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## **Fulani Herdsmen and Communal Clashes in Nigeria: Issues and Solutions**

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### **Abstract**

The objective of this paper is threefold; to highlight the culture of nomadism, the issues of competing resources that have led to communal clashes and finally to proffer solutions for developing the livestock industry. The Fulani tribes are principally nomads that rear cattle, sheep and goats as their occupation and culture. However, the socio-economic and ecological activities which have taken place in the grazing regions have constrained nomadic pastoralism, with enormous pressure on its related resources. The pressure from these activities restricted the capacity of the nomadic Fulani to provide pasture and water for their animals. The dwindling capacity of the available pasture land coupled with the lack of knowledge by the herdsmen to increase it, resulted in southwards migration of the nomads in search of pasture and water. This movement south often brought the Fulani into communal clashes with farmers. Considering the diversity of use to which the resources are allocated in modern day Nigeria, the practice of nomadic pastoralism is not a sustainable livestock strategy for the industry development. An agenda for addressing the under development of the livestock industry is being canvassed and stakeholders must commit to successful transition to modern livestock industry, to end livestock related communal clashes.

**Keywords:** Communal clash, Conflict, Fulani, Herdsmen, Livestock development, Nigeria.

### **Introduction**

The problem of communal clashes can be linked to the under development of Nigeria's livestock industry. The livestock industry particularly pastoral farming currently is left mainly in the hands of the Fulani nomads who apart from just herding the stock have little or no scientific capacity to maintain or improve the pasture and the land. The primary objective of this paper is to discuss how to improve the livestock industry. The assumption is that the process of improving the industry will address the issues of resource deficiencies, management and communal clashes. The approach adopted in the study is to bring together knowledge based on experience in animal husbandry and the literature on the various aspects of livestock and pasture management.

Pastoralism is a livestock farming method usually carried out in places with low to medium human population densities and the presence of extensive grasslands, usually in semi-arid regions. Pastoralism often exists in complex relationships with crop farming and, most times never develops because of the pressure it puts on the limited natural resource. The Fulani tribes are known for livestock herding and have a long history of pastoralism spanning centuries. To be a Fulani means to be a cattle owner, but due to the increasing hardships, famine, drought and poverty, many of them no longer own cattle. However, a majority of them are still involved in hobby husbandry with few cattle, sheep or goats. Often times those that do not own any animals will herd for owners (Modibbo 2011).

Caring for the livestock has become harder and involves longer seasonal movement in a bid to provide feed and water for the animals. The effort to make pasture and water available for the livestock has created rivalry and unpleasant relationships between the nomadic herders

and the sedentary farmers. According to Furber (1997), the issue of communal clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and the sedentary farmers is not new, so is the case with the communities in Central and southern Nigeria. The worrying trend now is the frequency, the spread and the sophistication the conflicts have assumed. In the Nigeria newspapers, headlines and story lines such as “Rampaging Fulani herdsmen have attacked and razed down two densely populated settlements – Suwa and Burukutu – in Lamurde local government area of Adamawa State”, “Rampaging Fulani herdsmen have reportedly killed 81 people in Benue State over the past two weeks”, “Seminarian, others feared dead as Fulani herdsmen attack Enugu community” or “Fulani herdsmen kill villager in Ekiti State”. These news items as depressing as they sound, highlighted the spread of the conflict. Nigerians have developed varying perspectives as to the cause and motive of the people, particularly the Fulani involved in the conflict. Political and ethnic reasons have been attributed for the scope and the nature of the conflict, more so when the national government appeared to be handicapped or refused to take immediate action to stop the clashes. Even the Fulani herdsmen were seen with assault rifles herding their cattle in the conflict communities. While the social economic fallout of the conflicts and the resultant clashes is concerning, it is important to understand the root cause of the problem, otherwise it will be difficult to proffer lasting solutions to the problem and also develop the Nigeria livestock industry.

### ***The Fulani and why they are always on the move***

The migration of the Fulani can be traced from the Middle East and Northern Africa. Although involved in many trades, the Fulani were traditionally mainly nomadic pastoralists, herding cattle, goats and sheep across the vast dry hinterlands of their domain, keeping somewhat separate from the local agricultural populations. The Fulani form the largest pastoral nomadic group in the world (Anter, 2011). While there are sedentary Fulani involved in a ‘settle-down’ agriculture, pastoral nomadism often defines the Fulani people and influences their behaviours. Nomads are a group of individuals with no permanent home or address and move from place to place according to pastoral convenience. Pastoral farmers are those that raise livestock. Therefore a nomadic pastoralist is a livestock farmer that moves from place to place with the animals. Sleight (2011) noted that the characteristics of pastoral farming are unique to the culture where the farming occurs. Therefore ongoing movement has become a part of the culture of the Fulani nomads and how they take care of their livestock.

