
Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria: Another Dimension of Insecurity

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to understanding the rationale and how specific perennial conflicts between herdsmen and famers in Nigeria are being resolved before 2019 election in Nigeria to enable the people to resume normal life. In doing this we critically examined the perspectives of the disputants and the policy adopted by Federal and some State Governments to resolve it. The study collected data from both primary and secondary sources. And the technique of “content analysis” was used in analyzing the data. This study found that the conflicts created tension not only in areas where there was direct confrontation between the disputants but the conflicts terrorized every community and put them on alert to ensure that both short term and long solution was provided to return the State to a violent free community. Some State Governments made specific policies which include intergroup committees and or after due process of law making in a democratic society, presented open grazing prohibition and establishment of ranches laws to guide behaviors and the resolution of future conflicts that may arise between farmers and herdsmen in their respective States. Yet pocket of threats to life and property continued in some parts of the country to ensure the laws are not enforced and “cattle colonies” were established instead. This paper recommends that both parties to the dispute should continue to exercise restraints, and obey Government policy/law by using institutional approaches to resolve grievances. And a stop should be put to the destruction of life and properties.

Key Words: Culture, Insecurity, farming, Violence, Conflict Resolution

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

Between 1966 and 1999 the search for State power motivated the rise of military coups, and Nigeria witnessed a civil war. And from 2009 in a period declared for constitutional civil democratic path to power, insurgency in the likes of Niger-Delta militants and Boko Haram militants reared its head as means for getting and protecting power in hand power of a particular ethnic regional or religious group. The activities of the militants made life insecure for all groups. They sent fears, tension, sleeplessness, and shocks that led to the loss of lives and properties in other to secure positions of authority and economic resources. Those behind it often claim to have solution to end the conflict, they threatened hell with be let loose if they don't take over power, or stepped out of power to give peace a chance. They intimidate the people to have the chance to rig them into power positions in the name of voted to power. The current and most serious version of insecurity challenge facing Nigeria today is the instigation of farmers-herdsmen violent conflicts. The major effect of the violent conflicts are food and livestock shortages , food price increase, lost in revenue, and income, thousands of

lives and household properties, cattle routes, demarcated grazing reserves farm land and towns infrastructures are frequently destroyed and or denied access. Just like as from 2009 this state of insecurity indeed has popped up discussions as from 2016 on who should be voted into power and who should not be voted into power come 2019.

Insecurity is defined by Merriam Webster Dictionary as the feeling and state of uncertainty or anxiety about oneself because of lack of confidence; being open to danger or a threat and there is lack of protection. The causes of insecurity are also as numerous as the number of environmental activities. To have inner feeling of insecurity at one time or the other is natural and normal but chronic insecurity is bad because it can sabotage and kill positive development dreams, destroy real peace, trust, and opportunity for being in a relaxed mode. Insecurity is a generic term. It is applicable, reflected and can be perceived in almost every environmental operation. Insecurity is first caused within individuals and leads to early attachments to other persons. Early attachments can be seen in a child by getting attached to his mother or father and or other adults get attached to their mentors to get protection /security. Also negative comparison by individuals and groups can cause a feeling of insecurity. For example harsh judgment' about one self or group which ends up in statements such as *"they don't love me"* or *"they hate us"* breeds jealousy or many other irrational and sinking thoughts. Environmentally dysfunctional Sectorial activity can cause insecurity, for example in the agricultural sector there may food insecurity and there are several reasons responsible for food insecurity. People feel emotionally insecure because of terrorism from diverse groups. Others are the issue of unemployment, imbalance as result of speed of getting development projects, food and meat shortage, inflation, corruptions, injustice as result of weak judicial system, recession, open internal and external borders, proliferation of fire arms and its misuse, children and abuse use of drugs, rise in cases and sophistication in the commission of crime like assassinations, arm robbery assault, kidnapping, slavery, e.tc. When people hear stories about increasing occurrence of any or all of the causes of insecurity, people get worried and panic about the next negative effects that may occur and are likely to prevent personal and community life and development. It causes pain and people trade blames over who failed to prevent the occurrence of the causes of insecurity and or failure to provide protection. When the likely cause of insecurity is known or not known some people easily blame chief executives in governments, organizations ad or security agencies. This has spoiled relationships and cause secret, open psychological and or violent fights.



Figure 1: Herdsman bearing sophisticated weapon

Culturally insecurity in the context of herdsmen and farmers relations in Nigeria dates back to when in the first instance Fulani people began to feel insecure in their place of origin and began the search for solutions outside their place of origin. Second insecurity aroused amongst the non-Fulani farming communities when Fulani arrived in their community and engaged in activities that point to attempts to dislodge the local community. Culturally, Fulani herdsmen are nomad livestock breeders and in pre-colonial times their place of origin was the Sahel and semi-arid areas of Futa-Jalon Mountains in West Africa. But a result of threat from climatic changes and population growth, made herdsmen to move to the savannah and tropical forest regions of Southern West Africa and far northern Nigeria There migration into far Northern Nigeria dates back to the 13th and 14th centuries. And after the Uthman Danfodio jihad they began to integrate with the Hausa and non-Hausa ethnic groups of the middle belt especially during the dry season; and when the number and menace of tsetse flies are reduced in the middle belt of Nigeria. Whereas on one hand crop cultivation and livestock farming are both agricultural activities among local communities for the purpose of providing food and protein for mankind, on the other hand the nomads specialize in livestock breeding particularly cattle breeding without crop production. Consequently, differences in climatic conditions and changes thereof in the North propelled herdsmen to move across regions especially from the North to the Central and Southern Nigeria to access better grazing resources in order to ensure quality food security for their herds. This often takes place during crop cultivation season. While driving cattle across regions sometimes the destruction of crops occur and becomes a source of conflict between farmers who claim customary right over land and herdsmen who are regarded as strangers. By 1978 Nigeria Government introduced the Land Use Act which vests the custody of land in the Federal Capital Territory on the Federal Government/Minister of Federal Capital Territory; custody of Urban Center Land is vested on the State Government and custody of rural area land is vested on Local Government Councils. This is to make it easier for non-indigenes of a particular area to apply and secure land on lease in their host communities as well as provide opportunity for natives to apply and be given a certificate of occupancy to claim ownership of their ancestral lands. Most Fulani who are used to migrating from one place to the other did not take advantage of this. Consequently, they lacked where they could claim as their grazing routes and grazing land. There increasing movement from one place in the eyes of modern law amounted to trespass and encroachment of the properties of others. Over the years this brought conflicts of interest on land in some places. The Federal Government then identified areas to be known as grazing routes and reserve. This did not solve the problem because there was no compensation as required by law to customary land owners. And herdsmen deliberate stray out of grazing paths into cultivated lands. Nevertheless they coexisted and from time to time traditional rulers come in to adjudicate to ensure that whoever was found guilty paid compensation. But it has come to be noticed that at the time when there were wild animals cattle breeders carried only sticks to defend themselves and their animals. Now that there are no wild animals the cattle breeder carries and uses sophisticated guns not to attack animals but his innocent fellow human being even in the face of alternative peaceful dispute resolution methods. They have also justified carrying guns to protect themselves and animals against cattle rustlers.

1.2 Research Questions

In contemporary Nigeria as reported by Hankuyi (24 July 2017) and Godwin (20 November 2017), the Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria on the 19th of November 2017 through one of their socio cultural association *Miyeti Allah Kautal Hore*, in a letter vowed not to accept cattle ranching and have expatiated their point of view as follows:-

- (i) That historically ranching was not practicable as it was a failure in Nigeria, as

experimented in Gongola, Kaduna and Plateau States. Ranching failed because (a) the country's geographical location is not suitable for ranching because the breed of cattle mostly found in Nigeria eats a lot. That anywhere you keep this volume of Nigeria breed of cows for two weeks they will eat up everything and you will have ecological disaster. (b) unlike the places where ranching is successfully practiced in other parts of the world the volume of rain per annum is at least four to seven months which provides enough grasses to feed the cattle.

- (ii) They view the anti-open grazing law as a dangerous gambit, oppressive and negative which emerged as a populist agenda designed by visionless and desperate politicians to destroy the pastoralist culture and economic livelihood of the Fulani herdsmen
- (iii) That the making of the anti-open grazing law is unconstitutional. This is because they regard the interstate movement of pastoralist as similar to inter-state commerce which falls under item 62 of the exclusive legislative list. As such they assert that it is only the National Assembly that can legislate on that aspect For ease of reference item 62 states:-
Trade and Commerce and in Particular (a)trade and commerce between Nigeria and other countries including import of commodities into and export of commodities from Nigeria , and trade and commerce between states”
- (iv) They also raise a constitutional matter that Benue State has no jurisdiction over River Benue and its tributaries that pass through Benue State as such Benue State has no powers to make legislations to stop herders from having access to those natural resources especially at the peak of the dry between January and May when pastoralist need river water for their cattle
- (v) That the anti-open grazing laws do not take into cognizance our sociology, our economic interest our production patterns, climate variations and factors that pushed pastoralist into those these migration. They explained that farmers cultivate land during rainy season consequently herdsmen move northwest so it means their movement is dictated by climatic changes. The Fulani further claim that as they move from one place to another there is no longer traditional cattle routes because farmers have cultivated cattle routes; and they have to move from place to place because it is their right to survey and choose suitable area where to graze their cattle, and they also use the tarred roads because they also pay taxes used in constructing the roads.
- (vi) They argued that agricultural practices in Benue and Taraba States are not in line with international best practices as such singling out the pastoralist and insisting that they must ranch which is the global best practice is not fair.
- (vii) That the whole agricultural policy, and its entire development is still at its primitive stage, and they then averred that herders who are also farmers must not be singled out to practice global best practice. Thus to them the policy is discriminatory. Therefore they called on the Federal Government to immediately stop state governments from enacting anti open grazing laws especially Benue and Taraba States governments from implementing the laws or
- (viii) They believe the anti-open grazing laws being established by State governments would die a natural death like political Sharia in Zamfara.
- (ix) In addition data gleaned from other Fulani sources, shows the Fulani have deemed it fit to adopt other strategies to drive home their interest. This includes suing the Federal and State government to court to claim damages; they vowed to continue attacking communities where they have lost any of their cows and to extensively use media propaganda to justify their interest.

