

Review Article

Fulani Knowledge System and Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Nigeria

Dr. Murtala Ahmed Rufa'i

Department of History Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria

*Corresponding Author

Dr. Murtala Ahmed Rufa'i

Abstract: Farmer-herder conflict is a major challenge in contemporary West Africa. The dominance of agricultural in economy of the region has created a basis of 'conflict for survival' between farmers and herders. Since the nature and dimension of this economic struggle keep on changing over time, scholars across have offered varying interpretation of the phenomenon. The dominant conception in the Nigerian is that Fulani are inherently 'destructive and violent being' due to the persistence and consistence of this form of economic conflict. Most studies on farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria tend to look at the immediate rather than remote causes of the conflict. There is also very little in-depth analysis on the economic drive of the conflict, which is deeply rooted in the traditional knowledge system of the actors of the conflict. The main thrust of this paper is to interrogate the Fulani perception of conflict and further establish the nexus between the Fulani traditional knowledge system and contemporary farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria.

Keywords: 'conflict for survival' between farmers and herders, traditional knowledge system.

INTRODUCTION

The 'Fulani question' has been a topical issue since the return to democratic rule in Nigeria. The gravity of the challenges posed to the Nigerian State by the Fulani was very mild before this period. In fact, the problems were mostly associated with farmland destruction, access to water and other related crisis. In recent times, virtually no single act of criminality carried out in the country without been attributed partly or wholly to the Fulani. They were accused of kidnapping, armed robbery, assassination, cattle rustling, banditry and above insurgency. Therefore, in the Nigerian context, such group often seen as militant, insurgent and bandits (Okli, 2016). This perhaps led to strong feelings of 'Fulani phobia' to the extent that some people have started agitating that the Fulani should be blacklisted on the same page with terrorist and insurgent groups like *Boko Haram*, (Okoli, 2017).

However, it is important to note that most of these criminal activities were not conducted by Fulani alone, but by different ethnic groups and nationalities in form of organised crime (Etannibi, E.O, 2013). Therefore, it would be unfair to tag such debilitating acts to the Fulani alone. There is the need for cross-examination of the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of different criminal gangs in the country before such a

conclusion could be drowned. Thus, this is not to exonerate the Fulani, there are basically some form of conflict and crime carried out by the Fulani which are mostly associated with destruction of farmlands and access to water for livestock (Matthew, D.Tuner,2003). This brought to the fore, the issue of farmers-herders conflict in the country. Literatures abound on the different facets of this conflict and enormous theories are propounded by scholars on the genesis of such squabble (Emeka E. Obioha, 2008) In fact, statistical evidence on the gravity and causality of this conflict are controversial and exaggerated, but evidence has it that not less than 60,000 lives have been lost in such conflicts since 1999 (Obaje,P.2016). Besides, many properties were also destroyed, population dislocated and agricultural economy negatively affected (NSA, 2014). The root causes and historicity of the conflict as well as its dimensions and manifestations could not be properly understood without looking at the attachment and affection between the Fulani and his herds which formed the basis of such unending conflicts in the country. Therefore, the main preoccupation of this paper is to explain the conflict within the context of Fulani indigenous knowledge system.

Quick Response Code



Journal homepage:

<http://www.easpublisher.com/easjhcs/>

Article History

Received: 15.04.2019

Accepted: 08.05.2019

Published: 27.05.2019

Copyright © 2019 The Author(s): This is an open-access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0) which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium for non-commercial use provided the original author and source are credited.

