

The Push and Pull Factor Analysis of Pastoralists-Farmers Conflict in Rural Communities of Nigeria

¹Joseph Okwesili Nkwede, ¹Oliver U. Nwankwo, ²Gilbert C. Aro and ³Kazeem O. Dauda

¹Department of Political Science, Ebonyi State University, P.M.B 053, Abakaliki, Nigeria

²Federal University Ndufu-Alike Ikwo Ebonyi State, Nigeria

³Department of Political Science Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, Ogun State, Nigeria

Abstract: In the 21st century Nigeria, the proliferation of communal conflicts in rural communities by the pastoralists (Fulani-Herders) has reached a staggering dimension to the extent that the threat posed by the increasing activities of the pastoralists is becoming intractable and insurmountable. Inhabitants of Nigerian rural communities, due to the asymmetry in political firmament and internal structural impediments, have been victims of the pastoralist activities and socio-psychological consequences. Thus, extant literature has shown that scholars have dissipated enormous effort in investigating the pastoralists and the rising waves of communal conflicts in Nigeria. Although, increased understanding of communal conflicts have become known but no attempt have been made for innovative and progressive policy options for the prevention and Nigerian states seem handicapped in terms of policy choices, including their development and implementation. This paper, therefore, examines pastoralists and the farmer's violent conflicts in rural communities of Nigeria with the voracious search for the causes and preventive policy tools in Nigeria. While relying on documentary method of data collection and content analysis of data with the aid of the theory of push and pull factors, the study noted that socio-economic, political and cultural factors are responsible for the emergence and proliferation of violent conflicts on farmers in rural communities of Nigeria. The study however, recommended inter alia; the aggregation of traditional security and a social protection directed development strategy as a means of shaping peace-building processes and social cohesion in rural communities of Nigeria.

Key words: Communal conflict • Pastoralists • Farmers • Rural Communities • Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Across the globe, one of the striking aspects of pastoralism is the contrast between its actual complexity and the simplified representations usually made of it. Pastoralism in Nigeria is strongly associated with the Fulbe (Fulani) who are generally presented as a unitary group with a unitary culture [1]. This notwithstanding, there are other groups that also engage in cattle pastoralism in Nigeria like the Arabs (Baggara of South of Geidam, Shuwa of Eastern Cameroon, Uled Suliman of Komadugu Yobe Valley) and the Jetko of North of Geidam and Niger and Yedina or Buduma of Lake Chad [2]. Dupire [3], Franz [4] and Bello [5] observed that the Fulani are the best known and most numerous of all the pastoral groups and their dominance in Nigeria. Corroborating the above,

St. Croix [6], Hopen [7], Stenning [8], Abbass [9], Awagbade [10] and Audu [11] noted that the Fulani pastoralists first began to expand into Nigeria as early as 13th and 14th century but were confined to the edge of the desert. By the early nineteenth century the Fulani had developed an urban, sedentary class, especially of religious scholars through their commitment to Islam and dedication to their followers which eventually stimulated the development of an effective military machine. Blench [1] maintained that one of the effects of political and military expansion was to pave way for the southward movement of pastoralists.

With the aid of these military machines, the pastoralists expanded westwards and eastwards of the country in search of high altitude grasslands since disease risks were lower and pastures more palatable for

the zebu. Since the 19th century till date, the Fulani had continually expanded towards south and the gradual process of incorporation into the communities where traders have equally realized the potential of the vegetation of the humid zone coupled with the demand for meat in the urban centres of the south. Arising from the demand for meat in the urban centres of the South, the Fulani sort for grassy patches within the forest zone where cattle are kept for various lengths of time to be fattened for the market.

Consequently, the issue with these pastoralists aggravated communal conflict with one another for grazing space in Nigeria. Essentially, one of the perennial tendencies that undermine internal cohesion and nation building in Nigeria is pastoralist-farmers conflict in spite of security dynamics in the country as provided in section 14(2) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which stipulates that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the purpose of government”.

The dimension and the height of the towering pastoralist-farmers conflict has posed serious threats to lives and property in Nigeria and simultaneously reached a disturbing proportion in spite of the presence of police, para-military agencies and military in the management of internal security in Nigeria [12, 13].

Against this backdrop, the cardinal objectives of this paper are: to examine pastoralists and the farmers’ violent conflicts in rural communities of Nigeria; and to search for the causes and preventive policy tools in Nigeria.

In doing this, the paper is therefore divided into sections. Section one deals with the general introduction and delineation of concepts. Section two dwelt on the historical roots of pastoralist-farmers conflict in Nigeria. Theoretical framework, causes of pastoralists-farmers conflicts and the analysis of push and pull factors were captured in section three. Alternative strategy for managing pastoralists-farmers conflicts in Nigeria is presented in section four, while the final section wrapped it up with conclusion and recommendations.