From the forgoing our research question are as follows:

- (a) Is crop and livestock farming important to both parties or not?
- (b) If it is necessary, did the law prohibiting open grazing go as far as stopping Fulani from engaging in livestock and crop farming as well as engage in interstate commerce as contemplated in item 1.2 (iii) above?
- (c) What constitute international best practices of farming that is not captured by the anti-open grazing law and global best practice when captured makes a fair legislation
- (d) From the trend of events and between war and the law, which is more a dangerous gambit or stratagem to open discussion and secure an advantage. In other words was and is it war or legal law-making process that is more oppressive, negative and emerges as a populist agenda designed by visionless and desperate politicians to destroy the pastoralist culture and economic livelihood of the Fulani herdsmen?
- (e) If impact assessment has shown that Nigerian breeds of cattle are not suitable for ranching, because of insufficient rain to provide adequate feed water for the animals among other inhibiting cultural factors, what did the people of other countries with similar or near similar experience do to reap positive result from ranching ?
- (f) Did the anti-open grazing law in Nigeria stipulate that the number of cows in Nigeria be kept in one place? It gives livestock breeders the discretion to choose where to keep livestock and practice ranching?
- (g) Did the anti-open grazing law prevent interstate commerce; if no what did the law say about moving cattle from one locality to another?
- (h) Did the anti-open grazing law give room for the provision of social facilities in game reserves and ranches or note?
- (i) If water will be adequately and qualitatively be provided among other facilities is carrying guns kill human beings necessary?
- (j) As the law is being implemented after six months has acquisition of land and provision of facilities been made for the convenient take-off and safeguard against farmland encroachment, trespass crop destruction and undue killing of livestock? If not what temporary arrangements have been put in place to guarantees security of life and property (of both herdsmen and farmers) for a sustained peace and development.
- (k) If there are prospects to provide facilities for a conducive farming and livestock breeding can conclude that the law actually aimed at destroying the pastoralist culture and economic livelihood of the Fulani herdsmen; more so that there is freedom of movement from where area of inconvenience to area of convenience; so that the use of force and killing can be avoided?
- (l) Has the Fulani actually sued the Federal and State government to court to claim damages? They vowed to continue attacking communities where they have lost any of their cows and to extensively use media propaganda to justify their interest.

2.0 Methodology

Data for this study was collected from primary and secondary sources. The technique of interviews and observation of events was used for collecting primary data while secondary data was collected from books, journal articles, government publications, news media and letters. The technique of *content analysis* was used in analyzing the secondary sources.

2.0 Literature Review

Mark et al (2014) said with improved breeding and cultivation, ruminant animals can yield food that is better for people and the planet. And the need for efficient food production is now greater than before. This is because one in seven human is undernourished. To solve this problem crop and livestock production must continue to complement each other. But the

earth's ability to feed the people is experiencing challenges. Some of these are urbanization which is reducing land availability, climate change, lack of rain and water, soil degradation and low farm yield in ¼ countries and there is short supply of animal protein.

Ofem, O. O. Bassey, I. (2014) asserts that there are recurrent clashes of interests between the host farming communities and the nomadic cattle herders. They identified the causes of conflicts in the cross river State. These are Destruction of crops, Contamination of stream by cattle, disregard for traditional authority, Over-grazing of fallow land, sexual harassment of women by nomads, Harassment of nomads by host youths, Indiscriminate defecation on roads, theft of cattle , stray cattle, and indiscriminate bush burning. They recommend that the problem can be minimized through extension agency intervention to identify stakeholders and development trust between the disputants using the mechanism tagged “local development plans” (LDP) which is community initiated process to reduce tension over access and the use of land and effective participation in decision-making and economic activities.

Tenuche and Ifatimehin (2009) in their study observed that there is no resource sustainability in Nigeria. Because of this there is difficulty for a majority of its citizens who require land for farming and grazing to have access to land. And this is a major cause of conflicts in the Benue valley region. Consequently they suggest that there is need for the State to review the existing laws as it relate to accessibility to land by members of community. That way there will be equity to avert constant conflict. In doing the review, issues like indigeneship and settlers rights in communities, the land use acts which have been abused largely by the upper class should be reconsidered for review in the front burner in the constitution review process. Other studies have shown the consequence of diminishing grazing lands, such as leading to livestock losses and emigration of pastoralists among the pastoral Rufa'a Al Hoi ethnic group of the Blue Nile State in Sudan (Ahmed 2009). Similar trends have been reported in Burkina Faso among the Fulani pastoral communities (Tenuche and Ifatimehin 2009; Madu2012). In eastern Africa, land use and land cover change dynamics are evident in privatization of pastoral land and sedentarisation in pastoral communities (Lesorogol 2005).

Ranching according to Merriam Webster Dictionary is an English word and its practice originates from Spanish language of the 1500s. It was used in reference to where soldiers were to be camp. Then it was called “*rancharse*”. The conquistador took the word to America where a derivative “*rancho*” was produced also meaning camp or temporary dwelling place like a hut. In Mexico it means a small farm. By the late 1800s ranch was adopted as English word referring to a large piece of land devoted to raising lives stock. In Europe cattle is raised in much smaller farms. Wikipedia then describes ranching as the practice of raising livestock such as cattle, sheep, and goats for meat or wool in a small to large area which may serve other purposes. In Australia ranches for cattle are called cattle-stations and the largest covers about 10,000 square Kilometers (3,861 Square miles). In Argentina it is called “*estancias*” in Brazil it called “*fazendas*”. While in Ecuador and Columbia it is called “*hacienda*” For example if it has arable or irrigated land farming crops could also be carried out to produce human food, hay and feed grains for animals. Some cater for tourists, hunters of wild animals, horseback rides and cattle drives to earn additional income. Initially in the United States of America there used to be “open range” grazing. Most of the “open range” grazing land was owned by the government while ranchers owned smaller “homestead” land.

Several factors cropped up to put an end to “open range” grazing. First, there began conflicts

between breeders and farmers. Second with the invention of barbed wire farmers started to fence off their fields to protect them from being destroyed by livestock. The development reduced access to land for grazing. And there also came the problem of over grazing as more and more ranchers grazed in the open range land. This further created conflicts between breeders and farmers. Three, When in 1862 a Homestead Act was enacted it attracted more organized farms to be set up. Cattle ranching techniques were introduced in America in the 16th century by conquistador settlers from Europe became more popular. Consequently land which was privately owned had to be fenced to reduce the conflict between farmers and breeders. The fencing resulted in more reduced land for open grazing and reduced land was almost getting useless because of over grazing. Fourth, there was a severe winter of 1886-57, which led to the death of thousands of already stressed livestock. This made some breeders to go bankrupt. At the end it encouraged breeders who survived this vicissitude to lease land from the government and also fencing the land for better management of grazing livestock.

Better management of ranches in the United States for example has turned ranching to the practice of handling large herds of grazing animals on dry land. It is an occupation which has a rancher that is the owner who manages the operations. The owner is also called by the term cattleman, *stockman* or *stock-grower*. In Australia the owner of a ranch / station is called “*grazier*” especially those that reside on the property. A ranch may also have other employees who bear various occupational titles. For example there may be a foreman or ranchman. He is in charge of the overall management, while other staff includes among others cowhand, ranch hand, cowboy, veterinarians, engineers, and mechanics. Cowboys are responsible for herding the animals across the ranch, and maintain their health in good medical condition and the safety of the animals from predators. Cowboys often move around on horses to do their job. (The National Geographical Society, 2011) In Australia the employees are called “stockmen, “*jackeroos*” and “ringers” rather than cowboys. In Hawaii they are called “*paniolos*”. The ranches had a ranch house, corrals and out buildings among other facilities. Today “The largest beef producing company in the world is the Brazilian Multinational Corporation known as JBS-Fibro” (National Geographical Society, 2011).

According to the Texas State Historical Association “*A modern ranch is a highly developed unit with miles of fencing, water supplies accessible to grazing land, permanent corrals and loading chutes. Corrals have replaced roundup grounds, cutting gates are used instead of cutting horses, and loading chutes and trailers substitute for the dusty trail to market. Ranching involves a heavy investment in land and improvements. It requires an astute business management, a striking contrast to the 1870s and before, when a ranch might be nothing more than a dugout or picket shack and headquarters of open range. There are Texas ranches devoted exclusively to cattle, exclusively to sheep, or Angora goats, and solely to horses. Contrary to open range misconceptions, sheep and cattle can be grazed successfully on the same range*” (Texas State Historical Association 2010)

The environmental impact assessment of ranching in other countries shows that ranching is an efficient way to raise livestock for food and raw materials for fabrics; promotes ecotourism and rural development. However, the expansion of ranching activity has led to deforestation of rain forests to create pastureland contributes to global warming; disturbed the natural habitat of some animals and many species of animals have disappeared; the ground becomes nutrient poor because of overgrazing as it puts some grasses at risk; top soil is damaged because of stampede and compaction from animal hooves which reduces the ability of land to absorb water and nutrients; runoff rain water carries e.g. cow dung from ranches just like open grazing contributes to air and water pollution; destruction of crops and conflict between pastoralists and farmers who did not fence their farms.

