmers and herders. Traditional authorities, Policy makers, States and Local Government authorities may find it useful and effective in the prevention and management of future and extant farmer-herder conflicts.

i. RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENT AND POLICY MAKERS

- ❖ The institution of the state should harness human and material resources to combat the ravaging effects of desertification, land degradation and climate change, which causes resource scarcity and competition between resource users such as the case between farmers and herders.
- ❖ The on-going re-forestation campaign in desert prone areas of northern Nigeria should be sustain to reduce the southward transhumance nomadic movements, which rottenly spark-off farmer-herder conflicts.
- ❖ There should be program for sedentarization of nomadic pastoralists through promotion of mixed crop farming or agro-pastoralism.
- ❖ There should be law on pastoralism to protect and check pastoral activities.

- ❖ The state should establish institutions for range management in order to promote equal rights over control and access to resources at local and national levels.
- ❖ Farmers and herders should be jointly involved to co-manage local natural resources. Particularly, the *Fulani* herders should be included in the village land committees, where decisions about land and other natural resources are decided.
- ❖ Local communities should also be encourage and empowered to develop their own traditional institutions for managing conflicts over natural resource. The role of the state should be limited to reinforcing local traditional conflict resolution mechanisms instead of replacing them with new institutions.
- ❖ The existing land tenure use and practice, which allow for land privatization in Nigeria has created a barrier to herds' mobility. Land use and practice should be liberalize, to enable local resource users such as farmers and herders develop their own tenure arrangements and decide on the appropriate uses of natural resources in their locality. Government must be the facilitator of this process.
- ❖ More grazing reserves, water points and stock routes are required to minimize encroachment. Government should resuscitate the existing grazing reserves to accommodate more grazers. Moreover, not only that, all non-gazetted grazing reserves should be gazetted to avoid gradual encroachment.

- ❖ Governments have to ensure that expansion of agricultural development programs does not have negative impacts on grazing space.
- ❖ Farmer-herder groups should be train, educated and undertake gradual awareness campaign on modern conflict handling systems.
- ❖ Inter-ethnic relation and integration between herding ethnicities and their host ethnic farmers be encouraged.
- ❖ Government should bridge the institutional imbalances between pastoralism and agricultural crop production.
- ❖ The state institutions should be an unbiased umpire by providing equal opportunity to all players in local resources.
- ❖ Proactive strategy for conflict prevention should be encouraged among communities.
- ❖ There should be law to prevent child herding and night grazing to avoid crop damage and subsequent conflict that may follow.

ii. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

- ❖ The recent articulation of resource conflicts between farmers and herders with ethnic cleavages has obscured a new dimension to the conflicts. Therefore, the study suggests further research on the relationship between ethnicity and farmer-herder conflicts in the study area and by extension Northern Nigeria.
- ❖ The study recommends for a quantitative studies to ascertain whether the violent conflicts between farmers and herders is increasing or decreasing.

- ❖ The study also recommends a comparative study on farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria and other vulnerable countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In order to determine, the difference and similarities in the causation and management of farmer-herder conflicts, among Sub-Saharan African countries.
- ❖ There should be empirical studies to determine whether there is or there is no proliferation of arms and light weapons among herders in the study area and Nigeria at large.
- ❖ There should be a comparative research on the relationships between resource scarcity and farmer-herder conflicts.
- ❖ There further studies on the advantages and disadvantages of sedentarization in nomadic pastoral economies.
- ❖ There should be further studies on corruption on the part of government officials and traditional leaders in managing farmer-herder conflicts in the study area.

In conclusion, it is the hope of this study that the recommendations listed above, will be another source of vital information and suggestions to Government and policy makers in the study area and Nigeria at large. Most importantly, conflict researchers precisely researchers on farmer-herder conflicts will find it useful in building future studies in the area.

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INTERVIEWS

Focus Group Interview with some farmers conducted at Koleram village, Marte Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. February 5th, 2010.

Focus Group Interview with some herders conducted at Madayi village, Kukawa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. January 15th, 2010.

Buba Jauro, male 51years old herder. Interviewed at Doron-Baga village, Kukawa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. January 16th, 2010.

Saleh Baban, male 43years old farmer. Interviewed at Koleram village, Marte Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. February 3rd, 2010.

Bappa Yaya, male, 56years old herder. Interviewed at Kerenewa village, Marte Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. February 4th, 2010.

Kawu Bello, male 39years old herder. Interviewed at Wulgo village, Ngala Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. February 22nd, 2010.

Bukar Modu, male 49years old farmer. Interviewed at Malone village, Ngala Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. February 23nd, 2010.

Dalba Bukar, male, 54years old ward head of Wulari Bohole village. Interviewed at Wulari village, Monguno Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. March 14th, 2010

Mohammed Alamin, male, 35years old herder. Interviewed at Monguno village, Monguno Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. March 15th, 2010.

Ardo Adamu, male, 68years old herder. Interviewed at Damasak village, Mobbar Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. March 30th, 2010.

Aisami Ali, male, 40years old farmer. Interviewed at Damasak village, Mobbar Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. March 30th, 2010.