Delineation of Concepts

Conflict: Like other concepts in the social and behavioural sciences, conflict lacks an all embracing and universally accepted definition. However, scholars have attempted its explanation in various varieties. Idede [14] perceived conflict as a breakdown in the normal activities of an organization in such a manner that the individual or group involved experiences disharmony in working together. In this regard, the group will not just fail to work together, but will also engage in open unpleasant combats

or quarrels. Truce [15] opined that absence of conflicts in any organization produces slow progressive development. It can safely be argued that organizational conflicts are inevitable because people have different backgrounds, interests and talents. Blagojevic [16], Burton [17], Mitchell [18] and Denga [19] observed that logically, conflict could be seen as an inherently subjective, though it does not preclude the idea that conflict does not have objectivity. For Kornhanser, Dobin and Ross [20], conflict in modern societies can be defined as the total range of behaviours and attitudes that express opposition and divergent orientations between individuals, owners and managers on the one hand and working people and their organization on the other. Essentially, conflict is a phenomenon that is accepted as being inevitable in any given society.

It is believed that where any two individuals co-exist, there is bound to be conflict from time to time [21]. Conflict exists in all countries and at every level of society and it is by no means a negative force; it is a natural expression of social differences and of humanity’s perpetual struggle for justice [22]. To that extent, conflict is regarded as a necessary part of human existence but when it becomes violent or degenerates to outright war; it becomes a problem not just to the nation or continent but the entire world. In this context, conflict is seen as an essential creative element in human relationship. It is the means to change, the means our social value of welfare, security and justice and opportunities for personal development can be achieved. Again, it is a social phenomenon with both creative and destructive manifestations.

Communal Conflict: Apparently, communal conflict is a violent conflict between non-state groups that are organized along a shared communal identity. The above expression deserves some further clarification. Indeed, violent conflict refers to the fact that the parties use lethal violence to gain control over some disputed and perceived indivisible resources, such as a piece of land or local political power. Galtung [23], Elverson and Broshe [24] argues that the groups involved in violent conflict are non-state groups, meaning that neither actor controls the state and armed forces. Although state actors may be involved as an important supporting actor in a communal conflict. Importantly, the groups are organized along a shared communal identity, meaning that they are not formally organized rebel groups or militias but the confrontation takes place along the line of group identities.

Some scholars equate the concepts of communal identity with ethnic or religious identity, but in this context, group identity can be considered as socially constructed rather than a static phenomenon. For Gurr [25], communal identity is conceptualized as subjective group identification based on a common history, a common culture or common core values. He further states that in local conflicts where the dividing line is between original inhabitants of an area (indigenes) and more recent “settlers”, as is often the case in the continental Africa, this should be seen as a communal conflict since people very strongly identify themselves (and the other group) along these lines. Demarcation along such lines often causes “Sons of the soil” conflicts where the indigenes perceive themselves as the rightful owners of the land [26]. In another perspective, the main identification may be based on one’s livelihood and conflict may be fought along those lines (as the case of putting pastoralists against farmers). In this wise, livelihood conflicts often paralleled ethnic lines as for instance pastoralists living together are often from the same ethnic community. In some instances, this is not always the issue. For example, villagers often identify as inhabitants of their particular villages no matter if the village is ethnically homo- or heterogeneous. The baseline argument is that what constitutes the basis for a communal identity may differ across time and space.

In this study, communal conflict is viewed as located in the middle of the coordination spectrum since the communal actors involved lack a formal military organization but may still feature a high level of coordination. Tilly [27] argues that the level of coordination is crucial. In net, communal conflicts are generally more symmetrical when juxtaposed with other conflicts that are characterized by asymmetry. The picture painted above suggests that communal conflicts represent a type of violence that needs to be separated analytically from more organized types of ethnic violence. For purpose of clarity, this does not mean that communal conflicts have no similarities with, or cannot transform into, other types of violence.

Historicizing Pastoralists-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria:

The state of hostility between pastoralists and farmers has been of central importance to scholars of Development studies. This stems from the fact that Nigerian nation that claim to have originated from common historical antecedent had increasingly found themselves drifted apart on account of pastoralist-farmers stiff competition over the control, access and use of land

resources. It should be noted that Agriculture plays a leading role in the non-oil sector of Nigeria. Oladele and Oladele [28] opined that most farming households operate land owned through inheritance and acquisition through family ties. More than 50% of farmers own their lands [29]. Essentially, arable crop and cattle producers have not only intensified the use of their respective lands, they have also been exploring other land frontiers for farming and grazing. Farm lands that are normally allowed to fallow for natural rejuvenation of the soil are fast disappearing, while lands that traditionally provide dry season grazing to pastoralists are becoming shorter in supply [30]. However, this has heightened the frequency and intensity of competition among the pastoralists and farmers. The pastoralists also known as herdsmen or nomadic of lower Sahel are now being found in the south including the forest belt in search of greener pasture for their herds [28]. The competition driven conflicts between pastoralists and farmers have become common occurrences in many parts of Nigeria [31]. Of note is that the competition between these two groups has often time turned into serious overt and covert hostilities and social friction in many parts of Nigeria. Oladele and Oladele [28] argues that conflicts involving pastoralists and farmers accounted for 35% of all reported crises in Nigeria.

In recent years, the increase in violent clashes between pastoralists and farmers in rural communities of Nigeria has been attributed to the influx of foreign cattle from Niger, Cameroon and Chad. There are two pastoral corridors (transhumance routes) in Nigeria. These include the North-West corridor which runs from Benin Republic and Niger through Sokoto, Zamfara, Borno and Kwara states, terminating in the South-West. The second route in the North-East which runs from Niger, Chad and Cameroon Republics through Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Jigawa, Kano, Plateau, Nasarawa and terminates in the Niger-Benue Basin. This is the route that poses threat to peace between farmers and the pastoralists in the north central and adjoining states in the South-East [32].