While this paper is not concerned with detailed history of the Fulani, it throws some light into their lifestyle. The nomadic lifestyle can be attributed to the wide disperse of the Fulani people across many nations in Africa including Nigeria, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Gambia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Niger, Togo, the Central African Republic, Ghana, Liberia, and as far as Sudan (Anter 2011). This history is supportive of the notion that the Fulani as nomad were enculturated by geography and occupation to be on the move always according to seasonal exigencies. As such, continuous movement has become their way of life and cultural identity.

The economic interest of the Fulani compound their nomadism in the present day. As a people that depend on pastoral farming, the seasonal effect of the weather determines where and how they graze their livestock. This seasonal variation in weather is mainly responsible for the continuous to and fro movement of the Fulani herdsmen. Further to the seasonal weather variation is the increasing desertification of northern Nigeria. Nigeria as a country south of the Sahara desert is facing rapid desert encroachment. While desertification as a threat to human existence is a product of both natural cause and human mismanagement of natural resources

particularly land, the inaction or ineffectiveness of government and other concerned authorities have led to the diminishing of productive land and other natural resources southwards (Omofonmwan & Osa-Edoh 2008).

According to Jaiyeoba, (2002) desertification is evident in 15 States of Nigeria, and about 20% of the Nigeria land has been encroached by the desert despite the problem being first reported in the 1920s. Exacerbating the desertification of northern Nigeria is the global warming. Medugu (2011); Olagunju (2015) noted that arid and semi-arid areas in northern Nigeria are becoming drier, droughts are getting worse and climate uncertainty is growing unprecedentedly and has become a threat to food security and a cursor for communal clashes.

Furthermore, the maintenance of pasture land by the Fulani is poor. Concerted effort at improving and managing the pasture land was given little or no attention. Sowing of pasture, fertilizing, and sustainable grazing regime were rarely considered, with the result that the pastures are grazed to the extent of not being able to regenerate properly, the soil is compacted and predisposed to the vagaries of weather. The result of the mismanagement of pasture land according to Dosu (2011), was that cattle are being restricted to smaller grazing areas which increases complete depletion of that area's soil nutrients. The mismanagement also encouraged more frequent movement of livestock southwards in search for pasture and water.

### **Causes of Fulani conflict with other farmers southward**

To create a fair understanding of the cause of the conflicts, it is important that an elementary expression of the theory of conflict be made. Conflict theory states that tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status, and power are unevenly distributed between groups in a society and that these conflicts become the engine for social change (Cole 2016). The unevenness in the distribution of resources, status, and power between groups in a society, whether by nature, human interference or cohesion is the core reason for conflict. Relating the theory to the cause of the Fulani herdsmen conflict with their neighbouring communities, the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (2013) stated that the Fulani are always conscious of the fact that they are a minority and their host community could be antagonistic towards them at any point in time. These are experiences they have carried all along in their life as a survival strategy. The main concern of the Fulani, particularly the herdsmen is to keep their cattle in good condition no matter how vulnerable they as the herders may be. The cattle Fulani is by no means a colonizer, but a servant of his cattle.

When Cole (2016) conflict theory and some of the assumptions of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (2013) about the Fulani are married, one could almost conclude that conflict between the pastoralist of Fulani extraction and the communities southward of the country will continue unabated if the government cannot do anything to significantly change the current situation. The pressure on the resource the herdsmen rely on is even greater into the future, with climate change and desertification effects affecting the Sahel area where pastoralism is practiced. As the Fulani cannot afford to watch their cattle die, armed with weapons to protect their livestock, they can travel hundreds of kilometres with their cattle in search of pasture (Mikailu 2016). They often migrate southward for greener pasture with their flock thus creating pressure on the resources of any of the communities where they move their livestock into for grazing. This migration southward brings the herdsmen in contact/confrontation with the local farmers over the use of essential resources such as farmland, grazing areas and water.