From the above quoted Texas historical narrative, and notwithstanding, the grave picture of environmental impact assessment which often existed, scientists and other stakeholders have worked and are working together to provide reductive solution to environmental problems. It also goes to say that ranching developed gradually for over a century to its present level. And it tallies with the saying that a journey of 1,000 miles begins with a step. Be that as it may and as Nigeria advances in age, Nigeria like other ranching countries must not also continue to experience herdsmen and farmers violent conflict.

When Texas' herdsmen and famers stopped fighting, the result of a survey reported in1995 showed that the Texas ranching industry led the United the State in cattle and calves by a population of 15.1 million, that is, beef cows 6.2 million, calves 5.75 million born in 1994, cattle on feed 2.38 million, total value of cattle and calves was \$8.532 billion, and cash receipts -1995 sales was \$6.353 billion. In the number of farms and ranches Texas was also rated number one by having 185,000 farms and ranches and both covered an area of 129.3 million acres. This showed that the industry changed indeed from its earlier status. It changed from having longhorn and sprawling king ranch to having commercial feedlots, having sophisticated slaughter and meat industry, spreading in the use of computer, making intensive search for export markets and in many ranches hunting leases have replaced cattle raising. This suggest that in Nigeria if individual breeders and famers and of course Nigeria as a country must advance beyond the current wealth of breeders and farmers, the Texas standard should be Nigeria's standard vision.

5.0 Findings and Discussion

5.1. Recent Causes and effects of Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict in Nigeria

From 1996 the seasonal movements has made many States in Nigeria to not only grapple with the increasing presence and the activities of herdsmen in the name of promote their nomadic culture of pasturing but more worrisome is the new dimension of bearing sophisticated weapons of war to terrorize farmers, and either as a result of lack of attention or they deliberately allow their cattle to stray, trample on the crops and forcefully eat up farm crops of farmers, they also contaminate streams which serves as source of water for human consumption. Hence this leads to outbreak of disease in the community. The pastoralists engage in raping women, abducting and killing farmers. Their tactics for large scale violent attacks on villages and towns is to come in 100s to attack at night when people are asleep and carting away valuables. It is also reported that they have taken kidnapping, and arm robbery activities on the highways (<https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen/>)

Traditionally when conflicts occur tension is raised and to resolve the conflict, farm owners reported the cases of conflict to their traditional rulers and the police. And where a herdsman or men are confirmed to have been responsible for example, the destruction of crops such herdsmen are fined to pay compensation. But it came to a time when farmers refuse the idea of collecting compensation because they don't want to be living on compensation because it lacks life sustenance component. Farmers believe that their crops are as important as cattle is important to the herdsmen as such have requested herdsmen to stop courting trouble by taking their cattle away from farmlands (Ugwu 2017).Because of the increasing violent attacks on human life there is often a revenge mission between youth in the affected areas and the Fulani herdsmen or their cattle are killed and eaten or left to rot and where there is bush burning which is to the advantage of farmers and disadvantage of grazers. Also over the years, increasing number of States was rocked by perennial clashes between herdsmen and farmers over usage of land and non-compliance with State and community laws on security and revenue payments. At the end of violent confrontations lots more life, properties and settlements were destroyed. The population of farmers is reduced; population of widows,

widowers and orphans increase, more money is expended on arms and security provision services. These among other effects are responsible for low acceptance of Fulani in their host communities. From the foregoing this paper concludes that adverse environmental impact assessment results in advanced countries is the same as that of Nigeria, yet solutions were found to it. Consequently, solutions the adverse results brought economic boom to both herdsmen and farmers.

5.2 Governments Response to the conflict

5.2.1 The Constitutional Bases of Government Responses

Governments regard the peace and unity of Nigeria as paramount and non-negotiable. As such they take measures to ensure that this is achieved because Section 1 the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 is supreme and no any person or group of persons take control the government of Nigeria or any part of Nigeria except in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution; and section 2 Nigeria shall be one and indivisible Sovereign State with a federation of States and the Federal Capital Territory. And has a wide range of objectives and rights to citizens based on democracy and social justice, for example section 17 (3) (a) requires the State to make policies to ensure that (a) all citizens without discrimination on any group whatsoever have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunities to secure suitable employment” This means both herdsmen and farmer are to be protected to move around to practice their business in accordance with the law of the State. However fundamental freedoms (section 37 rights to private and family life, section 38 right to freedom of thoughts conscience and religion. Section 39 has limit to any person or group of persons would exercise it. Section 45 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 States “(1) *Nothing in section 37,38,39,40,and 41 of this constitution shall invalidate any law that is reasonably justifiable in a democratic society:-* (a) in the interest of defence public safety, public order, public morality or Thus just as the herdsmen and indeed any other group of persons have a right to migrate to any part of the country the law does not allow the destruction of host communities life culture household property and land. In this section we discuss the various measures adopted by some State Government to achieve peaceful coexistence and continuous development of their respective States.

5.2.2 Jigawa State: Here the Governor of Jigawa State, then under Sule Lamido provided a permanent, grazing reserves and water pumping windmills at well-thought strategic locations. The windmills provide water which irrigates the land for growing grasses in dry season for herdsmen to freely provide pasture and drinking water to their herds. As for famers affected by grazing reserves, alternative large expanse of farmland is provided to cultivate crops and have on them facilities for dry season farming. These facilities promote peaceful co-existence and harmony between farmers and herdsmen, instead of the usual conflict. This is because most of the herdsmen have a feel of land ownership and do not unnecessarily wander around in search of pasture and water. This model of using windmill is economical and environmentally friendly (Zayyad 2014).

5.2.3 Bayelsa State: In this State the search for peace forced Governor Seriake Dickson to allocate the state-owned Palm Estate at Elebele, spanning about 1,200 hectares of land, for grazing; an action which his Ijaw kinsmen highly oppose because it is a loss of the heritage of present and future generation.

5.2.4 Benue State: In July 2017 the Benue State Government enacted the Benue State anti-open grazing law and fixed its implementation with effect from 1st November 2017. Reacting

to this development some Fulani opposed the anti-open grazing law while some supported. The Benue Coordinator of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), Garus Gololo, was reported to have clarified this division by saying that “*his members were law-abiding citizens ready to support the anti-open grazing law. Mr. Gololo said that his association was not behind the suit against the Benue Government over the law, explaining that Miyetti Allah Kautal Kohe leadership was behind the court action.*”(https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/north-central/241843-benue-postpones-implementation-anti-grazing-law.html). By October 18 2017 the Governor of Benue State Mr Samuel Ortom said that “*no amount of opposition and intimidation will stop the implementation of the anti-grazing law in the state, starting November 1.*” He also “*directed security operatives to deal with those behind the threat to resist the implementation, even as he called for the arrest of the leadership of the Fulani socio-cultural association, Miyetti Allah Kauta.*”(https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/nobody-can-stop-implementation-grazing-law-gov-ortom/)http://punchng.com/force-limits-ekiti-states-anti-grazing-law/);https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/234619-edo-pushes-anti-open-grazing-bill.html

5.2.5 Abia State: As at 2016 in Abia State, there was no grazing law yet and the government has not indicated interest to make one despite the fact that the State is one of the States in the South-East that has often witnessed clashes between herdsmen and natives. But there is the use of Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanism to ensure that peace reigns between herdsmen and farmers. As tension rise in the State because herdsmen insist on choosing grazing area in the State (Ugwu 2017), the State established the Farmers/Herdsmen Conflicts Resolution Committee in place. The State Committee is headed by the State Police Commissioner, Mr. Leye Oyebade, and made up of representatives of the State government, traditional rulers, community leaders, youth leaders, leaders of the Hausa/Fulani community and representatives of herdsmen. The State Police command also directed Divisional Police Officers to set up conflict resolution committees comprising local government chairmen traditional ruler eminent elites and vigilante groups to check the trend (Alaribe 2016). They meet from time to time to assess the relationship between herdsmen and host communities; determine compensation to any party who loses his crops or animal; compile comprehensive list of herdsmen; sign peace accords among other functions (Okoli 2017 (a) and (b); Onuaha 2016; Ugwuanyi 2016). The government planned to select and train 10 youths from each of the 17 council areas of the state to be deployed to the rural communities to monitor the activities of herdsmen. But this programme is yet to take-off. However, sometime last year, precisely in the wake of the invasion of Okapi Nimbi community in Enugu State by suspected Fulani herdsmen, who killed scores of people and left several others critically injured, the Abia State House of Assembly directed security agencies to thoroughly search for arms and ammunition in all trucks and other vehicles, conveying cattle, onions, tomatoes, fruits and other goods from the northern part of the country to the state. Another measure from the State is a resolution and directive from the House of Assembly to security agencies. That the people of the State should regularly patrol with the intent of monitoring the activities of Fulani herdsmen in the State. The purpose is to search and retrieve arms and other dangerous weapons. As well as promptly prosecute herdsmen found in possession of illegal arms. The lawmakers also mandated every community in Abia to be “*vigilant, proactive and resist the ugly activities of herdsmen*”. They advised traditional rulers in the state to sensitize their people on the destructive activities of herdsmen and to engage the leadership of Hausa/Fulani communities in their areas in interactive sessions aimed at embracing peaceful relationship. But in spite of this series of clashes between herdsmen and native farmers in the rural communities were still recorded in Abia. (https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen)