DOI: 10.36349/easjhcs.2019.v01i03.004

Theoretical Framework: Eco-Survivalist Theory

The pandemic nature of Farmer-herder conflict in West Africa led to the emergence of different theories and perspectives towards an understanding of the phenomenon (Ademola, P. 2006). There is not enough space herein to interrogate these theories and approaches. The main concern is to discuss the eco-survivalist theory that has direct bearing on the topic in question. The theory emphasised on the struggle for human survival in relations to the ecology (Abbas, I.M.2012). In other words its central thesis is on the nexus between man and struggles for scarce resources within a particular environment (Ayakhai, E.E.2013). The theory is born out of the contributions of development geography and cultural ecology in the 1970s and 1980s (Layman, P.M.G, 2007). The fundamental basis of this theory since its inception is to primarily explain the dynamics surrounding material and discursive struggles over the environment in the third world (Okoli and Atlhe, 2014). Thus, for instance, land and its associated resources formed the basis of survival for the herdsman. Similarly, his life is worthless without livestock, and the survival of the animals depended heavily on the ecology. In fact, it is this mutual interdependence between herder and the land on one hand and the farmer and the environment on the other that generated incessant bloody conflict (Patrick, C and Anna- Maria, 2005).

However, different forces have made life very difficult for both the farmer and herder, such as rapid urbanisation, industrialisation; explosive demographic changes and climate change all have limited access to land usage (Mayowa, J.F and Omojola A.S, 2005). Pastoralism, for instance, is a non-negotiable venture to the herdsman. Therefore, in the face of such enormous challenges, he has to take his destiny in his own hands, even if it means going restive and violent (John Galaty, 2003). The herder had no option than to protect his economic interest even if it means shading blood. However, this material conception of man-land relationship formed the core thesis of eco-survivalist theory of farmer-herder conflict (Adebayo, A.G, 1991). The theory further postulated that the herder deemed the farmer's unwarranted incursions into his grazing zone as an affront that must be reprimanded. More importantly, he sees the farmer's attack on his herd as 'a call to war' (Ofuoku, A.U.2009).

Fulani Indigenous Knowledge System

The pastoral *Fulbe* placed much value to indigenous knowledge system otherwise called traditional education. This form of education to a very large extent is the first knowledge acquired from the immediate family (Jibril Aminu, 1991). The knowledge acquired through this medium is usually reproduced and extended from generation to generation. Its fundamental objective centred on cattle and its utilitarian value (A.I.Daneji and G.V.Ardo, 1991). Thus, the belief amongst the Fulani of Nigeria is that constant production and reproduction of cattle is one of the basic

necessities of life. Therefore, life is completely worthless without livestock. These cattle-Fulani relations, according to Hopen, is a 'diatomic unity in which the destruction of either part of the unity will inevitably lead to the destruction of the other: if one harms the cattle one harms the Fulbe... and if the cattle die the Fulbe will also die' (Hopen, C.E.1958). This formed part of the reason why the pastoral Fulbe were considered by some Nigerians as worshippers of cattle, which is a sheer misconception. Unlike the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainism who worship cattle, the relationship between the Fulani and his herds is basically economic. Thus, an average Fulani man believed that cattle formed part of his economic livelihood which must be defended by all means (Bello Abubakar, 2017). This could be juxtaposed with the way a farmer valued fertile agricultural land, or the relationship between fisherman and his fishing pond amongst several other diatomic economic relations. Thus, traditional education amongst the Fulani centred on cattle and the process of acquiring such knowledge often starts from birth. The first thing to be done to a newly born baby amongst some pastoral communities is to taste cow milk (Umar Ibrahim, 2017). The essence of this is to inculcate an early compassion for cattle. Besides, cow milk contains all sorts of nutrients-proteins, carbon-hydrates, fat, mineral salt, water and most of the vitamins. Therefore, the nomads could live on cow milk (Madara) throughout grazing period. (M.M.Inuwa, 1993:8).

Furthermore, to mark the celebration of the new born baby after seven days same cattle would be sacrificed for the baby. Thus, during the naming ceremony some livestock would also be given as a gift to the baby to start gauging if at the baby is born with a 'silver spoon' (Abdullahi Isah, 2017). In such circumstances, the baby has started receiving training and orientation towards love of cattle.