Until recently, the conflict and the subsequent clashes were confined to the North Central zone of Nigeria pitching the Berom farming community in Plateau state against the nomadic herders but had since spread to the North Central state of Benue, South East state of Enugu, South-South state of Delta and South West states of Oyo, Ondo and Ekiti resulting in loss of lives and properties. The massacre of some hundreds of people, destruction of properties and thousands of people internally displaced have become a usual occurrence in the affected communities. According to Mikailu (2016), the continued effect of climate change on pasture lands also forced the Fulani herdsmen to move further southward in search of grass and water and has widened the scope of the conflict with deadly incidents increasingly reported in southern parts of the country, raising fears that the violence could threaten the fragile unity that exists among Nigeria's diverse ethnic groups.

### **Minimising the conflict/clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers southward**

The clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and the various communities on the North Central and southern part of Nigeria, are devastating and at the same time an opportunity to transform the livestock industry. The Federal and some of the State governments have taken some steps toward solving the problem. The affected States set up mechanism to counter the menace of the herdsmen while the Federal government ordered security chiefs to hunt down those who perpetrated the attack on farmers. The Federal government also planned to import grass from Brazil to increase pasture availability for the livestock. Furthermore, Vanguard (2016) reported that the Nigerian Army would be raising up cattle ranches in such a manner that in almost all the divisions, and the brigades, cattle will be reared. This proposition by the military hierarchy is good but very sensitive with perceived meaning that has ambiguous interpretation for the concerned parties. In the civil parlance, medical/biomedical, water sanitation, transportation, telecommunication designs and engineering will rate higher if military expertise is to be deployed to help the society. Cattle rearing in peace time is the least expected activity to be engaged in by the Army. On these premises, the proposition raised questions that beg answers; such as whether the proposition was a political statement that will not be followed up or is the Army with Fulani leadership planning to recruit the Fulani herdsmen into the military for cattle herding purpose with a view to subjugate the southward farmers and their resources. Other questions include whether the military has the skilled personnel, time and other resources to carry out herding and for how long.

The measures suggested by the various governments and authorities are good but are stopgaps, too shallow to address the problem. The military involvement in cattle rearing could flare up tension and possibly sabotage the fragile peace in the country due to suspicion of intention. However, at best these measures by government will provide a respite but the problem will linger. A more holistic approach is required such that addresses the issues of nomadic culture, resource limitation and livestock industry development. An approach that addresses all the important areas that cause the conflicts is required and should be multi-disciplinary and integrated. The sedentary Fulani leaders, the governments, universities, research institutions, financial institutions and non-governmental agencies (NGOs) must be involved in varying capacity to bring an end to the nomad and farming community clashes and develop the livestock industry.

The government, particularly the Federal Government of Nigeria, must take a lead role in the process. The need for dialogue amongst the herdsmen or their leaders, the Fulani elders, the representative of the concerned southward States and other stakeholders in the livestock

industry is important. An unbiased leadership is very important for trust and building of consensus amongst all the concerned individuals/communities. It is only in an environment of mutual trust that useful and positive discussions can lead to government formulation of blueprints and the associated policies to address communal clashes and develop the livestock industry. This paper suggests some approaches when applied as a whole (integrated) will minimise the clashes.

### ***Acculturation of the Fulani nomads***

The need to change the way of life of the Fulani herdsmen is inevitable and must be done with great tact and conviction that it will result in better future for the herders. The role of education in the process cannot be overstated. Nomadic pastoralism cannot guarantee a better life for the Fulani herders, it is not sustainable and it is a misuse/abuse of natural resource management. Acculturation of the Fulani nomads out of nomadism must be encouraged. Cultural re-orientation on the need to live a sedentary/settled life, do their husbandry in a manner that confines their business to designated or acquired area must be encouraged. The roles of government, the Fulani leaders and NGOs are very important, for creating awareness and enlightenment on the unsustainability of nomadism and nomadic pastoralism in the context of modern day livestock production and efficient utilisation of natural resources. The Fulani elders/leaders in the society, corporate and government establishments must take the lead in the acculturation process. The Fulani elders/leaders have a better understanding of the culture and their people. They are respected as leaders and their words will be impactful on the herdsmen when they are the bearers of the acculturation message and the manager of the process.