5.2.6 Anambra State: In Anambra State the need for peaceful coexistence between the two groups resulted in the setting up of a joint task force Committee comprising security operatives, herdsmen – host communities and officials of the state government in all areas where herdsmen operate in the state. At the State level The Committee is known as Cattle Menace Committee, is headed by the State Commissioner of Police, with five traditional rulers and leaders of the Fulani community in the state as members. Following this quick intervention of the state government, the conflicts were resolved. Whereas there was agreement that where cattle destroy farmer’s crops, the herdsman concerned would pay the farmer us, and if farmer(s) kill cattle, the farmer (s) will pay the owner of the cattle. The ultimate goal of having careful breeders and farmers with no case of paying compensation was a mirage. Herdsmen in the State have breached the policy 11 times and paid for their actions, just as the communities defaulted five times and were made to pay for the cattle killed or stolen. The committee also resolved that on no account should herdsmen be allowed to come into the state with AK47 rifles and other dangerous weapons. This pact has so far been complied with; there was the suggestion that the building of cattle ranches in strategic places because this has made communities to live in peace and that there was nothing wrong with replicating them. The Chairman of Cattle Breeders Association in Anambra State, Alhaji Giddado Siddiki, acknowledged that the Fulani community and their host communities were living in peace in the state because of the measures adopted by the state government. *Whenever there is a complaint, we the leaders of Fulani, meet with the host community to resolve the matter. If they kill any cattle, a report would be made and the cost of the cattle determined and paid for. Similarly, if there is any destruction of crops belonging to the farmers, we also meet and the cost is determined and paid for. If we are unable to pay, we report to the state government, which would then mediate between us and the farmers”. We are surprised whenever we hear of clashes between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in some states.*” (Sunday Vanguard; (<https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen>))

5.2.7 Imo State: Like some states where killings have taken place some communities in the state have had their loved ones butchered within Imo and in other states, near and far. This was a result of herdsmen and farmers skirmishes. Internally, varying degree of the conflict occurred in Irete in Owerri West local council area; Isu local government area Ohaji/Egbema and Ngor Okpala local government areas of the state. And externally when herdsmen when they unleashed terror in Nimbo, Enugu State. According to reports the conflict largely centered on rape, destruction of farmlands, threat to life and property, as well as physical assault occasioning harm. As a show of concern to return normalcy of conduct the then immediate past Commissioner of Police in the state (2017), Mr. Taiwo Lakanu, made quick trips to the flashpoints, where he appealed to herdsmen and cow dealers to embrace peaceful co-existence (<https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen>).

5.2. 8 Ekiti State: In this State there is a high believe the federal Government that the State Governor Fayose enacted an anti-open grazing law and called on the State’s hunters not to allow herdsmen his people; and he appeal to the federal government to declare rampaging herdsmen as terrorist(Ojomoyela2018). The thinking in the State is that the federal government is suspected as supporting the killings by herdsmen. But if the federal government does not want to be seen as protecting the Fulani herdsmen the attention of the military be direct to render its operations called “python dance” and “crocodile smile” to those areas in Nigeria especially the North Central States of Benue, Plateau, as well as North East States like Taraba and Adamawa where Fulani herdsmen are killing Nigerians and destroying farmlands worth several billons of naira. (<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/10/shift-attention-fulani-herdsmen-menace-fayose-tells->

military; [www. https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016 /03/protest-against-fulani-herdsmen--fayose-condemns-arrest of-76-igbo-villagers/](https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/03/protest-against-fulani-herdsmen--fayose-condemns-arrest-of-76-igbo-villagers/)

5.2.9 Kogi State: Kogi: In Kogi State though Governor has said Kogi is home to herdsmen and called on the people to integrate herdsmen in traditional councils in the State and local Government levels of government for effective decision making. In spite of this, scores of people are increasingly killed after scuffles between farmers and herdsmen. As such in Kogi State Governor Bello declared that Kogi will not act like other State in the enactment of anti-grazing laws to stop herdsmen from carrying out their normal business in Kogi State.(Azania J (30 November 2017) Kogi home to herdsmen retrieved on 10/01/2018 from thenationonline.net/kogi-home-herdsmen-bello/ ;)

According a report by Jimoh (10 December 2017) some Fulani herdsmen invaded two Local Government Councils of Kogi State. In one of the areas after feeding their cattle with the produce of a farm they attacked the owner of the farm. The farmer was chased to the village where the Fulani also succeeded to kill 10 other persons and then set their farmland on fire. Meanwhile traditional rulers had been reminded of the existence of riots act. As such any community that protest the presence of Fulani and there is crises, would have its traditional ruler dethroned from office (thisdaylive.com/index.php/2017/12/10-killed-as-fulani-herdsmen-invade-community-in-kogi/)

5.2.10 Niger State: Although there are frequent clashes between farmers and herdsmen in Niger State, the state government has yet to come out with anti-open a grazing law. However, the government provided 21 grazing reserves for herders to graze their animals. In spite of this the herdsmen do not want to use it because first according to the Secretary of the Miyeti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, Niger State Chapter, Alhaji Abubakar Sadiq, the 21 grazing reserves are not properly gazette and often times are taken over by farmers. Secondly, the grazing reserves don't have amenities like hospitals, veterinary clinics, and schools for the Fulani children, security outpost, cattle routes, earth dam and boreholes and market. Where these are available herdsmen would be encouraged to be in game reserves. Another dimension of problems is the activities of cattle rustlers who often invade communities in the state to steal cows and unleash terror on villagers like in Efogi in Mokwa local government area of the state. The terror here resulted in no less than 27 people were gruesomely murdered including the Chief Imam of the village. In the controversy that ranged the National Vice President of Maiyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria, Alhaji Hussaini Bosso, blamed the state government for the Efogi crisis, claiming that government was alerted by the association about the impending crisis, but the government ignored those warning alerts These has led to constant clashes between farmers and herdsmen. As a sign of concern the Governor of Niger Sate Abubakar Sani Bello created two new Ministries including the Ministry of Animal and Forestry as a step towards dealing with the problems associated with constant clashes between farmers and herdsmen in Niger State (<https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen>)

5.2.11 Enugu State: As from 2014 Enugu State communities also had their fair share of Fulani terror and tears of sorrow (<https://Buzznigeria.com/news/fulani-herdsmen>) Following attacks between herdsmen and natives over 76 Igbo villagers were arrested from Ugwuneshi Autonomous Community, Awgu Local Government Area of Enugu State This occurred after the protested the continued destruction of their crops and farmlands by Fulani herdsmen. This development made some Nigerians to believe that Fulani herdsmen are Lords in other people's land and it seems the natives have no right to defend themselves and farmlands from further destruction ([https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016 /03/protest-against-fulani-herdsmen-](https://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/03/protest-against-fulani-herdsmen-)

-fayose-condemns-arrest-of-76-igbo-villagers/)

Speaking on why this and other killings like that of Nimbo in Enugu State, the State Governor explained that terrorism is as a result of the inability of security agencies to successfully act on intelligence report about herdsmen buildup with dangerous weapons in neighboring towns (https://www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nimbo_Massacre; <https://www.naija.ng/809719-tension-5000-fulani-herdsmen-planning-fresh-attack-enugu-.html>)

A Fulani leader in Enugu State revealed that herdsmen attack Enugu State because The State is a gateway between the North and Southern parts of Nigeria. As a measure to check the killings the State Government had established the States Security Committee an approach which is most comfortable to the Fulani yet the killings continued. (<https://www/2016/09/12/fulani-herdsmen-attacking--enugu-hausa-leaders-sambo>).

5.2.12 Taraba State: Traditionally when conflicts occur tension is raised and to resolve the conflict, farm owners reported the cases of conflict to their traditional rulers and the police. And where a herdsman or farmer was confirmed to be at fault the guilty is fined to pay compensation. But must often the herdsmen allow the cattle to destroy farm crops and economic trees and so pay the fines and two parties lived in peace for decades. Herdsmen and farmers conflict do also occur and the conflict which broke the camel's back was 2017 attacks. It became most worrisome when there was no expression of remorse over killing of human by the Fulani herdsmen and the local communities could no longer tolerate the introduction of mass killings in Takum, Ussa and Gembu local Government Areas as from March 2017 even after Security and peace meetings at various levels. Like in Benue State, this triggered the initiation of open grazing prohibition law to introduce ranching practice in Taraba State.