Apart from the routes mentioned above, there are other three pastoral groups, namely; the core-nomadic pastoralists that roam about and do not have a permanent abode. The semi-nomadic that are partially settled and the Agro-pastoralist with permanent settlement. It is pertinent to note that it is the activities of the core-nomads and the semi-nomads that constitute the problem in rural communities due to the fact that they own sophisticated weapons. In so far as the pastoralists often search for a near-ideal condition for raising their herds, they continually move toward pasturage, water sources, salt

Table 1: Manifestations of Pastoralists-farmers Conflict in Rural Communities of Nigeria from 2012-2018

S/N	Date	Place of Incidents	Suspects	Victims
1.	8/07/2012	Mash village in Riyon L.G.A, Plateau State	Fulani Herdsmen	Senator Gyang Danton killed in a stampede, 50 victims attacked and injured
2.	30/09/2012	Isoko North L.G.A. Delta State	Fulani Herdsmen	1 person murdered in his farm
3.	2/2/13	Inoli, Ologba, Olegeje, Olegede, Adana, Inminy and Abugbe communities in Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	Many lives lost
4.	23/4/13	Mbasenge community in Guma L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	10 farmers were killed
5.	7/5/13	Agatu	Fulani Herdsmen	47 mourners killed and to policemen were also killed
6.	14/5/13	Ekwo-Okpanechenyi, Agatu L.G.A. in Benue	Fulani Herdsmen	40 persons killed.
7.	5/7/13	Nzorov, Guma L.G.A in Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	20 people killed
8.	31/07/13	Agatu L.G.A. in Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	8 persons and 112 cows were killed
9.	7/11/13	Ikpele and Okpopolo communities in Benue	Fulani Herdsmen	7 person killed and over 6000 inhabitants displaced.
10.	9/11/13	Agatu L.G.A. Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	36 locals were killed, seven villages destroyed.
11.	20/11/13	Guma L.G.A. Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	22 local killed, property destroyed
12.	20/1/14	Agatu L.G.A., Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	5 soldiers and seven civilians killed.
13.	20/1/14	Adeke village in Benue state	Fulani Herdsmen	35 persons killed.
14.	20-21/02/14	Gwer West L.G.A. Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	35 persons killed, 80, 000 persons displaced and sacked six L.G.A.
15.	24/2/14	TIV community along Naka Road, Makurdi	Fulani Herdsmen	Eight people were killed.
16.	6/3/14	Kwande, Katsina/Ala and Logo L.G.As, Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	30 persons were killed.
17.	12/3/14	Ukpam village of Mbabaai, Guma L.G.A. of Benue State.	Fulani Herdsmen	28 persons killed, property destroyed and several farms burnt
18.	10/3/14	Umenger	Fulani Herdsmen	Former Governor Suswam's convoy attacked. He and convoy managed an escape.
19.	12/3/14	Gbajimba, Guma L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	25 persons were killed, 50 injured, several property destroyed.
20.	25/3/14	Agenu village	Fulani Herdsmen	7 corpses recovered by police
21.	29/3/14	Four villages in Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	19 people were killed and 15 others abducted.
22.	10/4/14	Shengev community in Gwer West L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	15 people left dead.
23.	30/3/14	Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	19 locals were killed and 15 abducted.
24.	10/4/14	Four villages in Ukamberaga/Tswarev ward of logo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Six people killed and property destroyed.
25.	15/4/14	Obagaji, Headquarters of Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	12 youths were left dead.
26.	10/9/14	Five villages in Ogbadibo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Several scores were left dead.
27.	5/03/2014	Riyom L.G.A. in Plateau State-Gwon, Torok, Gwanwereng and Gwarim in Rim Districts of the L.G.A	Fulani Herdsmen	Not less 10 people killed, over 100 houses burnt.
28.	9/03/2014	Angwan Sakwai in Kaura L.G.A of Kaduna State	Fulani Herdsmen	Over 57 people killed, Houses and property burnt.
29.	5/04/2014	Galadima village (community leaders/residents in a meeting)	Fulani Assistants	200 people killed and unknown number injured
30.	7/04/2014	Gassol in Taraba State	Farmers- Fulani Herdsmen	Several deaths and destruction of property.
31.	19/04/2014	Benin-Asaba Expressway, Delta State	Nomadic Herdsmen	23 people killed.
32.	21/07/2014	Vunokilang police station in Girei L.G.A. Adamawa. Four villages via: Demsare, Dikajam, Wunamokoh and Taboungo raided.	Fulani Herdsmen	DPO killed alongside 30 other people in the attack. several houses and property burnt.
33.	21/09/2015	Ilado village, Akure North of Ondo State	Fulani Herdsmen numbering over 20	Former SGF, from Minister of Finance and chieftain of Afenifere, Chief Samuel Oluyemisi Falae was abducted N100m ransom demanded after 96 hours.
34.	21/09/2015	Lagelu L.G.A. of Oyo State (Iyana, Offa, Atagba, Lapata, Saki, ago-Are, Oje-Owode villages)	Attack by Herdsmen	Valuables stolen, lives and property lost and villagers displaced.
35.	27/1/15	Abugbe, Okoklo, Ogwule and Ocholoyam in Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani -Herdsmen	17 persons were killed.