### ***Change in land ownership and management***

The government through its Land Use Decree of 1978 prescribed land ownership, management and control. Some of the objectives of the Decree were to facilitate rapid economic and social transformation of the country through a rationalization of land use, remove the main cause of social and economic inequality and provide an incentive to development by providing easy access to land for the State and the people. Currently, the local governments by law can grant customary rights of occupancy to individuals or organisations for agricultural, residential and other purposes. However such right for grazing purpose is limited to 5,000 hectare.

The government through changes to land ownership and management system can create grazing lands for livestock production and pasture management. The need for officially designated grazing lands across the country is expedient from an effective resource use and management viewpoint. A change to the Land Use decree that includes creating a committee of government at all levels, expert pastoralists and crop and natural resource scientists will be needful. The committee responsibility should include identification and mapping of pasture lands throughout the federation, ensures development and maintenance of pasture lands by users – government, corporate or individual farmers, ensures maximum land capacity utilisation and care, monitors and evaluates pastoral land practices and sanction any abuses. Under the proposed change, the local government powers to grant customary rights of occupancy to individuals or organisations for pasture land should be revoked and vested in the State government and the limit of 5,000 hectare for grazing land expunged. The basis for the change from a big picture perspective is to be able to maximise the pasture land, develop it, improve the livestock industry and minimise pastoral related communal clashes with crop farmers.

### ***Housing and security of the Fulani family and their livestock***

Currently, the nomadic Fulani have two major types of settlements: dry-season and wet-season camps. The dry season lasts from about November to March, the wet season from about March to the end of October. Though their households are patrilocal, they range in size from one nuclear family to more than one hundred people (Anter 2011). For nomads such as the Fulbe nomadic people, their value is anchored on the ability to uphold their cultural heritage (Daramola 2007). For example herding is more of a culture than vocation, a loss of cattle therefore is a loss of identity. As such, the Fulbe nomads hold assiduously to their cultural values and identity whether it is human or non-human aspects of the culture including housing. So the nomads will maintain their tent structure in order to keep their cultural identity. However, study has found positive developments amidst the nomadic homestead in enhancing improved living conditions.

The change in reasoning and the disposition of the nomads towards sedentary lifestyle is now appealing. The desire of the nomads to become sedentary is clearly being influenced by the level of enlightenment, incessant conflict with their host communities, ongoing global warming as manifested in desert encroachment as well as the rapid growth in population that has reduced the area of 'free grazing land' (Daramola 2007). The challenge is to propose a housing strategy that will accommodate the cultural attachment the Fulani has for tent-like building. This culture must be incorporated in the study to investigate the housing for the nomads. Apart from housing proposition for the Fulani herders, the livestock shelters must be included in the discussion for comfort and security.

In a pastoral environment, crime can increase due to the isolation and ease of access to farms and the high value of the livestock. Pastoral farming as is being prescribed in this paper, will be prone to high risk of theft as owners may not reside on the farms. Furthermore, stress resulting from improper livestock housing, temperature, humidity, light and sound affect growth rate because of the negative effects they have on feed conversion and utilisation. These affect the quality of the animals, and the market value becomes low due to poor meat or meat cuts quality. This translates into lower price and lower revenue to the value chain. All the issues associated with the housing and handling of livestock must be given scientific consideration. Investigation on how best to house and confine the livestock for safety to vehicular and pedestrian movement and theft prevention must be conducted.

According to Farmstyle Australia, increased value of livestock will lead to increase in livestock theft. Further to this assumption, the economic situation currently in Nigeria will exacerbate the incidence of livestock theft if appropriate prevention measures are not sorted and implemented. Livestock theft prevention studies must provide ways to correctly identify every livestock irrespective of the location of production and consumption. Farmstyle Australia (n.d.) recommended national livestock identification mechanism that assign all livestock particular the four legged ruminants with a unique identification mark or number. Apart from insurance, other theft prevention measures worthy of investigation include keeping accurate stock records of births, deaths and sales for each class of livestock and ranch access prevention or delay measures to limit unauthorised persons entrance. The role of dogs in livestock management and security can also be investigated as they are used in pastoral farming in developed countries.

### ***Formation of co-operative society***

Encouraging the herders to form themselves into a co-operative society will create socioeconomic benefits for the Fulani. The benefits that co-operatives offer to farmers who as

small business operators lack the ability to manage their business in a manner that creates maximum return cannot be overstated (The Conversation 2014). According to Obidike (2011), lack of knowledge, incorrect or untimely information, inadequate financial power and misuse or abuse of natural resources are some of the characteristics of primitive groups that can be bridged with the concept of co-operative society development and management.