5.2.13 Plateau State: This is another State that has suffered several herdsmen and farmers conflict which transformed into reprisal attacks. Bonkat (2008) has shown that the causes of conflict in Langtang South Local Government of Plateau States like in many States are numerous and vary from community to community. And the conflict between local farming communities and the Hausa Fulani is over land ownership. The Hausa-Fulani often assert that the land is theirs because they have been grazing and living there for a long time. As such the local communities *"cannot just take the land from them so they fought back to protect themselves and their land from being taken away"* According to Best (2008) the issue of Land *"is one of the single most important causes of conflict in the zone...This is because the southern zone has the riches soil in the state and among the richest of Nigeria. Farming and grazing population, as well as other users of land have continued to grow in number.* Best (2008) Further States that the issue of land ownership and the violent conflict has political motivations. "Power is shared and controlled on the basis of land ownership, (ownership of towns and settlements). And this is often resolved on the bases of citizenship. That is in the sharp divide of indigenes and settlers. The indigenes are those who first settled on the land, therefore own the land and are assumed to have exclusive rights over traditional chieftaincy, modern political appointments representation by election into political offices and economic benefits derived from such offices or the ownership of landed resources which settlers or non-indigenes do not have. The competition by those regarded as non-indigenes migrant herdsmen to also have these rights is the fuel that ignites violent conflicts. The Government of Plateau State has tried to solve these problems by setting up Judicial Commissions of inquiry into conflicts, declared state of emergency,

5.2.13 Federal Government: At the national level there was a move by Senator Zainab Kure

to make the Federal Government enact a law to allow the establishment of a National grazing reserve commission. The bill titled National Grazing Reserve (Establishment) Bill 2016 “is to have powers to establish at least one grazing reserve in each of the 36 State of Nigeria. But this bill was rejected because it was seen as ill-advised as it is against the intent and purposes of the Land Use Act and overriding public interest. The Federal Government has by law created several security outfits that have public- private partnership perspective. For Example, the Task Force against firearms possession and the establishment of Peace Corps. But somehow the Peace Corps and task force against small and light weapons faced legal challenges from the older security agencies thus retarding the impact of both new and older agencies. However, the older Federal Security agencies are seen collaborating with States and communities to ensure law and orderly conduct is maintained. In the wake of the recent conflicts The Federal Minister of internal Affairs also visited the conflict flash points States, particularly Taraba and Benue States. Also the Governors of the affected States often hold consultative meetings with the Federal Government agencies to find lasting solutions to the conflicts.

From the above review of action taken at both States and federal levels of government this paper opines that contrary to the view that the Federal and State Government are doing nothing to protect life and property the reality is that Government in Nigeria since independence is doing something but has never had the enough human and material resources to provide sufficient security needed in each community. And most often what Government is left doing is to carry out “*peace keeping*” activities after the harm has been done especially to rural base Nigerians. Whereas the citizens expect that Government would have driven of the invaders and attack never took place Government only embarks on Peace keeping by the physical presence of Police or the army after attacks and counter attacks have occurred, and they further extort money from the people. Insecurity concern occurs during the gap that exists between the periods for peace building through drafting Police to rural areas and the period of law making and implementation. The gap between a failed peace building and peace keeping approaches is where insecurity is of most concern to the lives and properties of citizens. And this has made demands for State Police to become more audible in Nigeria. But there is a fear of abuse State police in States where the Governor is not a member of the other ethnic groups. And in the absence of a State Police the question is who fills this gap of providing security to a rural community? Is it poor Nigerian citizens who cannot afford security gadgets for self-defense and have suffered most from the hands of elite sponsored terrorist or is it the Government who cannot easily employ loyal security personnel for every community and has the power which denies every person from acquiring his own weapon for self-defense? But even then in countries where citizens and government have been allowed and indeed have weapons for self-defense, insecurity still stares the people on the face.

5.3 State Anti-Open Grazing Law-Making and Implementation>: The Case of Taraba State.

For a greater insight into the structure of the policy which Benue and Taraba State have enacted, and which the herdsmen are strongly against it, we now examine one of the laws and State implementation policy using that of Taraba State. In Taraba State the constitutional and democratic process of law making was followed. First the Governor presented a bill to the State House of Assembly. And more than ever seen before, the bill was subjected to public hearing. Unlike the normal public hearing which takes place in the Chamber of the House, this time the public hearing took place in each of the senatorial zone of the State to give more people the ample opportunity to present their views. The opportunity was even utilized by herdsmen and farmers associations to make protests and present their views directly to the

Speaker of the State House of Assembly. At the end of public hearing the House Committee report and amended bill was debated in the House before it was passed into law by the House and assented by the Governor. In Taraba State the title of the law promulgated is “*The Taraba State Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law No 7 of 2017*”. This law prohibits open movement of livestock in search of pasture and to provide for the establishment of ranches and for other matters connected to it. Even with this due process that was adopted, the Fulani through their Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) in accordance with their perception (Section 1.5 of this paper above) rejected the law. It is against this background that we now examine government further action and the content of the law.

5.3.1 Public Sensitization before the implementation of the law

After passing the law was made, and as a Governor who is in love with smooth and peaceful development, he during the law signing ceremony announced the granting of a six months grace period for the people to get acquainted with the law and make pragmatic preparation for livestock breeding via ranching. He also set up two ad-hoc committees: one to sensitize farmers and the other to sensitize herdsmen (<https://tarabastate.gov.ng/gov-ishaku-innaugurates-farmers-and-ranchers-sensitization-committees/>) The State Farmers Sensitization Committee is composed of (1) Mr Abdulrahman A. Biyams as Chairman; other members are (2) The Representative of the Police Commissioner -ASP David Misal (3) Representative of Comptroller of Immigration – ASI Solomon Nixon (4) Representative of State Commandant Civil Defense –ASCI Yusuf M. Musa (5) Representative of Director State Services –A.H. Ibrahim (6) Bitrus Ibrahim (7) Bala T. Aji (8) Henry Jonah (9) Engineer Salihu A. Kumba (10) Goodman Dahida and Mr. Emmanuel Ukwe as Committee Secretary. The second committee is for the sensitization of Grazers is composed with same pattern of membership. It has (1) The Galadiman Muri Tukur Abba Tukur as Chairman (2) Hashidu Hamman served as the Committee Secretary. The Committees were well funded and they commenced work immediately by visiting people at the local government areas and using radio and televisions services to educate the entire public. One of the messages from the Committee on farmers’ sensitization as advertised in the news media reads thus:-

Taraba state needs peace and peaceful co-existence more than ever before. It is with this in mind that the law to prohibit open grazing of livestock and to provide for the establishment of ranches was formulated and not intended to witch-hunt or discourages the tendering of animals. The vision behind it is in keeping with global best practices and for peace and development to thrive. Your compliance to this clarion call will improve agricultural yield and guarantee qualitative livestock production. Support this Endeavour because the future depends on the sacrifices we make today. Therefore we should not take the law into our hands but report any breakdown of law and order to the nearest authorities.

Moving on by 7th January 2018 the Governor Arch Darius Dickson Ishaku also appointed two Special Advisers to the Governor namely Dr Abubakar Zubairu as Special Adviser Veterinary and Livestock matters and Mr. Abdulrahman A. Biyams as Adviser on Agriculture and Farmers activities.

5.3.2 The Aims and Objectives of the law

According to Section 3 of the law, the following were listed as the aims and objectives.

- (a) *To promote the modern techniques of animal husbandry, particularly the rearing of livestock;*
- (b) *To promote job and investment opportunities in livestock farming as well as expand the*

value chain;

- (c) To prevent destruction of farm crops and community pond, settlement and property by the open grazing of livestock;
- (d) To prevent clash between herders and farmers;
- (e) To regulate and support the growth of livestock farming and manage the environment impact of open livestock grazing;
- (f) To prevent, control and manage the spread of disease as well as to ease the implementation of policy that will enhance the production of a high and healthy breed of livestock both for the local and export markets;
- (g) To create a more robust method of addressing the rising livestock density, particularly cattle, in an efficient manner;
- (h) To promote greater productivity and profitability in the livestock business;
- (i) To promote and enhance the production of high and healthier breeds of cattle, sheep goats, horse and camels for both local and export markets
- (j) To promote the establishment of international best practices in dairy and beef industry.

5.3.3 Permanent Implementation Agency

In order to implement the aims and objectives the law also established an agency for that purpose. It is known as "Taraba State Livestock and Ranch Administration and Control Committee" The Committee draws its membership from Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Justice, Bureau for Lands and Survey, Bureau for Local Government an Chieftaincy Affairs, the Nigeria Police, Department of State Security Service, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps, The State Vigilante Chairman-Member. The Committee thus is a matrix organization expected to make use of professional from all the agencies and operate with team spirit to achieve the aims and objectives of the law

The law also intends to effectively impact on the people at the grassroots level. It established this *Local Government Livestock and Ranch Committee* otherwise known as Local Government Committee for each local government and the Special Development Areas of the State. The Chairman of the Local Government and the Coordinator for Special Development Areas has been vested with the power to appoint members of their respective local government Committees. The main functions of the Local Government Committee are similar to that of the State Committee but restricted to the Local government or Special Development Area as the case may be.