Jamna Bulama, male, 45years old ward head of Bulakumkum village. Interviewed at Bulakumkum village, Mafa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. April 8th, 2010.

Humma Bello, male, 64 years old herder. Interviewed at Ngom village, Mafa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. April 8th, 2010.

Mai Umar Lawan, male, 80years old village head of Ajiri. Interviewed at Ajiri village, Dikwa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. April 23th, 2010.

Dunoma Shettima, male, 50years old farmer. Interviewed at Gulumba village, Dikwa Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. April 24th, 2010.

Kolo Modu, male, 49years old farmer. Interviewed at Gudumbali village. Guzamala Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. May 2nd, 2010.

Abatcha Alhaji, male, 38years old chief livestock superintendent. Interviewed at Gajiram village, Nganzai Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. May 5th, 2010.

Maidugu Hassan, male, 60years old farmer. Interviewed at Tungushe village, Konduga Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. May 10th, 2010.

Usman Yusuf, male, 52years old Director of Livestock, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Borno State, Nigeria. Interviewed at his office. May 15th, 2010.

Ngulde Safio, male, 50years old Deputy Director of Livestock, Ministry of Agriculture, Borno State, Nigeria. Interviewed in his office. May 15th, 2010.

Kawu Abba Alhaji, male, 85years old former National Chairman, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria. Interviewed in his house. May 18th, 2010.

Modu Hajiya Falmata, female, 51years old executive member of Farmers Association of Nigeria. Interviewed in her house. May 19th, 2010.

6.4 APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1:IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

PERSONAL DATA

- What is your name?
- How old are you?
- Are you a Farmer, Herder, or Both?
- Do you hold any position in your community?
- What is your nationality?
- What is the name of your Village, Local Government and the State?

CAUSES OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS

- How many years are you farming or herding in this area?
- Are you a sedentarized farmer/herder or nomadic?
- Have you personally experienced conflict between farmers and herders?
- How does scarcity of renewable resources due to natural phenomenon such as drought, desertification, and land depletion etc. cause farmer-herder conflict?
- Apart from the natural causation, is there any human factor such as bush burning, tree felling etc. leading to resource scarcities which eventually lead to farmer-herder conflict?
- How does the existing land tenure system contribute in aggravating farmer-herder conflict in the Lake Chad area?
- Is there any grazing reserve, stock routes and water points for herders in the area?
- Are the facilities in the grazing reserves adequate, functional and accessible to herders?
- Are these facilities protected and gazetted by law or not?
- Is there any case of encroachment into grazing areas and cultivable lands by either farmers or herders?
- Do you see farmer-herder conflict as having an ethnic influence?

- If yes, how do these ethnic mobilizations contribute in fuelling farmer-herder conflict?
- In what ways does indigene-settler syndrome and host-stranger scenario aggravate farmer-herder conflict?
- Is there any socio-cultural and tradition believes attached to the conflict between farmers and herders?
- Is there any breakdown of long standing symbiotic relationship between farmers and herders in the basin?
- Is there any political influence in farmer-herder conflict?
- Does the state and local government councils play role in exacerbating the conflict?
- Is there any role played by traditional rulers in causing the conflict?
- How does the commercialization of crop residues by farmers cause conflict between them?
- In what ways do you think absentee cattle owners causes farmer-herder conflict?
- How night grazing does cause farmer-herder conflict?
- Do the farmers over cultivate land?
- How does expansion of development program affects pastoralism?
- Is there any other factor in own view that causes farmer-herder conflict?

MANAGEMENT OF FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS

- Do you have any traditional method of managing farmer-herder conflict in your community?
- Do you prefer the traditional method in managing farmer-herder conflicts?
- At individual level, how do you manage farmer-herder conflict?
- Is there any family and communal management systems?
- Does the traditional institution provide effective conflict management?
- Does the modern method of conflict management alter the traditional systems?
- What management system does the state and local governments provide?
- Are the police and the law courts providing undelayed and acceptable means of management and resolution of the conflict?

- If you are party to the conflict which option would you prefer to manage and resolve the conflict?
- What are the problems and challenges in managing farmer-herder conflict?
- Does the migratory livelihood pattern of pastoralists affect the management and resolution process?
- Do you have any conflict prevention strategies in your community?
- Is there any peace building mechanisms put in place?

APPENDIX 2: INDEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

S/N	LOCAL GOVT. AREA	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE	NUMBER OF FARMERS	NUMBER OF HERDERS	NUMBER OF TRAD. RULERS	OTHERS
1	Dikwa	Ajiri Gulumba	23/4/10 24/4/10	1	*	1	*
2	Guzamala	Gudumbali	2/5/10	1	*	*	*
3	Mafa	Bulakumkum Ngom	8/4/10 8/4/10	*	1	1	*
4	Marte	Koleram Kerenewa	3/2/10 4/2/10	1	1	*	*
5	Mobbar	Damasak	30/3/10	1	1	*	*
6	Monguno	Wulari Monguno	14/3/10 15/3/10	*	1	1	*
7	Ngala	Wulgo Malone	22/2/10 23/2/10	1	1	*	*
8	Nganzai	Gajiram	5/5/10	*	*	*	1
9	Konduga	Konduga	10/5/10	1	*	*	*
10	Kukawa	DoronBaga	16/1/10	*	1	*	*
12	Maiduguri	Maiduguri	15- 19/5/10	*	*	*	4
TOTAL				6	6	3	5

