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Instruction to Authors

Authors are required to send three hard copies of their original manuscripts typed on one side of the paper only, with wide margins on A4 size paper accompanied by an electronic copy on CD or flash drive. When submissions are however made online, there is no need for the CD or Flash drive. The journal strongly encourages online submissions. The title of the article should be concise and relevant to Political Science. This submission must include an Abstract that comprises of the background, objectives, concise statement of research problem, methods, results and policy recommendations. The abstract should not be more than 250 words in length.

The article itself must commence with introduction, statement of research problem, theoretical framework/empirical literature, methods, results, discussion, conclusion and recommendations. The total word count including the title and abstract should not be more than 8000 words in length. The texts should be typed using Times New Roman font with size 12-point double line spacing.

Tables and Statistical Analysis

Scientific papers must clearly indicate the procedures for deriving relevant statistical values and results and must provide standard and appropriate interpretations of these values and results. Tables and figures must be serially numbered with appropriate headings. Author are advised to critically review their works before submission as the decisions of the expert peer-reviewers are final in determining the acceptance of their articles for publication in the South-South Journal of Political Science.

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HERDERS-FARMERS CRISIS AND GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA: THE DIMENSIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES DISCOURSE

Ogbe, Henry Ejotubu

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

University of Delta, Agbor, Delta State, Nigeria

ogbetubu@yahoo.com

08136221533

Abstract

The paper attempted the examination of the dimensional insecurity imposed by the continuous violent clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. The study adopted a descriptive analytical method, which relied on secondary data that were generated from journals, newspapers, textbooks and legal documents as well as frustration-aggression theory. The paper revealed that continuous violent clashes/crises between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers have caused Nigerians and Nigeria states various dimensional insecurity threats, which are: Economic insecurity; food insecurity; health insecurity; environmental insecurity; personal insecurity, community insecurity and political insecurity. The paper also revealed the nature of herdsmen in the farming communities in Nigeria, the ethno-religious view of the herdsmen/farmers crisis in Nigeria and displayed some time-cases of herdsmen and farmers violent clashes from 2016 – 2020. The paper equally recommended among others Federal government should formulate and enforce a policy that will map-out possible grazing farming communities for the practice of crops rotation in which the cattle grazing will be possible symbiotic benefits since as noted by Ofem and Iyang (2014) that prior to this wanton and incessant killings by herdsmen there existed symbiotic relationship between the farmers and the herdsmen in terms of farmers gotten free organic manure/fertilizers from the cattle dung and protein from the cattle beefs, and dairy products, while the nomadic herdsmen relied on the farms produce for food. But the herdsmen by law should not be allowed to claim the ownership of such lands.

Keywords: Herders, Farmers, Migration, Crisis, Governance and Security Challenges

Introduction

Nigeria is a democratic country with a constitution that grants right to acquired and own immovable property in the country (Section 43 of 1999 constitution amended). Nigeria is situated in West Africa, and she has two seasons namely dry and wet (rainy), and these seasons support agricultural activities that provide chain of benefits in terms of food, employment and income, which constitute livelihood for both rural and urban dwellers in Nigeria. Land is an immovable property and it is one of the major environmental resources for production. Ogege (2018) asserts that people

derive their livelihood from land water and air depends on the location and settlement pattern. These environmental resources are relatively scarce due to climate change and population expansion.

Based on existing literature, the scarcity of these environmental resources particularly land and water have caused constant violent clashes between farmers and herdsmen in West Africa (Tonah, 2006; Krenil, 1999; Ofuoku and Isite, 2009). Prior to the beginning of the 20th century in West Africa, rearing of cattle were mostly common in Guinea, Sudan and Sahel Savannah belts in

which crops production was practiced only during the short rainy season on small scale, which empowers herders' cattle have access to a vast area of grassland for grazing (Ofuoko and Isife, 2009). They further noted that as time went on, with the use of irrigated farming system in the savannah belt of Nigeria and the increased withering of pasture during dry season occasioned less pasture for cattle grazing had caused southward transhumance of herdsmen with their cattle to the coastal zone in searching of pasture and water.