Table 1: Continued

36.	30/1/15	Five villages in Logo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	9 persons were killed.
37.	15/3/15	Egba village in Aguta L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Over 90 locals, including women and children were killed.
38.	27/4/15	Three villages at Mbadwem, Guma L.A.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	28 person were killed, houses and farmlands were razed.
39.	11/15/15	Ikyoawen community in Turan Kwande L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	5 person killed and 8 injured.
40.	24/5/15	Ukura, Gafa, Per and Ise-Gusa in Logo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	100 people were killed and several property destroyed.
41.	7/7/15	Imande Bebeshi in Kwande L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	1 local was killed.
42.	5/11/15	Buruku L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	12 persons killed and 25 others injured.
43.	8/2/16	To-Anyiin and Tor-Ataan in Buruku L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	10 people were killed and over 300 displaced.
44.	21-24/2/16	Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Over 500 locals were killed and 700 displaced.
45.	9/3/16	Ngorukgam, Ise Chia, Deghkia and Nhumbe in Logo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	8 residents were killed.
46.	11/3/16	Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Attack on convoy of Senator David Mark. No casualty recorded.
47.	13/3/16	Tarka L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Six people including an APC youth leader were killed.
48.	29/2/16	Edugbeho Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	11 persons killed including a Police Inspector.
49.	10/3/16	Obagaji Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Two persons killed.
50.	5/3/16	Agatu L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Houses burnt. Security forces prevented killings.
51.	18/02/2016	Agatu L.G.A., Benue State comprising of communities such as Aila, Akwu, Adagbo, Okokolo, Ugboju, Odugbeho, Ogbaulu, Egba and Obagji	Fulani Herdsmen	Over 300 persons were killed. Houses, schools, health centres and worship centres were razed down.
52.	18/02/2016	Okokolo village, Agatu L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	Five persons killed.
53.	12/04/2016	Gashaka L.G.A. of Taraba State	Fulani Herdsmen	15 persons killed.
54.	25/04/2016	Nimbo in Uzo-Uwani L.G.A. of Enugu State made up of seven villages	Fulani Herdsmen	About 40 persons reportedly killed. over 2000 people were displaced, Houses and churches destroyed.
55.	16/06/2016	Ossissa community in Ndokwa East L.G.A. of Delta State	Fulani Herdsmen	A 45-year old renowned farmer was shot.
56.	20/07/2016	Communities in Benue State such as Ugondo, Turan, Gabo Nenzev, in Logo L.G.A	Fulani Herdsmen	At least 59 Deaths were recorded.
57.	13/10/2016	Kagoro Gidan Waya road in Kaura L.G.A. of Kaduna State	Fulani Herdsmen	Two police officers were killed. Two other police officers injured.
58.	15-16/10/2016	Godogodo Area of Southern Kaduna in Jama'ah L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	20 people killed.
59.	14/11/2016	Abam community of Arochukwu L.G.A. of Abia State	Fulani Herdsmen	Several people killed and others sustained various degree of injuries.
60.	15/10/2017	Bassa L.G.A, Nkyie DONGHWRO village in Jos, Plateau State	Fulani Herdsmen	26 people killed, houses and property destroyed.
61.	24/1/17	Ipiga village in Ohimini L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	15 persons were killed.
62.	2/3/17	Mbahimin community, Gwer East L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	No fewer than 10 person were killed in a renewed hostility.
63.	11/3/17	TIV community, Mkgovur village in Buruku L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	Seven people were killed/
64.	8/5/17	Ise-Akaa village, Ugondo Mbamar D istrict of Logo L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	3 persons were confirmed killed.
65.	13/5/17	Three communities of Logo L.G.A. Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	18 persons killed.
66.	09/12/17	Omala L.G.A. in Kogi State	Fulani Herdsmen	One person killed.
67.	02/01/18	Guma and Logo L.G.A. in Benue State.	Fulani Herdsmen	49 persons killed, several homes burnt down, farms, crops and property destroyed.
68.	5/01/18	Numan L.G.A. in Adamawa State	Fulani Herdsmen	Several people killed.
69.	6/01/18	Tombu village in Logo L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	11 persons killed.
70.	04/01/18	Dan-Anachatowa in Gassol L.G.A. of Taraba State, Jandeikyula village in Anyam Kwever, Wukari L.G.A.	Fulani Herdsmen	12 persons killed, and several others wounded.
71.	10/01/18	Lau L.G.A. of Taraba State.	Fulani Herdsmen	55 persons killed and several others wounded.
72.	14/01/18	Dangaji village in Nirnin Gwari L.G.A. of Kaduna State.	Fulani Herdsmen	10 people killed, several others injured, property looted, houses razed down.