Total Number of Farmers = 6

Total Number of Herders = 6

Total Number of Traditional Rulers = 3

Others =5 (State & Local Government Officials = 3; Representative of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association =1; Representative of Farmers Association of Nigeria= 1)

Total One-on-One Interview Respondents = 20

APPENDIX 3: PROFILE OF INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

1) NAME – JAURO BUBA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 51 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Doron-Baga

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Kukawa

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 16th January, 2010

2) NAME – BABAN SALEH

SEX AND AGE – Male, 43 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Koleram

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Marte

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 3rd February, 2010

3) NAME – YAYA BAPPA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 56 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Kirenewa

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Marte

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 4th February, 2010

4) NAME – BELLO KAWU

SEX AND AGE – Male, 39 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Wulgo

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Ngala

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 22nd February, 2010

5) NAME – MODU BUKAR

SEX AND AGE – Male, 49 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Malonne

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Ngala

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 23rd February, 2010

6) NAME – BUKAR DALBA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 54 years

OCCUPATION – Tradition Ruler (Ward Head)

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Wulari Bohole

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Monguno

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 14th March, 2010

7) NAME – ALAMIN MOHAMMAD

SEX AND AGE – Male, 35 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Monguno Town

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Monguno

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 15th March, 2010

8) NAME – ADAMU ARDO

SEX AND AGE – Male, 68 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Damasak

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Mobbar

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 30th March, 2010

9) NAME – ALI AISAMI

SEX AND AGE – Male, 40 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Damasak

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Mobbar

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 30th March, 2010

10) NAME – BULAMA JAMNA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 45 years

OCCUPATION – Traditional Ruler (Ward Head)

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Bula-kumkum
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Mafa
DATE OF INTERVIEW – 8th April, 2010

11) NAME – BELLO HUMMA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 64 years

OCCUPATION – Herding

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Ngom

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Mafa

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 8th April, 2010

12) NAME – LAWAN MAI UMAR

SEX AND AGE – Male, 80 years

OCCUPATION – Traditional Ruler (Village Head)

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Ajiri

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Dikwa

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 23rd April, 2010

13) NAME – SHETTIMA DUNOMA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 50 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Gulumba

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Dikwa

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 24th April, 2010

14) NAME – MODU KOLO

SEX AND AGE – Male, 49 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Gudumbali

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Guzamala

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 2nd May, 2010

15) NAME – ALHAJI ABACHA

SEX AND AGE – Male, 38 years

OCCUPATION – Civil Servant, Chief Livestock Superintendent

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Gajiram

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Nganzai

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 5th May, 2010

16) NAME – HASSAN MAIDUGU

SEX AND AGE – Male, 60 years

OCCUPATION – Farming

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Tungushe

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Konduga

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 10th May, 2010

17) NAME – USMAN YUSUF

SEX AND AGE – Male, 52 years

OCCUPATION – Civil Servant, Director Livestock MARD Borno State

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – His office, State Secretariat

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Maiduguri Metropolitan Council

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 15th May, 2010

18) NAME – SAFIO NGULDE

SEX AND AGE – Male, 50 years

OCCUPATION – Civil Servant, Deputy Director Livestock MARD Borno State

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – His office, State Secretariat

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Maiduguri Metropolitan Council

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 15th May, 2010

19) NAME – ALHAJI ABBA KAWU

SEX AND AGE – Male, 85 years

OCCUPATION – Former National Chairman and representative of MACBAN

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Bolori

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Maiduguri Metropolitan Council

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 18th May, 2010

20) NAME – HAJIYA FALMATA MODU

SEX AND AGE – Female, 51 years

OCCUPATION – Farming and representative of FAN

PLACE OF INTERVIEW – Bulunkutu

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA – Maiduguri Metropolitan Council

DATE OF INTERVIEW – 19th May, 2010

APPENDIX 4: ONE OF THE BILL BOARDS INDICATING CATTLE ROUTES IN NGANZAI LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BORNO STATE, NIGERIA.



APPENDIX 5: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION CONDUCTED WITH SOME FULBE, SHUWA AND KOYAM HERDERS IN KERENEWA VILLEGE, MARTE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BORNO STATE, NIGERIA.



APPENDIX 6: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW WITH A FULANI HERDER IN MADAYI VILLEGE, KUKAWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BORNO STATE, NIGERIA.



APPENDIX 7: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH SOME FARMERS IN KOLERAM VILLEGE, MARTE LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BORNO STATE, NIGERIA



APPENDIX 8: ONE OF THE INDEPTH INTERVIEW WITH VILLAGE HEAD OF BULAKUMKUM, IN MAFA LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BORNO STATE, NIGERIA.



APPENDIX 9: HERDERS CRISS-CROSSING FARMLANDS TO GET TO WATER POINTS



APPENDIX 10: HARDS OF CAMEL