Nomadism is anti-educational, it does not support literacy, so it was not a surprise that there is a very low literacy level among the Fulani. Iro (n.d.) surveyed 1,998 pastoral Fulani and found that more than half of them have Koranic education, 40% have no education, and only seven percent have either formal or both mainstream and Koranic education. While government introduction of nomadic education is commendable, it has failed to meet the supposed objectives of bridging the literacy gap between the Fulani and rest of the society, harnessing the potentials of the Fulani or raising their living standard in the community. The National Commission for Nomadic Education should be scrapped as many Fulani have not sincerely embraced nomadic education. Mobility, lack of funds, faulty curriculum design, and dependence on juvenile labour are some of the causes of paltry participation of the Fulani in nomadic schooling (Iro n.d.).

An adult learning model that enables knowledge acquisition in business, political and community management should be encouraged. Government and other development agencies should encourage the concept of co-operatives and provide access to technical resources. The Fulani should be encouraged to form themselves into a co-operative society - a group of voluntary herdsmen who will jointly carry out the livestock business for their socioeconomic interests often in a sustainable manner, on the basis of self-help and mutual assistance, and are registered under a law or statute (Ogbeide 2015a). One of the advantages is that as a body set up by law and well regulated, it will have a good support framework and network for easy access to funding sources, technical information and leadership skill development.

The formation of livestock co-operatives will represent the root of collective organization and the nucleus of both pastoralism and the attendant local community. One possible outcome is that the restructuring of the livestock business into co-operative will free some of the non-owner herders and their little family to be rehabilitated for sedentary lifestyle and education. Achieving these co-operative objectives for the Fulani should be encouraged. As there are serious resource handicaps affecting pastoral farming, pooling resources together amongst the nomadic pastoral farmers in conjunction with the infrastructural assistance from government and other stakeholders will make for better learning, development and growth. In aggregate terms, the co-operatives will encourage and support the development of ranch and other types of located pastoralism, and settled community.

### ***The role of the universities and research institutions***

The universities and research institutions will play a critical role in solving the problems of nomadism, communal clashes and the development of sedentary pastoralism. Academic disciplines such as sociology, psychology, resource management, soil science, pasture science, irrigation and water management, breeding and genetics, and business management will be vital in the process. Areas of primary research interest must include acculturation, livestock improvement, land, pasture and grazing management. A possibility is that most of the required studies have been conducted by some universities and research institutions piece-meal and will need to be consolidated to proffer solutions to the nomadic Fulani clashes occurring with their



southwards neighbours. If the reverse is the case, targeted studies aimed at solving the problem must be carried out.

***Changing the nomadic culture.*** Knowledge and learning how best to change the nomadic lifestyles of the Fulani into sedentary ones should be the responsibilities of the sociologists and psychologists to investigate. These disciplines must be able to investigate what the human and non-human environments meant to the Fulani, their implication on modern living, means of livelihood and the social changes that are occurring within and between their neighbourhoods. A fair understanding of the mechanics of the relationship existent in human and non-human environments of the Fulani and their neighbourhoods southwards will assist to provide applicable remedies that will bring about changes in the lifestyle of the Fulani nomads. This line of investigation follows the prescription of Latour (2004) and Law (1999). Latour (2004) noted that society should be seen through human and non-human elements and be assembled into a collective whole whose make-up can be described from natural, social, cultural, and technical perspectives. It is the interactions of the human and non-human variables that produce culture as specific kinds of public organisation of people and things (Law 1999). The sociologists and psychologists will be very useful in understanding the human and non-human environments of the Fulani and how best it can be changed to make for better sedentary pastoral and human environment.

***Land, pasture and grazing management.*** The primary reason why the Fulani herders and the southwards farmers clash is the need for the former to feed their livestock. A strategic approach to solving this problem will go a long way to minimise or eradicate grazing related communal clashes. Good grazing and pasture management is vital to livestock and land productivity. Good management ensures that pasture, either native or improved, is available to the ruminant animals year-round, and for the soil to remain healthy. This is an area that requires the expertise of plant and animal breeders, pasture scientists and agronomists, soil scientists, irrigation engineers and climate scientists.