5.3.4 Functions and Powers of the State Livestock and Ranch Committee

Section 7 of the Law provides the functions of the Committee to include:-

- (a) *Stipulating the requisite conditions for the operations of Livestock farming in the State including the establishment and ownership of personal, commercial and general ranch farms;*
- (b) *Consider and determine the suitability of the location and facilitate or sanction the lease or sale of land by any person, community local government and the state for the purpose of establishing ranches for livestock farming, cattle rearing or grazing;*
- (c) *Liaises with the Federal Government, individual and corporate organizations as well as development partners to obtain their support for the establishment of ranches in the State;*
- (d) *Inspect certify and register all ranches established in the State and issue permits for adhoc grazing ranches where necessary;*
- (e) *Keep register of all ranches and ranch owners in the State*
- (f) *Prescribe and provide guidelines for the minimum hygiene standards for meat and dairy activities at personal, commercial and general ranches;*

- (g) *Ensure compliance with all veterinary checks on livestock for quarantine or bio-security measures;*
- (h) *Prescribe and issue enforcement regulations, restrictions, conditions and grant permit on the non-vehicular movement and passage of livestock outside the ranches and to generally ensure that all livestock not in vehicular transit are reared and maintained only at permitted ranches;*
- (i) *Enforce regulations to ensure that whatever movement of ahead of livestock is permitted, such movement is done along a defined pathway, without encroachment on farm land and constitute no obstruction to human and vehicular traffic;*
- (j) *Ensure that all approved ranches are properly secured to prevent reared livestock from straying;*
- (k) *Determine special fee and charge for application for farm land to establish private commercial and general ranches;*
- (l) *Determine the size of farm land suitable for allocation for personal, commercial and general ranches;*
- (m) *Upon the recommendations of the Chairman of the Local Government Area appoint Livestock Special Control Marshals and Ranch Administration Officers in all the Local Government Councils in the State;*
- (n) *Carry out such other activities as are necessary or expedient for the full discharge of all or any of the functions conferred on it under this law.*

The State Governor has power to give the Committee directives of a general nature or relating to a particular matter with regards to the exercise of the Committee's functions under this law and it shall be the duty of the Committee to comply with such directive from the Governor.

5.4 Critical Observations Implications and Prospects

5.4.1 Observations

(a) Internal

From the aims and objectives as well as the functions of the committee in the law, it is observed that the law has taken care of the fears and aspirations of herdsmen viz:-

- (i) the law did not stop the Fulani from carry out the culture of cattle breeding for economic benefit in Taraba State but it should be done in a manner to “(d) *To prevent clash between herders and farmers*” ;
- (ii) The law did not stop the Fulani carry out interstate commerce. The law is aware of the need to move livestock outside the ranches for good business and provides a window for stating detail procedure for the movement of livestock outside the ranches. This can be seen in the power given to the Committee which says “(i) *Enforce regulations to ensure that whatever movement of a head of livestock is permitted, such movement is done along a defined pathway, without encroachment on farm land and constitute no obstruction to human and vehicular traffic*”;
- (iii) the law is aware that there are negative environmental impact and looks forward to “ (e) *To regulate and support the growth of livestock farming and manage the environment impact of open livestock grazing;* and “(f) *To prevent, control and manage the spread of disease as well as to ease the implementation of policy that will enhance the production of a high and healthy breed of livestock both for the local and export markets*”;

(iv) The law is not silent on what happens on the movement of cows or donkeys used in

ploughing. The Committee in using its discretion as granted in Section 7(h) must watch out its likely abuse. (2) The power to detain any animal should rest with the paramilitary e.g. marshals or police or civil defense not individual citizen. (3) Some already designated general ranches and routes were not compensated for by past government administrations. This makes it easy for owners of those lands to go back and continue with their farming activities.

(b) External

Outside the anti-open grazing law the following observations are made. (1) Before the passage of the law Miyeti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBA), the organization which represents the interest of cattle herders threatened to file a suit in Court against the government. By July 27th 2017 the Fulani Nigeria's Fulani Community sued the Federal Government and Taraba State Government to Court. And demanded \$2000 million over what was regarded as the "Mambilla Carnage" (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news>). A counter action to the Fulani Court action came from another group known as "Coalition of Young Lawyers" in Taraba State Challenging the Federal Government and MACBAN for encouraging "trans-border importation of mercenaries in reprisal attacks" thus displaying "double standards with human lives". In view of this the group vowed to proceed to International Criminal Court (ICC) to press charges and seek protection for other ethnic groups. (Odunsi W. 25 July 2017). While the pledged to be law abiding by following legal means to secure redress, the renewed attacks from December 2017, suspected to be imitated by the Fulani in Adamawa, Taraba and Benue contradicts the pledge to follow legal means and increases distrust (2) The Government before implementing the law gave a "grace period" of six months in which stakeholders are to acquaint themselves with the anti-open grazing law and make arrangements for its implementation. (3) The Government action of setting up two sensitization committees is commendable. It reduced the claim of ignorance of the law and tension likely to escalate into violence. And we have seen the committee at work. (4) From the functions and composition of the Committees for implementation of the law, it entails the State and Local government has a lot of funding to do to enable the Committees succeed in carrying out their assignment. (5) Some few weeks into the expiration of the transition period in Taraba State violent attacks began to be witnessed in Taraba State and like in Benue the Fulani are being suspected to be the one reopening violent attacks,

The provision of social facilities is not expressly stated in the law. But outside the law the fear of lack of facilities in ranches generated a sense of insecurity among cattle breeders. The absence of facilities in one place no doubt poses danger and is the motivation for migration culture. Hence the Fulani stressed the act of going to river and pond sides to enable the livestock drink water in their petition. This demand for facilities in ranches was stressed in the case of Niger State and its solution is seen in the example provided in Jigawa State. Bearing in mind that the Taraba State law gives room for the permanent committee to "*(j) To promote the establishment of international best practices in dairy and beef industry*" and the law expects the committee to "*(n) Carry out such other activities as are necessary or expedient for the full discharge of all or any of the functions conferred on it under this law*" as well as the says the State Governor has power to give the Committee directives of a general nature or relating to a particular matter with regards to the exercise of the Committee's functions under this law, then it is observed that the committee would have been on ground in good time before the expiration of the grace period to have determined suitable areas for "*personal, commercial and general ranch farms*. So that as the Fulani and non-Fulani from within and outside the state register their interest in livestock (cattle, sheep, goat, pig) breeding they immediately know where to go. Nevertheless, the hope that the provision

of social facilities would be made as one of the global best practice should be taken as one of the advantages to be seen in no distant time.

5.4.2 Implications

There is no doubt that the Fulani were not properly educated on the philosophy and provisions of the anti-open grazing law. The part of culture they will lose which is regular migration with every climatic change will be compensated by gain of facilities in the ranches and development of value chain businesses that will develop Nigeria ranching industry as in the case of Spain, Texas, Australia Mexico and Brazil to name a few. But because of the refusal to accept this vision of a better future through ranching, such a refusal increased the feelings of insecurity and insecurity activities as clarified below.

(i) Administratively, the State and federal government are regarded as weak because they failed to protect the inhabitant remote towns and villages from invaders. Most often the immediate protection is self-protection when there are rumors of likely attacks and indeed actual attacks turn individuals who happen to be a-life into refugees faraway places and normal daily business is halted (Ibrahim 5 January, 2018)

(ii) Politically, the increasing number of attacks has made most Nigerians affected by negative effect of attacks from herdsmen to believe that the President of Nigeria Buhari is mainly interested in supporting the Fulani to continue launching attacks on non-Fulani communities. And this Buhari's interest made informed Nigerians to see him as a betrayal of democracy. In the words of Professor Hagher (5th January 2017) to Buhari, "*You betrayed Nigeria's democracy and promoted genocide*". And when Fulani attack they tell the world that it is the local communities that have attacked the Fulani. And after attacks the Fulani cry out that the Federal and State governments are not protecting the Fulani. After the attacks, the attackers based on existing fear and eye service of oga's interest even where there is no express order from oga, prearranged agreement reach at the lower level which required these security agents to arrest only members of the local communities as being responsible for the attacks. This was how the cause of Benue State attacks in Guma and Logo LGA explained. However another theory was presented to exonerate the Fulani. When arrests were made those arrested did not include Fulani attackers, who may have withdrawn from the areas immediately after causing mayhems. Usually in State backed pogrom attackers are given the chance to destroy and kill before police arrives. And when police arrives they would only find the local youths. It was therefore very easy and not surprising to note that another theory for the Benue attacks emerged from the Police in Nigeria. The statement credited to the Nigerian Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim Idris claimed that the massacre in Benue was a result of communal clash between Tiv people (Opeyemi 2018) or another theory that it was not necessary to go after the invaders to arrest and prosecute them now (Tori 2018). As the above views were out rightly debunked by the public and apologies demanded, for example by a group called Global Peace and Life Initiative (GOPRI) who considered his words as "irresponsible", unprofessional" and "misleading". It was then the President directed the IGP to relocate to Benue. The point of emphasis is that the expectation of the people is, whether it was intra or inter-communal clashes, the Federal and State Government is supposed to have prevented the clashes taking place by apprehending the attackers so that the attacks never took place. Since the State could not they should admit it as a failure and sit up than buck passing.