Furthermore, at the early age of six or seven, he would then be mandated to understand the basic features and characteristics of different livestock of the family. Thus, for instance, the boy should know the differences such cattle as *ceri, djalli, rahaji, kyataku and muturu* amongst several breeds (Ferguson, D.E.1973). This is the reason why Hopen, observed that Fulani traditional education *Pulaaku* exposes the young boys and girls to this cattle-cantered lifestyle from childhood. According to him;

For young boys in particular an interest in cattle and the desire to own them begin early; such interest pervades the enculturation process which begins in early childhood. Before children can walk they are brought into contact with calves of the camp, for both may share the shade of a common tree or crude shelter during the long hours of sunshine. By the time a boy is about 5 years of age his fantasies show a basic understanding of the significance of cattle in his society (Hopen, C.E.1958).

This early orientation is not just to master the basic features of cattle but to inculcate the love and passion for the Fulani profession. At the age of ten, it is expected that young boys should identify their family cattle by their names and features. It is the responsibility of the elders to ensure that the younger ones understood the basic characteristics of each cattle and their feeding habit. At this age, the boys must also know all the sign and symbols associated with the oxen. In fact, there is different howling associated with the cattle. Therefore, it is important at the age of ten for any intelligent young Fulani boy to understand the differences, to be able to conveniently identify which one signified hunger and the one that is for anger as well as the unique roar portraying danger. On the other hand, the young boy should as a matter of necessity come out with different sounds that would send message to the herds (Musa Abubakar, 2017).

All these processes were not careless done; rather they follow systematic stages of interaction with the animals and careful observation. This is the more reason why most of the grazing exercises are often done by boys. This perhaps form part of the training and orientation process (Abdullahi Abubakar, 2017). At the advance stage of adulthood, it is expected that one should acquire the knowledge of different grasses and their nutritional value to the animals. Added to this, also is the mastery of animal diseases and treatment. These formed part of the advanced knowledge of the Fulani. It is only after passing through these stages and acquiring such vast knowledge and experiences that one is regarded as a true nomadic Fulani (Alhaji Dan Bere, 2017). It is only by doing so as well that he would be respected amongst his fellow nomadic folk.

Moreover, it is this cultural value that the pastoral Fulani stand to uphold, which is an integral part of *Pulaaku*, which the Fulani considered as a birth-acquired element, which is found in the heart and blood of true *Fulbe*. The concept of *Pulaaku* has wide range of meaning and interpretation. Therefore, it is very difficult to provide single definition considering its numerous branches. Thus, part of its major branches is bravery as well as ownership and protection of cattle. In the light of this Catherine VerEecke(19991) stated that *Pulaaku* could be described as follows

Pulaaku 'dum ngainaka be sauru (Pulaaku is the herdsmanship and the cattle staffs).

Pullo jori sauro Pulaaku(A Fullo holds the staff of Pulaaku).

N'ani woni Pulaaku(Cattle are Pulaaku).

Pulaaku 'dum tokkugo ladde(Pulaaku is following the bush).

Pulaaku 'dum daagol haa maagol ngol kuuje bo'de fuh feddi(Pulaaku is the calf-rop upon which all good things are tethered).

Pulaaku 'dum asli Fulbe(Pulaaku is the roots of the Fulbe).

Pulaaku 'dum lenyol ngol maraca (Pulaaku is a people not owned by anyone).

Pullo nastan luumo wade,nastala luumo semteende(It is better for a Pullo to die than to be shamed).

Pulaaku dum kosam be na'i(Pulaaku is both cattle and milk).

This simply explained the economic canon of the Fulani – cattle relations. There are other aspects of the *Pulaaku* that deals with morality and shame, although, the main concern herein is that aspect of *Pulaaku* that relates to the cattle economy. It is as well of utmost importance to stress on that aspect of *Pulaaku* that promotes good virtues of truthfulness, sincerity and compassion. These constituted the hallmark of the nomadic Fulani in the past and to some extent in the present. This is not to exonerate the Fulani from the series of allegations against them, rather to emphasise on the fact that not all nomadic Fulani are criminals, hoodlums or bandits. There are still substantial parts of them that still hold on to these traditional virtues.