The transhumance of herdsmen with their flocks to the coastal zone has caused the constant violent clashes between Herdsmen and farmers across Nigeria due to the herdsmen landless living many lives and properties destroyed (Ahmed-Gamgum, 2018; Adeoye, 2017; Ofuoku & Isife, 2009). In Nigeria, most of the nomadic herdsmen do not own farmland but graze their cattle on host communities' farmlands (Awogbade, 1987). The nomadic herdsmen are not interested about land ownership because they are often migrating and before now they did observe highest ethical standards whereby the herded cattle were prevented from grazing on host communities farmers' crop (Nzeh, 2015). Hence, there existed symbiotic relationship between the nomadic herdsmen and the farmers in terms of farmers gotten free organic manure from the cattle dung and protein from the beefs, and diary product, while the nomadic herdsmen relied on the farm produce for food (Ofem and Inyang, 2014).

However, in the recent times records show that the enjoyed symbiotic relationship between the two parties has soured as a result of the constant violent clashes in several communities across the country due to among others the audacity (probably as they bear of the sophisticated weapons now) with which they shepherd their flocks to graze on available vegetation which the host communities protest against (Imo, 2017). The geographic spread of the wanton and incessant killings and massive displacement of farming communities have

spurred some scholars to researched on consequence of the continual violent clashes between the herdsmen and farmers in area of causes, demographic, effects on farmers' livelihood, resources sustainability, enactment of anti-grazing laws and security threat to corporate existence of Nigeria state (Ogbe, 2020; Daniel, Duru and Ojomoyela, 2018; Duru, 2018; Imo, 2017; Eyekpimi, 2016; Nzeh, 2015; Tanucha and Ifatimechim, 2009). Nevertheless, this paper tends to embark on analytical examination of dimensional security challenges emanated from the continual and geographical spread of violent clashes between farmers and herdsmen in Nigeria.

The Objective and Research Method of the Study

The study adopted a descriptive analytical method which relied on secondary method of data gathering and frustration-aggregation theory as theoretical framework of the study:

The paper examines the following:

- The dimensional insecurity imposed by the crisis between the farmers and the herdsmen in Nigeria
- The governance and leadership in ensuring citizens welfare
- The ethnic-religious views of the herdsmen and farmers crisis in Nigeria

Conceptual Clarity

Security:

The concept of security has been defined differently depends on the situation and the feeling of the people or nations find themselves, which have called for redefinition of security by various scholars and nations. This is why Brown (1977) asserted that redefining security has recently become something of a cottage industry. In attempt to x-ray the cause of redefining the concept of security, Dokubo (2010) noted that what driven scholars to challenged convention notion of security to call for redefinition of the concept to encompasses not only freedom from physical violence but to include material well

being of individual and environmental health of the planetary system was the multiple threats that defy military solutions. Hence, more efforts and concern are directed to redefining country's security policy agenda than the concept itself. For instance, the former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo contends that;

the primary objective of national security shall be to strengthen the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives to curtail instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth, and improve the welfare and well being and quality of life of every citizens (Tyoden, 2005)

Security as a concept is multi-dimensional in nature. Imobighe (1990) opines that security associate with freedom from danger or from threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest. Security has also been considered as man's primary and engaging concern of survival and protection; from the vagaries of nature, natural disasters and from the ill-intentions and misdeeds of his fellow men (Balogun, 2003). Considering security in a modern society, McNamara (1968) submits that in a modernizing society security means development that it is not military force, though it may include it. Security is development that also concerns the individual and groups and not just state alone. That is why Ogbe (2020) noted that security is a fundamental condition necessary for human existence, which can be applicable to nation existence because no human beings, no nation.

In a similar manner, section 14(b) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution as amended states that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government, by implication, the security of Nigerians is guaranteed by the government. However, the non-military sources of threat

such as the herdsmen and farmers crises have caused a lot of insecurity in Nigeria, which have as noted by Dokubo (2010) that multiple threats that defy military solutions have spurred the challenge of the convention notion of security by scholars as the freedom from physical violence to encompasses the material wellbeing individual and environmental health of the planetary system. The security challenges caused by the crises emanating from the herdsmen and farmers have provoked this paper to examine its dimensional insecurity in Nigeria.