In the recent attacks at the Adamawa-Taraba borders particularly in Lau Local government area of Taraba State, a pro-Fulani reporter claimed that it was the Bachama youths from Adamawa that attacked Fulani towns in Taraba State. But later different reporters (Nigeria

Television Authority on the 8th of January and Taraba Television in their news of Tuesday 9th January 2017) in company of security agents from Taraba State showed that the victims of the attacks in the border towns and villages were mostly a mix of Jenjo, Mumuye and Yandang and some local Fulani ethnic groups. The victim stated that they attackers were Fulani invaders from Adamawa. Be that as it may there is twist in accounts. And this entails that the man behind the mask is not interested in peace and development of the State. And since the rate of attacks is increasing, and taking place almost at same period in targeted States of Benue, Taraba, Adamawa and Kaduna State, the political image of Buhari as a person and his APC party is negatively affected and the support for the President and his party is decreasing. This has increased the belief in the allegation that some high profile who own cows do everything to arm “cowboys “to protect their rearing business (Namdi, 2018); as well as politicians of a particular ideological group and zone sponsored terrorism to create fear in order to secure power or free money in the name of amnesty, ransom or compensation for their boys That was how insurgents from Niger-Delta Youth groups attack, and Boko Haram was used as a political weapon to ascend power and benefited in the past). The current herdsmen attack is assumed to be an extension of Boko Haram and another political weapon either to bring down Buhari and enthrone another presidential candidate or to win support for Buhari. They often tell themselves that non Fulani people are attacking Fulani or Muslims as such a Hausa Fulani President should still emerge from Hausa Fulani candidate in 2019. Often the candidates within a party campaigned that the person in power is weak, if you vote him he is in a better position to stop insurgency or herdsmen menace. And between political parties such campaigns are also presented against each other. It is in the light of political perspective the Fulani out boasts that government policies and laws would die a natural death, or the Fulani would sue the government to Court and at the same time attack communities, makes other Nigerians suspect that the man behind the mask is “their grand patron, Buhari who is the Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria and has early in his regime made his tribe and or religion kinsmen in-charge of security agencies in Nigeria. As such some commentators classified Buhari as a tribalist, religious bigot, nepotistic person, an enemy of impartiality and justice, That it is because of this that the President has refused directly and publicly condemn his kinsmen, and the failure to arrest and prosecute his Fulani herdsmen who invaded towns and villages. As such then on-Fulani people regard the peace agreements across the country between herders and natives as merely “Islamization baits” for conquering the natives. And stooped to conquer before or by 2019, there is not only increasing attacks to make agreements useless because the attacks also help in reducing the population of non-Muslim prospective voters. With the anti-open grazing law, it pops up the reasoning among the Fulani that they can no longer have easy access to enter the nooks and crannies of the States to do as they wish to promote their political objective. Because of this they reject quitting in the name of search for suitable grazing areas and yet contradict the need for peaceful existence by stepping up terrorism against natives, Politically then what is disturbing to many people is that there are some State governors who do not have the political will to act appropriate to protect the present and future generation of citizens and indeed Nigerians.

(iii) Socially there is the feeling of hate and lack of trust between Christian and Muslims and between Fulani's and non-Fulani. Also the feeling of security, cordiality and mutual care to each other irrespective of which party one belongs to has been greatly devalued. Such that Politicians of different political parties hardly formally come together in common forums to take decisions and implement them. But because of increasing insecurity which does not differentiate which parties you belong to when destruction is taking place has begun to introduce changes resulting to joint inter-ethnic group meetings and programs in communities, towns and villages hitherto turn apart along political differences. It is now being asserted that

the governors of Benue and Taraba States have resolved to keep political differences aside by uniting the elites of their States to provide a commonly agreed solution to the insecurity menace in their States. This unity call is extended to the people in local government level – towns and villages. They are being sensitized on the importance and need to be proactive in providing self-defense before the security agents intervene. They are expected to be vigilant and pass intelligence information to the state security outfits. Social security wise, the people through their Governor are expected to actually get organized for self-defense like the Governor of Ekiti State has done says Professor Itse Sagey and some social media commentators (<https://www.tori.ng/news/8511/stop-weeping-just-arm-benue-people-to-defend-thems.html>), However, stakeholders still tell their community members not to take the laws into their hands but report all intelligence information to security agents for necessary action.

(iv) Psychologically, insecurity in Nigeria is a state of fear of the Known and unknown threats in **hate speeches and physical attacks**, which are directed against the freedom to live normal conduct, life and possession of property. And it is not between Herdsmen and farmers alone it could also be between brother and brothers. The fear can be initiated by an aggressor and counter acted by the victim of aggressors' acts. Eventually the state of insecurity is recycled where one of the parties has chosen to be perpetually a thorn in the flesh of the other. He assumes the position of a terrorist to ensure there is lack of peace even where the victim did not initiate attacks. Critical observation from the time the anti-open grazing law emerged showed that hate speeches in social media and practical attacks increased, towards the end of **transition period**, given to herdsmen to prepare their ranches. For example, in Benue where implementation was to start in November 2017 it recorded Fulani revenge attack in December 2017. In Taraba State violent attacks started in December 2017 just between individual farmers in Lau LGA and by January the attacks were upgraded to sack towns and villages like Katibu in Donada Ward of Lau Local Government Area. In January the suspected Fulani attacks occurred in two settlements of Wukari local Government area. This unfolding development has warned the people that the Government is not in a position to stop invaders. And they are now on alert hence villagers are fond relocating to other places to assume refugee status and or step up other self-defense mechanism against another herdsman's likely attacks.

(iv) Economically, insecurity whether from Fulani/herdsmen or non-Fulani people has boosted the business of selling and buying arms in Nigeria? The increased insecurity has made more people particularly individuals and sometimes groups to buy their personal guns to defend themselves. Though it is reported that security agencies have been intercepting a lot of illegal arms imported into the country at the point of entry and from the theaters of intergroup violent battles, it is also believed that the arms in communities is more than the ones intercepted. And it is also believed that the ones intercepted and in the Government armory do find their ways into communities. This goes to entail that those in arms business are getting more customers in view of the desire by some Nigeria to increase insecurity for other communities.

(v) Culturally, all categories of people do not another person(s) to kill him or his relations. Hence in rural communities witches and wizards known to kill for spiritual world business are dreaded and suspected persons are reprimanded, disciplined and expelled from the community where possible. But killing in the name of self-defense in battle fields and using physical weapons and supported by herbalists was often allowed. The weapons used in these two instances were soon replaced spiritual warfare with the coming of Islam and Christianity. The advent foreign weapon of war in their variety was embraced by both Christians and Muslims as a result of increasing insecurity. And the present insecurity and readiness by

insurgents, invaders herdsmen and farmers who claim to be fighting for their communities have no doubt embraced cultural change, just like the call for ranching is a call for cultural change. If the use of weapons to kill is bad yet the herdsmen have embraced it then ranching which is to provide a better and new way of living should urgently be embraced to promote peace and development of livestock stock and crop farming in Nigeria.

5.4.3 Incapacity: Is there hope for the expected better Security?

We are in a world where influential people now say one thing and do the opposite because there is insufficiency of resources and incapacity by agencies hence the need to compromise issues to secure personal gains which are not beneficial to the general public. A cursory observation has increased the belief that lack of capacity is responsible for the lack of proactive measures the communities and governments are expected to carry out to stop attacks when intelligence reports are received that some people are planning to attack. Proactive measures for stopping herdsmen, insurgency and other intergroup conflicts through effective policing only if there is enough number of police and other security agencies living within villages and towns and they do so in synergy with local dwellers to repel external aggressors. As it is even where there is prior intelligence report that invaders are coming, it is often noticed that the same State agents and community members warn and advise that community or individuals should not possess arms and engage in self-defense or engage in reprisal attacks. Yet the government whom the people rely on are no near to stop attacks from taking place. It is in view of this incapacity that local communities often blame the Federal and State governments for being quite while Nigerian's are being killed massively.

In a bid to be seen at work it seems the Federal Government is rejecting the concept of ranching to introduce the concept of *cattle colony*. Whatever it means the some Nigerians who are not Fulani are not comfortable with this concept. And it is perceived as an insult. (Nwachukwu 14 January 2018; Vanguard 14 January 2018; Udeahjah 13 January 2018) Nevertheless the Federal Government has said about 16 States have offered land to the Federal Government to serve as Cattle Colony. This discomfort emanates from the existing feeling of insecurity, that it is a ploy to dispossess farmers of their right to land to enable Fulani herdsmen exercise both economic and political control over the people of the area similar to the erstwhile scramble and partition of Africa and domination by foreign European powers, as well as similar to the formation of the caliphate/ Emirates system, where the creation of cattle colony may eventually lead to the extension of the emirates and the caliphate, hence the rejection of the concept of cattle colony by Nigerians that have suffered from the attacks of migrating Fulani herdsmen (Vanguard 11 January 2018;) Cattle Colony as a concept is mostly used in Pakistan to describe one of the neighborhoods of *Bin Qasim* town in Karachi. The cattle colony neighborhood serves as the center of cattle, meat and other dairy products trade (shopping and supply center) in Karachi. It has many abattoirs and meat ware houses (wikipedia) At the moment the Federal Government that is spearheading the application of this concept said the policy would not transfer communal land ownership to Fulani herdsmen wherever it is established. Speaking for the Federal Government the Federal Minister of Agriculture Audu Ogbeh said *Ranching is more of an individual venture for those who want to invest, but cattle colony is bigger in scope and size. It is going to be done in partnership with States government who wish to be part of it. Already 16 states have volunteered land, nobody is going to seize land from any community for the project*” It entails that the colony can accommodate ‘*up to 49 ranchers to share the same facility that will be provided by the government at a reduced rate.*’ (Nabuife, 11 January 2018) and the policy is not intended to colonize any State to hand it over to the herdsmen. For a greater understanding and cooperation the Minister said there would be stakeholders meeting before