Interrogating the History of Farmers-Herdsmen Relations

Farmers-Herdsmen conflict has dominated the dialectical relationship between these groups not only in Nigeria but in most parts of West Africa (Nick Brook, 2007). Such an inherent conflict is accepted amongst the communities as an inevitable aspect of their collective existence (Ofuoku A.U and Isife, B.I.2010). Therefore, different means and strategies were devised to at least mitigate its occurrence and impact. First of all, Fulani traditional knowledge system emphasised on cattle and its economic utility, at the same time stressed on the significance of peace and unity in the achievement of *Pulaaku* (Musa Isa, 2017). In the light of this the Fulani consider peace and harmony as an integral part of their culture. In fact, this not in any way different from the way other farming communities considers peace and unity. Therefore, it is out of context to consider the Fulani as inherently violent. The early history of farmers-herdsmen relations in some parts of Nigeria also shows that most Fulani who encroached into farmlands either consciously or unconsciously, end up willingly reporting themselves to the appropriate authorities (Ibrahim Sarkin Fulanin Kalambaina, 2017). Thus, in such situation the conflict used to be settled amicably with less rancour. The reason is that truthfulness is a fundamental virtue associated with the nomadic Fulani. Most of their neighbour looked at them as uncivilised because of their sincerity and ability 'to call a spate a spate'. In spite, of the nomadic way of life, the Fulani still have a sense of political administration. In most of the villages, such institution like Sarkin Fulani, Mai Fulani, Dikko or Ardo existed. The functions of these chiefs to settle all cases related to the Fulani in the palace of a village or District Head. Adebayo elucidates further that;

... The ardo became the spokesman for the group and head of the migrating unit... before the pastoralists moved into an area for grazing their cattle, the spokesman or Ardo was required to present him before the local rulers and enter into negotiation to obtain permission for grazing. In return for grazing rights and promises of protection from the local people, the rulers demanded tributes and courtesy calls to be paid annually as acknowledgment of their rights to grazing (Adebayo. A.G, 1991).

In fact, under this setting, ever herding household must be identified, the number of his livestock and their movements were known with high level of certainty by their representative. This to a very large extent reduced the level of friction. In fact, most conflicts occurred where the culprit that damaged crops and farmlands refused to report himself and could not be identified. Even in this case the Sarkin Fulani often took the sole responsibility of the damages (Carnochan. J. 1967).

At the early phase of farmers-herdsmen relations in Northern Nigeria, there was also certain level of cordiality. Farmers considered the Fulani as partners in economic progress (Paul E.L and Stephen Bairs, 2007). The power of a kingdom during this period was partly measured by its revenue and the Fulani were major contributors to this revenue profile. Drawing example from Kano as a powerful Hausa State, beside local and international trade, Jangali (cattle tax) paid by the Fulani was the main source of internally generated revenue of the State.

(Adebayo.A.G,1995). Therefore, most powerful states in the savannah were proud to have more Fulani in their territories, because it invariably means more income on the parts of the States. It could be argued that the Fulani were treated with great caution during trying moments due to their economic potentials(Vicars,C.B,1910) Furthermore, the colonial state in northern Nigeria benefited significantly from the cattle tax, more especially during the Great Depression of 1930(Adebayo.A.G,1995). The pastoralists were double squeezed by different forms of colonial taxation compared to their sedentary counterparts.

Typology of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in Nigeria

Farmers-herdsmen conflict has turned out to be a major challenge confronting contemporary Nigeria. Scholars from different walks of life have interrogated the different facets of the conflict and its multifaceted consequences. In fact, most printed and electronic media have preoccupied themselves with reporting different typologies of the conflict with Fulani herdsmen at the offensive. Thus, considerable part of the horrendous killings were attributed to the Fulani with some scholars tagging the phenomena as ‘Fulani militancy’ while other sections of the country are constantly pleading with the Federal Government to classify the herdsmen and their organisational platform, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria(MACBAN) as terrorist group . The fact of the matter is that the media played an immeasurable role in the promotion of ‘Fulani phobia’ in the country. The table below shows the occurrence of farmers-herdsmen conflict as reported by the media.