Governance:

The term governance is associated with government as it refers to the activities of a government in a society. Olori (2015) opines that governance connotes decision making and exercising power over people either in villages, towns, states, countries and institutions. It is an exercise of authority by government for the common good. Governance is also seen as good government of society with a capacity for efficient problem solving and conflict resolution (Boeninger in Eboh, 2015). The assertions above in tandem with the section 14(b) of the 1999 Nigerian constitution as amended which states that the country and welfare of the people shall be primary purpose of government. Therefore, governance is basically concern with the administration of a society/state. Hence, effective and efficient administration cause and promote good governance in a state.

Governance and Leadership in Ensuring Citizens Welfare

Ninalowo (2005) governance is the whole executive or administrative functions of the state towards fulfilling the terms of social contract or constitutional obligations to the people. He further differentiates governance from government by saying that government is the position occupied or office of authority to administer the affairs of a state/country. Leadership is an essential element of

government for governance because if governance is the whole administrative functions of the state accomplish the term of social contract hence leadership is the lubricant that keep government in operations as a working machine without stiff for the attainment of the term of the social contract of the state. The provision among others security is embedded in the state social contract. Therefore Nigerian leadership particularly at the federal level has unable to halt the insecurity cost by the nomadic herdsmen in the country. Functionally, the essence of government and administration (governance) is to identify and offer solutions to the public needs (Nnaeto 2016). He noted that the critical assignment of the state is to protect both the state (by administrating it in tandem with the rule of the law) and citizens (by providing the basic needs of life) including recognizing and consulting them during policy actions that affect them.

Theoretical Framework

Frustration-aggression theory was propounded by Dollard John, Miller Neal, Doob Leonard, Mowerer Orval and Sears Robert in 1939. Miller Neal (1941) and Berkowitz Leonard (1969) further developed the theory. With this theory, scholars asserted that aggression is the outcome of blocking or frustrating a person's efforts to attain a goal (Friedman, Schustack, Murian, 2014). The pioneers of the theory noted that frustration always precedes aggression and aggression is the consequence of frustration (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowerer and Sears 1939).

Notably, two years thereafter, Miller (1941) and Sear (1941) came up with a reformulated hypothesis that suggested that frustration creates a need to respond and aggression is one possible outcome. The two aforesaid Scholars (Miller and Sear) further reformulated hypothesis which states that while frustration promotes a behaviour that may or may not aggressive, any aggressive behaviour is the result of frustration, making

frustration not sufficient but a necessary condition for aggression (Zillman, 1979). Considering the causes of violence, Dollard and his colleagues see frustration as the condition which exists when a goal-response suffer interference while aggression is seen as an act of whose goal-response is injury to an organism (Whistlinginthewind, 2020).

The application of frustration-aggression theory in this study is appropriate considering the militant attitude of the herdsmen towards their host farming communities and their environs. Militancy is the belief in utility of aggression and resort to it in pursuit of a group course (Okoh and Attelhe, 2014). The militancy of the herdsmen occurs due to resistant of farmers of the grazing of herded cattle by the herdsmen on their crops. The Fulani herdsmen careless about land ownership because are always migrate, which has been established as their culture before now, which they observed with highest ethical standard whereby the herded cattle were prevented from grazing on farmer's crops (Nzeh, 2015).

Currently, as observed, the herdsmen no longer observing the ethnical standard of preventing the grazing of their herds/cattle on farmers' crops and the protest for stoppage by the farmers over the grazing of their crops on their land have resulted in massive killing of them by the herdsmen. Looking at this violent clash between the herdsmen and farmers considering frustration-aggression theory is that; the farmers' crops produce is the source of their livelihood which they want to protect while the herdsmen due to among other factors, climate change which often bring about dryness of pasture need fresh pasture that is now available in the farmers' farmland for their herds/cattle to graze in order to sustain the cattle for their economic interest. Therefore, the resistant of the farmers through protest is considered and seen as frustration by the herdsmen. Considering the view of aforementioned scholars that aggression is the outcome of blocking or frustrating a person's

efforts to attain a goal (Friedman, Schustack, Mirian 2014), have led to series and continuous violent attacks and killing of farmers in farming communities and environs by herdsmen because: no more acceptance of compensation by farmers from the herdsmen due to destruction of farmlands and their crops; Anti-open grazing law by some states and blockage of grazed routes; cattle rustle and the audacity of the herdsmen in grazing farmers' crops/vegetations by the herdsmen have sparked repeatedly protest by the host farmers' farming communities, which have caused violent clashes between them that have wipe out many farming communities residents (Ogbe, 2020), which this study attempt to examine the dimensional security challenges the violent clashes brought about in Nigeria.