Table 1: Continued

73.	14/01/18	Ungwar Gajere Kutemeshi District of Birnin Gwari L.G.A. of Kaduna State	Fulani Herdsmen	10 persons killed.
74.	16/01/18	Oke-Ako and Irele communities in Ikole L.G.A. of Ekiti State.	Fulani Herdsmen	1 person (Babuba Dengi) killed.
75.	19/01/18	Ovwor-Olomu in Onicha-Olona community in Aniocha North and Ugheli South Areas of Delta State	Fulani Herdsmen	At least one persons killed, 3 persons injured one women raped.
76.	20/01/18	Majiankhai village, Barkin Ladi L.G.A. Plateau State.	Fulani Herdsmen	A hunter identified as Daniel Wallam was killed.
77.	21/01/18	Kikon village, Bachama community, Numan L.G.A. of Adamawa State	Fulani Herdsmen	Many people killed, many homes destroyed in a violent reprisal attack.
78.	21/01/18	Ilado village in Akure North L.G.A. of Ondo State	Fulani Herdsmen	The five-hectare oil Pal plantation farm of a Former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief Olu Falae was burnt down.
79.	26/01/18	Guma L.G.A. in Benue State.	Fulani Herdsmen	2 persons and a police officer killed.
80.	29/01/18	Guma L.G.A. in Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	NNPC Staff killed, 2 others seriously injured.
81.	01/02/18	Kagoro village, Kaduna State.	Fulani Herdsmen	6 persons killed, several others injured and many houses burnt and property destroyed.
82.	26/01/18	Huke village, Miango District in Bassa L.G.A. of Plateau state.	Fulani Herdsmen	3 persons killed (Ahmadu Hwei (male 100yrs), Odo Hweie (male 90yrs) and Gado Kondo (male 70yrs), village Houses burnt and several property destroyed.
83.	05/02/18	Waku village in Yogbo community Guma L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	2 persons killed.
84.	03/02/18	Yogbo community in Guma L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	2 police officers and 4 others killed.
85.	07/02/18	Ogbooro community in Oyo State	Fulani Herdsmen	SARS commander in Oyo Shen Magu killed.
86.	12/02/18	Bakin Kogi State of Jemaa L.G.A. of Kaduna State	Fulani Herdsmen	4 people killed and one wounded.
87.	12/02/18	Guma L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	4 NSCDC officers were killed.
88.	12/02/18	Logo L.G.A. of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	1 police officer killed.
89.	12/02/18	UNILORIN, Kwara State	Fulani Herdsmen	Multi-Million naira Research and Training farms destroyed.
90.	12/02/18	Itigidi, Yakurr L.G.A. of Cross River State.	Fulani Herdsmen	All Progressive Congress (APC) councillorship Aspirant was shot dead.
91.	13/02/18	Akure South L.G.A, Ondo State	Fulani Herdsmen	L.G.A. workers sacked.
92.	13/02/18	Okere Iseyin in Iseyin L.G.A. of Oyo State	Fulani Herdsmen	12 herdsmen killed while 14 were declared missing.
93.	27/02/18	Numan-Demsa area of Adamawa State	Fulani Herdsmen	PDP spokesmen Sam Zadock killed and 23 others were shot dead.
94.	04/03/2018	Leme in Saduana LGA of Taraba State	Fulani Herdsmen	20 people killed, 12 injured while 300 cattle were rustled
95.	05/03/2018	Omosu village in Ojigo ward, Edumoga of Okpokwu LGA of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	10 persons feared dead, several houses burnt down and property destroyed.
96.	06/03/2018	Okpokwu LGA of Benue State	Fulani Herdsmen	24 persons killed, villages deserted and property destroyed

Source: Compiled by the Authors

licks, livestock market, the nature of the terrain that allows for an impeded movement, protective mechanisms for livestock against vagaries of nature, tribal enemies, livestock bandits and hostile social environment. With the institutionalization of the sophisticated weapons they terrorize the rural communities especially the rural farmers and their crops in Nigeria.

Table 1 below showcases the manifestation of pastoralist-farmers conflict in recent times in rural communities of Nigeria.

Theoretical Underpinning: This study adopted the push and pull theory as its framework of analysis. It was propounded by Ernst Ravenstein who first reported this theory in his famous paper “Laws of migration” [33]. After then, several scholars have modified and developed this theory. The push and pull theory was further galvanized and reconstructed by [34] in his paper “A theory of migration” where he summarized factors which he classified into the decision of migration and the process of migration under four headings;

- Factors associated with the area of origin
- Factors associated with the area of destination
- Intervening obstacles
- Personal factors.

The factors listed above would be used as our analysis framework to analyze the push-pull factors in both place of origin and destination and also check the intervening obstacles and personal factors for pastoralist decision making. In doing this, both factors in place of origin and destination would, to a large extent, be categorized into two as geographic environmental factors and social and economic factors. With environmental factors attention is mainly focused on the climate, attitude, land resources, water resources and location, while economic and social situations attempt to compare the situation of living standard, income, employment situation, education facilities, medical services and transportation [35], [36]. For the intervening obstacles, attempt would be made to discuss the distance and the great changing of the pastoralist life, the change of life style, change of productive activities, loss of traditional living skills, language while on the personal factors, focus would be on sex, age, education, income and area of grassland.