Table 1:1 Some Selected Cases of Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict in Nigeria

S/No	Location	Nature of the Conflict
1.	Imande in Guma LGA, Benue State	Herdsmen Killed 4 Tiv Farmers, April 17 th , 2013
2.	Ekwo-Okachenyi, Benue State	Herdsmen gun down 40 people, May,14 th , 2015
3.	Rigawa forest along Abuja-Kaduna	Farmer kidnapped by herdsmen,15 th December, 2013
4.	Oja Odan, Yewa North, Ogun State	Herdsmen killed 21 residents, 4 th October, 2015
5.	Ilado community , Akure Ondo State	Chief Olu Falae was kidnapped on his farm by suspected nomads who injured 200 labourers in the farm 9 th October, 2015
6.	Yargaladina, Maru LGA, Zamfara State	Nomads attacked and killed over 24, people, April, 2014
7.	Anambara village	Herdsmen destroyed farmlands, 12 th September, 2015.
8.	Naimbo,Uzo-Uwari, LGA, Enugu State.	11 people killed by suspected herdsmen, 30th April, 2016.
9.	Zankan community, a border town along plateau and Kaduna States.	Gunmen killed 1 person and injured others, 22 nd January, 2017.
10.	Damsa LGA, Adamawa	3 people killed and 2 kidnapped by herdsmen, 9th Feb.2017.
11.	Abraka-Eku,Delta State	4 men and woman were killed by nomad militias, 9 th January, 2017.
12.	Jamaa LGA, Kaduna	12 persons were killed and several others injured, 20 th January. 2017.
13.	Numan LGA in Taraba State	27 killed, November, 21 st 2017
14.	Sardauna LGA, Taraba State	Over 800 people killed in clash between Fulani and Local Militia, 17 th June, 2017

Source :Adopted and modified from Okpeh O. Okeph, (2017) ‘The Nigerian Army and Farmers-Pastoralist Conflicts in Nigeria’ in A. M. Ashafa and Jibrin Hussaini, *The Nigerian Army in a Democracy since 1999: A Professional Demonstration of Military Subordination to Civil Authority, Essay in Honour of LT General T.Y. Buratai*, Pyla-Mark Services, Kaduna

Most of the analysis provided on the phenomena seems to be lopsided because the Fulani perception of conflict from the point of view of their traditional education system has not been properly

considered. The whole philosophy of their indigenous knowledge system centres on the promotion of peace. Thus, the rationale behind this objective is that pastoralism is a peaceful venture and for Fulani to

achieve their social and economic goals, peaceful cohabitation must be ensured with their sedentary neighbours. This is the reason why the constant and perpetual farmers-herdsmen conflict needs to be revisited critically to find out its root causes. The conflict has ethnic, political and even religious underpinning that needs to be properly investigated. In the light of this Okepeh Okepeh(2017) has argued that;

What is however unique in recent years is the frequency, degree, nature and character of such disagreements, for example, recent surveys on these conflicts have indicated that they are no longer simple or normal, they have continued to defy peaceful resolution, they are more convoluted and complex, deep and violent, and above all protracted and intractable. The reason for these is simple: they have been hijacked by politicians and conflict entrepreneurs, who have not only criminalized them by involving their gang members and militias; but also politicized such conflicts by connecting them with the broader national question.

The fundamental question raised by most observers of the conflict is about the source of arms used by the so-called 'Fulani pastoralists'. Most people still wonder and ponder deeply on how could a Fulani that so much attached value to his precious cattle trade it for AK47. There are basically three categories of pastoral Fulani and no proper understanding of the farmers-herdsmen conflict could be done outside this classification. The first group believed that, a herdsman does not need Ak47 for his defence, because of availability of grazing land, if a particular place is not safe one is free to migrate to the other. Therefore, the purchase of AK47 for self-defence is a colossal wastage. This could be accepted considering the high cost of different weapons used in the conflict.