Literature Review

The Nature and Herdsmen in Farming Communities in Nigeria

The people called Fulani in Hausa language are Fula people, communicating with Fula Language and highly populated, largely spread and of various kinds of cultures in all of Africa but most predominate in West Africa and Northern part of central Africa, however, they are also found in Sudan and Egypt, and many of them having nomadic character in nature (Eyekpimi, 2016; Imo, 2017). Eyekpimi (2016) revealed that the main Fulani (Fulbe) sub-groups in Nigeria are; Fulbe Adamawa, FulbeMbororo, FulbeSokoto, FulbeGombe and FulbeBorgu. The National Population Commission (2006) regards the nomads/Herdsmen as migrants who move for the interest of their herds from one area to another in search of pasture. Adeoye (2017) agreed with Eyekpimi (2016) account that the (Pastoralists) Herdsmen predominate in West Africa, however Adeoye categorised them into two major groups; the fulbe or Fula as one group while the Shuwa, the Koyam, the Badawi the Buduma and the Dark Buzzu as second group. The Fulbe as revealed by some

scholar are originally from Senegambia and then dispersed across some states in West Africa, the Sahel, up to Western Sudan and the Central African Republic, and they are all people with a unitary culture (Blench, 1994; Shehu and Hassan, 1995; Blench, 2010; McGregor, 2014).

Adeoye (2017) noted that the Fulbe are found in 31 out of 36 state of Nigeria, but he did not identify the states. The second group as noted by Daramola (2007) and Adeoye (2008) are mostly found in the plain, on the shores of Lake Chad and around the semi-arid region of the Lake Chad. They noted that this category of herdsmen/pastoralists do isolate themselves from farmers, except their own people who cultivate either in river valleys or at the foot of dunes.

Ahmed-Gamgum (2018) also affirmed the existence of Herdsmen in West Africa, but the origin pre-date colonial era and pointed out that they are part of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria. He opined that Fulani herdsmen territory of origin in pre-colonial era was the Sahel and semi-arid areas of Futa-Jalon Mountains in West Africa, that they are culturally nomad livestock breeders. He supports the view that Herdsmen cause insecurity in Nigeria in context of Herdsmen and farmers crises, and he gave the genesis of herdsmen insecurity challenges in Nigeria as follow; firstly, when the Fulani people (i.e herdsmen) began to feel unprotected in their place of origin and began the search for solutions outside their original home(s), secondly, insecurity aroused amongst the indigene (Non-Fulani farming communities) when Fulani herdsmen arrived in their communities and engaged in activities attempt to dislodge the local communities.

Ahmed-Gamgum (2018) revealed that due to threat emanates from climate change and population growth and the herdsmen to move to the savannah and tropical forest of the Southern West Africa and far Northern Nigeria. The migration into far northern Nigeria date back to the 13th and 14th centuries,

and integrated with the Hausa and non-Hausa ethnic groups of the Middle-Belt after Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad especially during the dry season, and when the threat of Tsetse flies was reduced in the area(s). Imo (2017) agreed with others that the Herdsmen by nature are migrants who leave their traditional settlement in search of greener pasture for their cattle, as noted by Nzeh (2015), Herdsmen are not interested about land ownership because at all times migrating. He further noted that the Herdsmen had before now been observed with the highest ethical standards of preventing their herded cattle from grazing on crops. In Nigeria, as opined by Awogbade(1987) most herdsmen have no land but graze their cattle in host communities lands. Due to their landless, climate change, migrant culture, the Herdsmen did embark on seasonal movement from the north to the South but this practice has become an all season's affairs. Ofem and Inyang (2014) revealed that there existed before now symbiotic relationship between the Fulani herdsmen and Farmers in every new community they stopped over to have a rest in the farming communities, farmers did get free organic manure from the cattle dung and protein from the cattle's beefs, and dairy products, while the Herdsmen relied on the farm produce for food.