The theory of push and pull factors is germane in the present study since it makes a strong link and connection between the pastoralists situation in their place of origin and their place of destination. It also gives an important place to pastoralist movement into the center of the labyrinth of factors and opportunities.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Documentary design was employed in the study. Data were elicited from documentary instruments especially from secondary sources through the review of relevant texts, journals, newspapers, official publications, direct observation, media commentaries and scholarly writings on pastoralists-farmers conflict in Nigeria and internet materials. The study employed content analytical methods wherein data collected through secondary sources were analyzed. This approach was germane because it enabled us to gain insight from the analysis of pastoralists-farmers conflict in rural communities of Nigeria in recent times.

Ipso factor, the content analytical technique was relied upon to evaluate the data generated in the course of this study. For all intent and purposes, content

analysis is a research technique adopted primarily for objectivity, systematization and qualitative analysis and interpretation of information.

Analysis of Push and Pull Factors

Government's Pastoralist Policy-the Driven Push and Pull Factors: Pastoralist Fulanis in Nigeria engage in a centuries-old seasonal movement pattern in which they move their cattle south during the dry season when the supply of fodder for livestock is scarce in the North. As Nigeria developed after independence, the government designated several hundred grazing reserves across the 19 Northern states in a bid to prevent clashes between pastoralists and settled communities. However, many of the designated grazing reserves were viewed as lucrative investments by some politicians and had their usage changed, creating a shortage of land, water and other resources necessary for the grazing of livestock. Pastoralists were forced to search for water and pasture for their animals outside the designated reserves pushing them into confrontation with settlers.

Environmental Degradation and Religious Divide: Several contemporary factors play into worsening of these long-standing conflicts. Environmental degradation is playing a role in fueling the conflict, with desertification and the shrinking of Lake Chad forcing many pastoralists' communities to move even farther into areas outside regular pastoral routes.

Another dynamic is the religious divide between both sides, with the pastoralist Fulanis being religiously and culturally Muslim, while the settled farmer communities have either been wholly Christians or to a large extent so. Further muddying the waters are the activities of cattle rustling militias and other mercenary criminal elements that for the past decades have exploited tensions and carried out a campaign of violence against pastoralist and settled farmer communities in an arc from North-west to the north central of Nigeria.

Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons: Unarguably, pastoralists have continually attacked settlers with sophisticated weapons not normally associated with pastoralists, spreading fear and anxiety across farming communities. Some pastoralists, more often than not, claim to have acted in self-defence after attacks on them by settlers. As the clashes have become more deadly, element within Nigeria's national security establishment have pointed to alleged links between

Fulani pastoralists and the Boko Haram insurgency. The allegation is that Boko Haram fighters fleeing the war in the northeast have moved south to the north central region where they are carrying out attacks on civilian communities under the guise of pastoralists. The unresolved issue here is how are these sophisticated weapons being procured? Who and who are responsible for the sponsorship?

The classification of Fulani militants by the Global Terrorism Index 2015 as the world's fourth-deadliest terror group also speaks volume and stoked the flames, increasing fear and anxiety in the country. This was the first time this activity had been described as terrorism, with the index unhelpfully listing pastoralist-linked clashes alongside established terrorist groups such as ISIS and al Shabaab [37].

Strong Push Factors in the Homestead: The Fulani pastoralists still live in a natural and traditional way of life. Indeed, they have their own view of life and own way to protect their land and to make their living harmonious with the milieu. In whichever way one views them, the living condition is backward and they are not modernized. To say the least, some of the Fulani pastoralists still live in far away pasture area and it is hard for them to access the modern facilities such as electricity, the public services such as medical care and school education. Nigerian government realized the environmental challenge of the Fulani pastoralists and wants to help them to get rid of the traditional lifestyle and to achieve the economic development and modern life in the new places. Obviously, some government officials understand the migration agenda and to that extent, encourage their movement to the south.

Apparently, the push factors of origin can be the high altitude, the encouragement from government quarters, the low income, lack of modern infrastructure and development opportunity. However, the pull factors in the homestead are that they are familiar with their land and people; they eke out their living by grazing and achieve their life value through their productive activity and routine life.

Intervening Obstacles in Destination or Home Grown Factors: The greatest challenge faced by the Fulani pastoralist is the cacophonous and vehement rejection by the rural farmers in their new destinations. The push factors are also there in the place of destination. Cernea [38] indicated that the striking risks of displacement in the

place of destination are: (a) Landlessness, (b) joblessness, (c) homelessness (d) food insecurity (e) loss of access to common property resources (f) community disarticulation. In an attempt to ensure that these factors does not occur, as the Fulani pastoralist move to their new destination, they are being forced out of the communities thereby constituting fracas resulting to hostilities and loss of life. This stems from the fact that the rural communities have their own custom, culture and religion. An attempt to shortchange them is for the asking, as these Fulani pastoralists face these outright obstacles, the only option available to them is to resort to violence hence, the intractable pastoralists-farmers conflict in rural communities of Nigeria.

Pull Factors of Self-Esteem or Personal Empowerment:

A number of pull factors that contribute to the emergence and proliferation of pastoralist-farmers conflicts are; self-esteem or personal empowerment and adventure which the individual Fulani pastoralists have long felt and viewed themselves as deprived, marginalized and victimized. They always believe that they are making history; and the prospects of achieving glory and fame.