The two most commonly used arms are Ak47 which cost about ₦350,000 to ₦400,000 in Nigeria and locally made pump action gun sold at rate of ₦ 120,000 and ₦150,000 depending on the place of purchase. Paradoxically, a herdsman has to sell four (4) full grown bulls to possess one Ak47 or sold half of it (two bulls) to own locally made pump action gun. Moreover, for a bull to sell at ₦ 100,000 and above it has to be reared for the period of five to seven years. In this case, an average Fulani pastoralist always considered the amount of time, resources and energy invested on a livestock before taking it for sale to the market. Therefore, this group considered the exchange of cattle for Ak47 irrational and against the ethics of the herdsmen. At any rate, if at all bull must be sold; from indigenous knowledge perspective should be for immediate economic needs of the herdsmen, such as marriage, purchase of clothing, household equipments and medicine among several others.

The second groups are of the view that possession of arms is fundamental to their collective existence and survival in a state that cannot guarantee their security. Therefore, it is the role of individual and collective pastoralist groups to purchase arms for self-defence. In the light of this, it is not out of place to exchange livestock for SALWs. This category of herdsmen could be found in different parts of the country well-armed while grazing. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are violent and ready for confrontation. The SALWs are meant to ensure their security and minimize the level of threat that likely come from the farmers. Thus, one could not as well rule out the possibility of applying such arms in an event of little misunderstanding. Hence, the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) the main body responsible for the protection and promotion of the Fulani pastoralist interest, repeatedly disassociated itself with this armed group.

The next are those Fulani that neither owned cattle nor possessed the element *Palaako* culture. This class of people for different reasons were often used by some unpatriotic politicians to instigate farmers-herdsmen conflict. In fact, the basis of their recruitment into such conflict is their ethnic background and those at the helm of affairs in the country are Hausa-Fulani. In the light of this, such hoodlums were adequately sponsored and provided with heavy arms simply to ensure that the polity is ungovernable. Hence, such miscreants are not necessarily Nigerians, they could come from neighbouring countries and organised terror attacks with the aid of their fellow Nigerian accomplices.

REFERENCES

1. Daneji, A.J., & Ardo, G.V. (1991). In Gidado Tahir (Ed.) Education and Posteralism in Nigeria, A.B.U Zaria.
2. Abbas I.M. (2012). No Retreat, No Surrender: Conflict for Survival between Fulani Pastoralist and Fairness in N.N. European Scientific Journal & CD, 331-346.
3. Adebayo A.G. (1991). Of Man and Cattle: A Reconsideration of the Traditions of Origin of Pastoral Fulani of Nigeria; History of Africa, 18: 1-21, African Studies Association
4. Adebayo, A.G. (1995). Jangali: Fulani Pastoralists and Colonial Taxation in Northern Nigeria, International Journal of African Historical Studies, 28, (1), 113-150.
5. Ademola, P. (2006). 'Theories of Conflict' in S.G Best, Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa: Ibadan Spectrum Book
6. Ayokhai E.E. (2013). Natural Resource: Identify Politics and Violent Conflict in Post-Independence Nigeria, *African Journal of History and Culture*, 5(2), 32-40.
7. Carnochan J. (1967). 'The Coming of the Fulani, A. Bachama Oral Tradition', *Bulleting of the*