Pasture production and management must be given the priority it deserves. What types of grass, legume or grass/legume mixture should be cultivated, at what point harvesting should be done to maximise the crude protein, phosphorus, calcium and magnesium contents. According to Ogbeide (2015b), a proper understanding of how and when nutrients are accumulated in pasture for optimum feed gain is vital to pastoralism. Hence the works of pasture scientist/agronomist are important for pasture selection, introduction and improvement of existing and adaptable grass and legume species.

Better management of pasture according to weather/season must be studied. Agricultural waste from the cultivation of grass crops is useful for livestock production. Although these crops are currently used for feeding animals, how much feed is available from that source has not been estimated, so is the amount of waste from the source undetermined. Nigeria's 2016-17 wheat area and production was estimated at 60,000 hectares and 60,000 tonnes respectively (USDA 2016). The post-harvest remains of wheat can be a source of feed - hay for ranches. There are other local grasses that can be studied for their benefits as a rich source of crude protein for ruminant animals. It's useful to understand the growth characteristics of pasture, local or exotic and how it responds to grazing, identify the stocking rate per hectare for the different pasture types and appropriate grazing strategies, such as rotational grazing throughout the year and efficient use of rainfall and other water sources.

Good grazing management investigation must include solving the challenge of balancing pasture biomass (quantity) and stock numbers so that the condition of the soil is not

compromised. According to Department of Environment and Resource Management (2011), over-grazing due to too many animals grazed on a pasture or prolonged grazing, particularly at critical stages of pasture growth results in severe degradation of pasture and soil. So it is essential for pasture health to understand how to manage grazing frequency and intensity.

In the earlier part of this paper, mention was made that climate change, desertification and inappropriate land use are some of the reasons why the livestock stocking capacity has become too low to sustain grazing and as a result the land produced poor quality pasture, lost its ability to grow and sustain pasture and has been eroded by wind. Land degradation may be irreversible or expensive to rehabilitate, and has a major impact on the biodiversity and productivity of the land. Therefore this component of the whole strategy must be researched to determine the extent of damage, how to stop further damage and improve the land.

The study by Department of Environment and Resource Management (2011) had indicated the best ways to improve pasture quality is dependent on the land type, climate and land condition. The land condition comprised of the soil, pasture and woodland conditions and the study noted that where soil condition is good, the soil absorbs and stores rainwater, stores and cycles nutrients, provides habitat for seed germination and plant growth thus preventing erosion. A good pasture condition encourages pasture capture of solar energy, efficient use of rainwater, conserves soil condition and cycles nutrients. A good woodland condition enables pasture growth, cycles nutrients and regulates groundwater. All these land conditions must be investigated to ascertain the quality and the carrying potentials of the pasture land.

***Extension service and agent.*** The role of the extension service and agents will be crucial to the success of the strategy. The majority of Fulani nomads are not educated; the processes, practices and the procedures of the changes to be introduced are far above what their native intelligence can comprehend. The extension services that include the use of mass campaign to create awareness will be crucial. Personal contact with the extension agents will serve the purpose of helping the Fulani to gain understanding and knowledge of the new methods of rearing livestock and way of life that will evolve with it. Practical demonstration, training of cell leaders and training the trainers will be some important approaches to quickly and easily extend the complex knowledge of ranch or sedentary pastoralism to the Fulani.

## Conclusion

The incessant conflicts and clashes between the Fulani and their southward neighbours, as ugly as they are, is a call for action. The conflict is an indication that the government had neglected the development of that sub sector of agriculture and the practitioners. The current situation is an opportunity for government through the relevant ministries, the Fulani leaders, NGOs and other stakeholders, to act. The government at the centre must take action in a way that ensures the confidence of all parties to the conflicts and clashes. The cause of the problem is multidimensional and requires such an approach to provide solutions. The political will to confront the issue is needed and the process must be seen as developmental for national benefits. The role of educational campaigns is vital to create awareness and provide step by step information about what the government will do, is doing, how it is being done and how the benefits will be distributed must be communicated to all stakeholders.

The way and means prescribed in finding solutions to the communal clashes could create laggards. Not all the herdsmen will be able to follow through the changes required. Some of the Fulani could be uninterested in the process and be looking for alternative means of engaging in employment. Transition arrangement provisions must be put in place to support

those that will be affected by the suggested changes in pastoral husbandry. Some of the herders will have to be introduced and supported in their second choice job option instead of forcing them into any occupations.

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