Alternative Strategies for Managing Pastoralists-Farmers Conflict in Nigeria:

Nigeria as a country with a history of incessant violence, the crisis is gradually being seen through an ethno-religious prism. There is a historical trust deficit between the Muslim and Christian communities and an approach that is seen to be one-sided risks perpetuating the development of a siege mentality within the wider Muslim communities. Government should not resort to a military response against farmers' communities because there is a tendency that the conflict could spread like harmattan fire in other communities across the nation thereby causing widespread instability.

Lawmakers need to be mindful of avoiding the passage of grazing bill which intends to legalize pastoralism and allow the Fulanis to occupy any land of their choice which they believe is an approach to resolving the conflict. The Fulani pastoralists have on many occasions called for the Nigerian government to intervene in the conflict, but as an impartial mediator between all sides, they should not antagonize the farmers' communities. They should rather provide security and protect both the pastoralists and settled farmer settlements. A security policy seen to be against a single party in the crisis will definitely aggravate the grievances [37, 39].

As an alternative policy, social protection can contribute to social cohesion and state building, by strengthening social cohesion, diffusing tension and grievances and helping prevent pastoralists-farmers violent conflicts. It can play a part in peace building and stability. This can be done through the establishment of an inclusive state-society contract, in which the state can engage citizens, address their needs and recognize people's individual and material interests. Delivering concrete resources to citizens through social protection approach can cultivate positive state-society relations.

Communal responsibilities lie on both local sedentary farmers and the pastoralists and this rests not only on the interest of peace and harmony but also on the economic perspective. Communities in conflict with the pastoralists should be given the opportunity to come to a round table and chart the way forward [40, 41]. The Application of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), will definitely assist in solving pastoralist-farmers conflict without the unwarranted bloodshed.

Another strategy in resolving pastoralists-farmers conflict is to create and re-invigorate the grazing reserve. The federal government can engage not only state and local governments in this direction but with the knowledge and contributions of community leaders, civil societies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). This is because it requires a bottom up approach where the government through enlightenment of the benefits of having grazing reserves receives the blessing and approval of all concerned stakeholders before engaging on the enterprise.

Similarly, monitoring the activities of traditional leaders is necessary in this regard. This is because pastoralists are sometimes misled by some village heads and community leaders to buy grazing land in their communities. There is the need to sensitize pastoralists to understand the traditional land holding and ownership systems of the host communities.

Security agents and community surveillance groups must operate within the ambit of law. While exercising their legitimate duties, they should tread with caution and understand that they are dealing with communities with different value systems and way of life. Some security agents covertly or overtly contribute to causing conflicts between pastoralists and farmers by extorting lump sums of money from one or both parties to the conflict with the promise of providing lasting solution. But when patience runs out, the conflicting parties take law into their hands. This approach must be jettisoned for peace to prevail between communities in Nigeria.

Finally, the establishment of pastoralist-farmers conflict Resolution Commission is advocated. The establishment of this commission at federal, state and local levels will promote peace through early warning systems and dialogue platforms. The commission should be tasked with resolving the pastoralists-farmers conflicts headlong before its escalation

CONCLUSION

In this attempt, the pastoralists-farmers conflict in rural communities has been studied using the push and pull factors analysis. The study identified among other things that perceived resource competition, government's pastoralist policy, environmental degradation and religious divide, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, strong push factors in the homestead, pull factors of self esteem or personal empowerment are the contributing factors of pastoralists-farmers conflict in rural communities of Nigeria. The study conclude that these factors are an aspect of the etiology mosaic but very expedient in the analysis of the phenomenon.

REFERENCES

1. Blench, R.M., 1990. Fulbe, Fulani and Fulfulde in Nigeria: Distribution and Identity. Abuja: NLC Working Paper series No. 23. FDL & PCS.
2. RIM, 1992. Nigerian National Livestock Resource Survey. (6 vols) Report by Resource Inventory and Management Limited (RIM) to FDLPCS, Abuja, Nigeria.
3. Dupire, M., 1962. Peuls nomades. Institut d'Ethologie, paris.
4. Franz, C., 1962. Contraction and Expansion in Nigerian Bovine Pastoralism. In Monod 1975, pp: 338-353.
5. Bello, A.S., 2013. Herdsmen and Farmers Conflicts in Northern Nigeria: Causes, Repercussions and Resolutions. Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, 2(5): 129-139.
6. St. Croix, 1944. The Fulani of Northern Nigeria. Lagos: Government Printer.
7. Hopen, C.E., 1958. The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu, OUP for IAI, London.
8. Stenning, D., 1959. Savannah Nomads. London: Oxford University Press for International Africa Institute.