implementation of the policy. The Fulanis through a Press Statement by Baba Usman Ngeljarma the National Executive Secretary of MACBAN, as a reaction to the Statements by non-Fulani people, said they totally condemn violence in whatever form anywhere and by whomever. As such they assert in denial that they are not the attackers /aggressors but the target of the offensive and the worst victims. They interpret the accusations from both its intent and purpose as meant to smear the image of the Fulani herdsmen. However they do not deny that there may be some misguided and criminally motivated elements among the Fulani who indulge in social vices and criminal activities. And this few miscreants do not represent the mainstream of Fulani herdsmen. They also regard the Fulani herdsmen as the most excluded, neglected, and deprived of so many things. As such they regard themselves as the most suffered community in Nigeria. The Fulanis at other for a have condemned the use of “*anti-open grazing*” in the laws made by States. They feel it is an affront on their culture and is discriminatory. They wished the States would use alternative words such as Ranch management that are not harsh on the Fulani people. Secondly they feel discriminated because while the state makes budgetary inputs on how to improve crop production, the States have failed to make budgetary provisions for the development of ranches and yet tried to force cattle breeders into unfavorable ranching conditions. This to them is also an act of insincerity by Government in its claims that the government is protecting the interest of the Fulani. As for the killings an Fulani people cows and their properties, they demand the arrest and prosecution of the perpetrators or those who killed Fulani people and their cows; they demand compensation to victims of all crises; and they prefer a Federal Government law that would address contentious issues and the multidimensional needs of livestock production industry in Nigeria (Ngeljarma 14 January, 2018). By February 2018 the Federal set up a technical Sub-Committee of the National Economic Council on Herdsmen/Farmers Crises was in Taraba State for a three days meeting over the lingering crises. The Committee comprised of the Vice President as the Chairman, the Governors of Zamfara, Benue, Taraba, Kaduna, Adamawa, Edo, Plateau, Ebonyi, and Oyo States. The meeting stakeholders believed that the idea of the law would help in tackling the crisis between herdsmen and farmers in future. But in order to accommodate all concerned parties the meeting further resolved that sections 23, 24, and 25 of the anti-open grazing law in Taraba State be reviewed to meet the demands of the Fulani. Other measures include an appeal for the suspension of the court cases on the anti-open grazing law to enable the committee complete it assignment. Another outfit was inaugurated at the meeting. The State Peace and reconciliation Committee is headed by Taraba State Deputy Governor, Alhaji Haruna Manu (<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018.02/fgs-committee-herdsmen-farmers-urges-taraba-govt-review-anti-grzng-law/>). In addition the Federal government has deployed soldiers to Taraba and Benue for operation cat. The purpose is to search locate bandits who are behind the killings and use military force to flush pout their hideouts and disarm any persons with weapons of war. Other paramilitary would be strengthened with personnel and equipment to carry out their duties.

6/0 Conclusion

Hitherto the search for State power motivated the rise of military coups, secessionist civil war, and insurgency in the likes of Niger-Delta militants and Boko Haram were great insecurity sources and have all been used as instruments to getting State power. These forceful approaches to getting power made life insecure for Nigerians. Today the most serious version of insecurity challenge facing Nigeria is disguised herdsmen terrorism in the robe of farmers-herdsmen conflicts. It is disguised because they claim they are fighting farmers but in reality people who are not famers are put in a state of fear, are attacked, which has led to destruction of lives, towns and villages. And the farmers and their allies have felt

mobilized to protect her interest in case of further reprisal attacks. Farmers regard the reprisal attacks as means of reducing the population of the farmers who in most cases are Christians. And Fulani (herdsmen) seem to receive support of the Federal Government on the bases of ethnicity and religious affinity with the President. The Fulani on their part also feel the State government seem to support non Fulani Communities (farmers) on the bases of ethnicity or religious affiliations of their Governors. However on account of the defenses put across by the disputing parties, there is evidence which reveal the initial causes of conflict between herdsmen and farmers. They were nonpolitical. And in such cases, traditionally method was used for resolving conflicts. Usually, when conflicts occurred tension is raised and to resolve the conflict, farm owners report the cases to their traditional rulers and the police. And where a herdsman or men are confirmed to have been responsible; for example, the destruction of crops by any herdsman is fined to pay compensation. However, there came to a time when farmers refuse the idea of collecting compensation because they don't want to be living on compensation, which has no life sustenance component. The study further showed that farmers believe that their crops are as important as cattle is to the herdsmen as such have requested herdsmen to stop courting trouble by taking their cattle away from farmlands. Resulting from the incessant violent reprisal attacks on human life and destruction of properties is responsible for low trust and acceptance of Fulani in their host communities. This study has also shown that first, both at international and local levels, crop and livestock farming are important to herdsmen and farmers. Hence the making of the law prohibiting open grazing did not stop Fulani from engaging in livestock and crop farming. However, the law requires the Fulani people to be dynamic like they have done in other aspects of life. They are expected to embrace modification from open grazing to ranching as global best practice. And contrary to insinuations by the Fulani, this study further found that the anti-open grazing law allows interstate commerce and regards violent attacks as most dangerous gambit or stratagem to open discussion and secure an advantage. The legal process of law making and law review where necessary is better than violent attacks to destroy life and property. Thus war is more oppressive, negative and emerges as a populist agenda designed by visionless and desperate politicians to destroy the farming culture and economic livelihood of the Fulani and non-Fulani people of Nigeria.

Like every other law, the makers of the anti-open grazing law are aware that this law may also be violated hence they provided measures to be adopted to provide redress. Secondly if the operators of the law carryout their duty with transparency, there is no doubt that there would be more cooperation from other stakeholders. Third, where affected land owners cooperate by collecting adequate compensation (in cash and or kind by relocation to other places to acquire farmland) and releasing their land for establishment of ranches or colonies, as well as engage in other value chain business activities as anticipated by the policy, there would be peace and economic development in Taraba State and Nigeria in general. Fourth, if the Executive Governor of Taraba State Arch Dickson Ishaku, the Captain of Taraba State Rescue Team remains committed as he is, it is hoped that the next set of committees to implement the law would involve all stakeholders and be fully supported to carry out their duty. But as it is, the Fulanis are not leaving any stone unturned. They are no longer fighting this law in Taraba State but at national and international level and a National technical committee held a meeting with Stakeholders in Taraba State. And as they have promised the law is not going to be implemented fully but gradually.

The findings in this study also run contrary to the conventional view that the Nigerian breed of cattle is not suitable for ranching, because of the issue of insufficient rain to provide adequate feed and water for the animals. As the law is being gradually implemented it has

revealed that like in advanced livestock producing countries the issue of insufficient feeds and water can be taken care of through innovative feeding approaches. Also the States are prepared to carry out more impact assessment and provide the services required to reap more positive result from ranching. These services are the provision of social facilities like adequate and quality water supply, schools clinics e.t.c. in game reserves and ranches to transform herdsmen from the most neglected and suffered people to equally catered people. Now that the six month transition period before the implementation of the law is over, instead of noticing enthusiasm by herdsmen to safeguard against farmland encroachment, trespass, crop destruction and undue killing of livestock and humans, the recent Adamawa, Taraba Benue and Nassarawa mass attacks as well as the hanky-panky handling of the conflict by the President and his security Chiefs increased the consciousness of farming communities to now begin to assert that if persons who are not Fulani are not threatening to sack Hausa Fulani in core North (where they come from) then it is morally legally wrong for the Hausa-Fulani in non-Hausa Fulani land in their native land should want to displaced farmers. Secondly, it increases the belief that the herdsmen attack is another dimension of politically motivated insecurity just like Boko Haram which was used as campaign outfit. This state of insecurity indeed has popped up discussions as from 2016 on who should be voted into power and who should not be voted into power come 2019.

The major effect of this is that meanwhile, to guarantee security of life and property (of both herdsmen and farmers) for a sustained peace and development the people are being mobilized to be security conscious to provide intelligence report to the police to forestall attacks by herdsmen and their mercenaries. The message being sent out is that the law may be transparently implemented and where there persons who cannot cope with its processes can opt to exercise their freedom of movement from area of inconvenience to area of convenience than resort to the use of force on people who have a right to life and to own property for the peaceful development and united Nigeria.

7/0 Recommendations

From the perspective of supremacy of Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria the following recommendations are presented to facilitate the safeguard of right to life and to own property for the peaceful development of a united Nigeria.

- (i) Grazing reserves should be properly gazetted and customary owners paid adequate compensation to avoid the taking over of land by force.
- (ii) Government should consider removing offensive words such as “Cattle colonies”, “anti open grazing” in policies and laws.
- (iii) While States should be seen clearly and specifically make budgetary provisions for ranch development, International agencies should come to the aids of States and Federal Governments by partnering to facilitate the provision of amenities like fencing materials for farmland and ranches. The facilities include electricity hospitals, veterinary clinics, schools, security outpost, cattle routes, earth dam, boreholes and markets in and for neighborhood ranches and grazing reserves. These international best practices would encourage herdsmen and farmers to use the grazing reserves and ranches.
- (iv) The fact that all cultures including that of Fulani are dynamic, and as a result of increase in Knowledge, urbanization and new technology, there is already cultural changes even among the Fulani people. That is, they changed from wearing leafs and animal skin to wearing clothes. In addition to moving on foot they now use trucks to

transports the animals. The in addition to using sticks for herding, they have begun to use dangerous weapons manufactured by the white man to name a few. Therefore herdsmen of all cultures should embrace the call for a change from the culture of open grazing to the culture of ranching or grazing reserve or ranching alias cattle colony in good faith.

- (v) Both herdsmen and farmers should stop making hate speeches because hate speeches encourage anger and destroys unity. And those making hate speeches should be brought to book.
- (vi) The herdsmen and famers should bear in mind that actions that lead to distrust is bad and should be abandoned. Therefore plans for reprisal violent attacks on the whole town and villages in the case of two persons should be discouraged. And disarmament should not only be on one side but from both sides.
- (vii) The issue of increasing the number of security service to meet the standard of one police to 400 people should be implemented
- (viii) The call for a State and Local Government Police should by synergize to make it work after fine-tuning areas of fear and abuse of the policy.

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