- School of Oriental and African Studies*. University of London, 30 622-633.
8. Catherine, V. (1991). Pulaaku: 'An Empowering Symbol Among the Pastoral Fulbe People in Nigeria' in Gidado Tahir (Ed.) Education and Posteralism in Nigeria, A.B.U Zaria.
 9. Ferguson, D.E. (1973). Nineteenth Century Hausaland Being a Description by Imam Imoru of Land, Economy and Society of His People, PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles
 10. Emeka, E. O. (2008) Climate Change, Population Drift and Violent Conflict over Land Resources in North-eastern Nigeria *J. Hum. Ecol.*, 23(4), 311-324".
 11. Etannibi, E.O. (2013). (ed) *Impact of Organised Crime on Governance in West Africa* Friedrich Ebert Stifund.
 12. Hopen C.E. (1958), *The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu*, International African Institute, Oxford University Press.
 13. Inuwa, M.M. (1993). 'The British Conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate and its Impact on the Livestock Trade', Being a paper presented at the International Seminar on the Sokoto Caliphate and the Europeans C.1890-1906 A.D Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria, 11th -13th February.
 14. Jibril, A. (1991) 'The Evolution of Nomadic Education Policy in Nigeria' in Gidado Tahir (Ed.) Education and Posteralism in Nigeria, A.B.U Zaria: 1-6.
 15. John, G. (2003). 'Pastoralists and Poverty', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 44 No. 1, Pp 185-187, Cambridge University Press
 16. Layman, P.M.G. (2007). *Organised Crime* (4thed.) Prentice-Hall: Person Education Inc.
 17. Mathew, D. T. (2004). "Political Ecology and the Moral Dimensions of "Resource Conflicts": The Case of Famer-Herder Conflicts in the Sahel *Political Geography* 23(2004) 863-889 www.elsevier.com/locate/polgeo.
 18. Mayowa, J.F., & Omojola, A.S. (2005). 'Climate Change, Human Security and Communal Clashes in Nigeria: Human Security and Climate Change': An International Workshop; Helmon Fjord Hotel, Asker near Oslo, 21-23-June
 19. Nick Brook. (2007). Cultural Heritage and Conflict: The Threatened Archaeology of Western Sahara *Journal of North African Studies*, <http://www.tandfonline.com/lio/fnas20>.
 20. Obaje, P. (2016). "The Nigerian War that has Slaughtered more people than Boko Haram: The daily Beast.com//articles/2016103/11/the Nigerian-war-that-slaughtered=more-people-than-boko-haram.html."
 21. Office of the National Security Adviser (2014) "Final Report of the International Conference on Security and Development Challenges of Pastoralist in West and Central Africa, June.
 22. Ofuoku, A.A., & Isife, B.I. (2010). Causes, Effects and Resolution of Farmers-Nomadic Cattle Herders Conflict in Delta State, Nigeria, *Agricultural Tropical EtSAub-Tropica*, 43(1).
 23. Ofuoku, A.U. (2009). The Role of Community Development Committees in Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Central Agricultural *Journal of Rural Studies* (1) RS), Vol 16 No. 1, April Pp 1-10
 24. Okoli A.G. and Okpaleke F. (2014). Banditry and Crisis of Public Safety in Nigeria. *Issues in National Security Strategies: European Scientific Journal* 10(4) Pp. 350-626.
 25. Okoli, A.C., & Atelhe, G.A. (2014). 'Nomads against Natives: A Political Ecology of Herders/Farmers Conflicts in Nassarawa State, Nigeria' *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* (2), Pp. 76-88.
 26. Al-Chukwan, O. (2017). Cow Cash and Terror: How Cattle Rustling Proceeds Fuel B.H. Insurgency in Nigeria"
 27. Okoli, A. C. (2016). The Trajectories and Dynamics of Herdsmen Militancy in Central Nigeria. *Journal of Humanities and Social Policy*, 2(1), 22-30.
 28. Patrick C. E., & Anna – Maria. (2005). *Theories of Conflict and Approaches to Conflict Prevention*, Brillleiden, Boston.
 29. Paul, E. L., & Stephen, B. (2007). 'The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan *International Journal of Historical Studies*', 8 (4), 551-581.
 30. Abdullahi, A. (2017). Oral International age 60, Kalambaina Area, Wamakko Local Government Area, Sokoto State.
 31. Abdullahi, I. (2017). Oral Interview, 62 years, Sokoto .
 32. Alhaji, D. (2017). Oral Interview, 52 years, Kalambaina Area, Wamakko Local Government, Sokoto State.
 33. Bello, A. (2017). Oral Interview, GidanIgwai Sokoto, Age 65.
 34. Ibrahim, S. F. K. (2017). Oral Interview, 62years Kalambaina, Wamakko Local Government, Sokoto State.
 35. Musa, A. (2017). Oral Interview age 63, GidanIgwai Area, Sokoto North Local Government, Sokoto State.
 36. Umar, I. (2017). Age 60 GidanSandan Oral Interview Sokoto.