9. Abbass, I.M., 2012. No Retreat No Surrender: Conflict for Survival between Fulani pastoralists and Farmers in Northern Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(1): 331-346.
10. Awogbade, M.O., 1983. *Fulani Pastoralism: Jos Case Study*, Zaria: ABU Press.
11. Audu, S.D., 2014. Freshwater Scarcity: A threat to peaceful co-existence between farmers and pastoralists in Northern Nigeria: *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 3(1): 232-251.
12. Bamidele, A.M. and A.N. Irenyang, 2017. The Genesis and Method of Resolving: A Rethink of Herdsmen-farmers conflict and nation building in Nigeria. A paper presented at the 1st Annual Conference of NPSA South Zone. OAU Ile Ife, 8-9 March.
13. Wehr, P., 1979. *Conflict Resolution*, Boulder, Co: West View Press.
14. Idede, A.O., 2010). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Analytical Problem-solving Approach*. Enugu: ECTA Limited.
15. Tanko, P., 1999. Between Conflict and Peace, *Vanguard*, 16th November.
16. Blagojevic, B., 2009. Causes of Ethnic Conflict: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Global Change and Governance*, 3(1): 1941-8760.
17. Burton, W.J., 1993. *Conflict Resolution as a Political system* in Sandole, D.J.D. and Hugo van der merwe (eds.) *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
18. Mitchell, C.R., 1993. Problem solving Exercises and Theory of Conflict Resolution in Dennis J.D Sandole and Hugo der merwe (eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
19. Denga, D.I., 1996. *Human Engineering for High Productivity in Industrial and other work Organization*. Calabar: Rapid Educational Publishers Ltd.
20. Kornhanser, D. and C. Ross, 1980. *Industrial Relations in Nigeria: Theory and Features*: Calabar: Rapid Educational Publishers.
21. Nwogwugwu, N., 2015. Fundamental causes of Conflicts across Africa in D.O. Alao (ed.), *Issues in Conflict, Peace and Governance*. Ibadan: Fodnab Ventures.
22. Agbalajobi, D.A., 2010. The role of Women in Conflict Resolution and Peace building in Bowd, R. and Chikwanha, A.B.(ed.), *Understanding Contemporary Conflicts: Origins, challenges and peace building*. South Africa: African Human Security Initiative.
23. Galtung, J., 1965. Institutionalized Conflict Resolution: A theoretical paradigm. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2(4): 348-397.
24. Elversson, E. and J. Broshe, 2012. *Communal Conflict, Civil War and the State: Complexities, Connections and the case of Sudan*. African centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes. www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issue/%EG%BCcommunal-conflict-wa-and-thestate
25. Gurr, T.R., 2000. *Peoples Versus State: Minorities at Risk in the new Century*. Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Process.
26. Fearon, J. and D. Laitin, 2011. Sons of the soil, Migrants and civil war. *World Development*, 39(2): 199-211.
27. Tilly, C., 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
28. Oladele, O.T. and O.I. Oladele, 2011. Effect of pastoralists-Farmers Conflict on Access to Resources in Savanna Area of Oyo State, Nigeria. *Life Science Journal* <http://www.lifescience.com>. Accessed 15th October, 2017.
29. Ogunsanya, M. and S.O. Popoola, 1999. Prevention in the conflict between Yoruba farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Oke-Ogun, Oyo State in Onigu Orite and Albert, O. (eds.), *Community Conflict in Nigeria, Management, Resolution and Transformation*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
30. Gefu, J.O. and A. Kolawole, 2002. *Conflict in Common Property Resource Use: Experiences in Irrigation Project*, Paper presented for the 9th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, National Animal Production Research Institute, Shika, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 11th May.
31. Ibrahim, A.U., 1998. An overview of farmers-pastoralist relationship and sustainability of the FUAS under NFDP: Bauchi State Experience in S.A. Ingawa, L.A. Ega and P.O. Erhabor (eds.) *proceeding of the workshop in farmer-pastoralist conflict and sustainability of Fadama Users*, pp: 20-23.

32. Gbaka, E., 2014. Managing Conflict between Farmers and Pastoralists in Benue State, Nigeria. *Peace Trends: Centre for Sustainable Development and Education in Africa*, 2(3): 1-3.
33. Ravenstein, E., 1889. The laws of migration: Second paper. *Journal of Royal Statistical Society*, 52: 241-305.
34. Lee, E., 1966. A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1): 47-57.
35. Xiangjing, M., 2009. Analysis of the Push and Pull Factors of Environmental Migration in Sanjiangyuan Area in China, Institute of Population Research. Center for Population and Development Studies, Renmin University of China.
36. Stanojoska, A. and B. Petrevski, 2012. Theory of push and pull factors: A New way of Explaining the old. Conference paper. March, <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/28321360>. accessed on 16th October, 2017.
37. Tayo, S. and F. Nasrullah, 2016. Nigeria's Government must ensure a balanced Response to the pastoralist-farmer Settler Crisis. <http://www.chatamhouse.org/expert/comment/nigeria's-must-ensure-balanced-response-pastoralist-crisis>.
38. Cernea, M., 2000. Risks, Safeguards and Reconstruction: A Model for population Displacement and Resettlement *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(41): 3659-3678.
39. Mayowa, F., F. Eniola, V. Sodiya Adebayo and F. Olorunfemi, 2016. Some Dimensions of Farmers pastoralist Conflicts in the Nigeria Savana. *Journal of Global Initiatives*, 10(2): 87-108.
40. Robert, A., 1976. *Man and Environment: Crisis and the Strategy of Choice* (4th ed). Middlesex: Penguin.
41. Idowu, A.J. and Okunalo, B.T. (2017). Pastoralism as a new phase of Terrorism in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Humanities-Social Science: H Interdisciplinary*, 17(4): 51-54.