Historically, the fight between herdsmen and farmers has existed since the commencement of agriculture (Daramola, 2006; Tonah, 2006; Blanch, 2010; Abass, 2012), but Blench and Dendo (2003) opined that the widespread of Tsetse flies and low settlement densities kept the happening of clashes at a low progression until the 20th century. Adeoye (2017) revealed that in Nigeria and West Africa in general, the use and the availability of cheap trypanocides and other veterinary drugs have increased herds sizes to extent that the herdsmen were compelled to search for pastures outside their traditional ecological range. Consequently, the constant movement by the Herdsmen with their cattle due to environmental and improved

human health which have increased overall population caused pressure on arable land(s) by both Herdsmen and farmers, which as opined by vanguard Editorial(2018) and Adeoye (2017) has led the constant clashes between Herdsmen and farmers living many lives and properties destroyed across Nigeria.

However, the clash between Herdsmen and farmers began since the beginning of agriculture. In spite of the clashes in the early days, there was also a record of symbiotic relationship between them (Okoye, Obiorah & Nwoke, 2020; Ofen & Inyang, 2014). But recently as noted by Imo (2017) the presence of the Herdsmen and their cattle has provoked violent clashes in several communities across the country among others due to the audacity (probably as they bear sophisticated weapons now) with which they shepherd their flocks to graze on available vegetations which the host communities protest against. He further noted that the continual violent clashes have caused an unhealthy rivalry between farmers and Herdsmen leading to wiped out a large number of communities residents and those fortunate to escape have become refugees in other settlements. Hence, the media in Nigeria have reported cases between Herdsmen and residents of Plateau, Nassarawa, Kogi, Benue, Kastina, Kaduna, Kwara, Edo, Delta, Enugu, Abia, Taraba, Ondo, Oyo, Osun and many other states. Imo (2017) also revealed that this scenario of killings, has, often caused tribal, ethnic, religious, regional and political sentiment that threaten the corporate existence of Nigeria.

Some Time-cases of Herdsmen and Farmers clashes in Nigeria from 2016-2020

Date	State	Nature of destruction	Sources
February, 2016	Benue	40 more people were killed about 2,000 displace and not less than 100 seriously injured	Duru, 2016
March, 2016	Benue	Estimated 500 people were killed by rampaging Herdsmen across some communities	Premium times, March 12, 2016
April, 2016	Taraba	Two villages were attacked and 15 people were killed in Gashaka local government area (L.G.A)	Punch, April 13, 2016
April 19, 2016	Delta	23 persons allegedly killed in Benin-Asaba Express way. Police recovered 20 AK-47, 70 dane guns, 30 double-barrel guns and over 1,000 live ammunitions from the Herdsmen during this period	Eyekepimi, 2016
April, 2016	Oyo	Attacked some communities in Lagelu L.G.A of Ibadan at night, injured a guard and carted away valuables worth million	Thisday newspaper 26, 2016
April 2016	Enugu	Attacked seven villages and killed about 40 people in Uzo-Uwani L.G.A	Vanguard 26, 2016
June 2016	Delta	A 46 year old renowned farmer was shot by suspected Herdsmen in Ossissa community, Ndokwa East L.G.A	Punch 18 th , 2016
June, 2016	Benue	Some communities in Benue were attacked in the Logo L.G.A and 59 persons were killed by suspected Herdsmen	Punch 20 th 2016
August 2016	Enugu	Herdsmen over 50 armed with machetes disrupted the peace of Nigeria community of attakwu, Akegbe-Ugwu in Nkanu West L.G.A	Imo, 2017
September, 2016		A Catholic seminarian Lazarus Nwafor and four others severely injured	The Sun 4 th , 2016
October, 2016	Imo	Open fire on villagers who attempted to stop their cattle grazing their farmlands in Umuekune village of 'rete community Owerri west L.G.A. resulted stamped with two people injured	New Telegraphy, 5 th June, 2016
January 2017	Benue	Not less than 5 people dead and Nigèr several others injured at Okpokwn L.G.A	Newspaper on January 2017
January, 2017	Niger	Attacked two villages in Bosso L.G.A., at Least 6, 000 persons displaced and 9 people killed including a Police Inspector and	Daily Nigeria News, January 16 th , 2017.

The time-cases of herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria is endless because as reported by Duru (2018) who interviewed Benue tribal leaders noted that the killings by Herdsmen are still ongoing at the average of two persons per day, that although most of those killings are not being reported.

The Ethno-Religious view of the Herders-Farmers crisis in Nigeria

The clashes between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen have also be looked at by most Nigerians particularly from Middle Belt and Southern regions of the country as ethno-religious crisis. While reporting some Nigerians views by Nwanze (2018) on special features on security matters titled herdsmen/farmers clashes: preserving Nigeria's unity, Nwanze (2018) pointed out the following; The herdsmen intensify their attacks, slaughtering farmers and threatening more havoc on daily basis but the federal government failed to fully make a pronouncement or take decisive actions to stop the killings despite the public outcry persisted.

The careless attitude by the Federal government while the outcry persisted has made eminent citizens mostly from the Southern and Middle Belt Nigeria consider Mr. President Muhammadu Buhari led Federal Government taking side with his kinsmen as evident in his visit to Taraba state. Mr president was accused that since the rampaging killings in Benue, Nassarawa, Zamfara other states the President Buhari has not visited any of them but when few Fulani herdsmen of his kinsmen were attacked by militias in Mambilla, Plateau State and Sardauna Local government area, Taraba State, he then hastily visited. The visit by Mr. President ideally supposed to have been a sympathy visit to entire Taraba people by giving them sense of belonging and consolidate on the Nigeria unity but the reverse was the case, when he was noted claiming that "the crisis on the Mambilla, Plateau State and Sardauna Local government area, Taraba State had claimed more lives than that of the

herdsmen killings in Benue and Zamfara states", this comment shown some ethnic bias (Nwanze, 2018). He further reported that the accusers said "the President just told Nigerians where he belongs to, that President is specific about Mambilla killing because his kinsmen were involved".

Also, the Failure of Buhari administration to declared killers Fulani herdsmen as terrorists and persecute the Miyetti Allah Kauta Hore Fulani Socio-cultural Association that has allegedly incited genocide and ethnic cleansing of Benue people, particularly the Tiv race has been adjudged to be ethnic and religious bias (Duru, 2018; Nwanze, 2018). It has also be alleged by Ujege the representative of Benue tribal leaders that the leader of herdsmen, Miyetti Allah has used the Anti-open Grazing law in Benue, enacted by the state government as an excuse to justify what they called ethnic cleansing agenda in Benue (Duru, 2018). Also, the statement attributed to the defense minister, Mansur Dan-Ali that President Buhari asked states executing anti-open grazing law to stop henceforth, shown both the ministers and Mr. President championing the herdsmen's interest (Daniel, Ovuakporie Duru and Ojomoyela, 2018). President Buhari in America told the world that people responsible for the wanton killings in the Benue and other parts of the Middle Belt were Libyans who were armed by the late Gadhafi of Libya (Duru, 2018), which seen as wrong excuse for not protecting Nigerians from his kinsmen attacks on farmers in Nigeria.

The statement that have linked to the former Nigerian police Boss, the Inspector General of Police (IGP) Ibrahim Idris while was in that office, he said that the mass killings in Benue state was due to clash between Tiv people and herdsmen (Opeyemi in Ahmed-Gangum, 2018), and it was not necessary to go after the invaders to arrest and prosecute them, shows irresponsible and misleading then by directing the IGP by the President to relocate to Benue (Tori, 2018). In this insecurity situation,

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facilitate medical operations. Nigeria government is apart from health security for Nigerians as evident in Joint Health Sector Unions (JOHESU) and other health workers that do often embark on strike gr ground the Nigerian health sector for weeks or months. Therefore, the displaced people with injuries in provided internal displaced persons camps cannot access adequate health care. Hence, the crises cause human waste and it is escalated by lack of adequate medical care.

Environmental insecurity – This implies an environment that accommodates pollutants that are dangerous and deadly to humanity. Environmental insecurity among others ensures human beings breathe air that is polluted and the general public live in an unclean environments which promote unhealthy living. The violent clashes between herdsmen and the farmers, and the set ablaze on farming and other communities by herdsmen have caused environmental insecurity. For example, Umar (2018) noted that 8,570 houses were razed by herdsmen fire attacks in Nassarawa state. The Nassarawa state scenario would surely bring about air pollution in the areas. This attitude of set ablaze of communities by herdsmen happens across the country which cannot promote clean and healthy environment that would healthy living in the affected Nigerian communities. Therefore, there exist an environmental insecurity in Nigeria.

Personal insecurity – This refers inability of an individual to enjoys or exercise his/her fundamental freedom due to threat to life and property. This is because an environment where personal insecurity exist an individual is capable to exercise one's fundamental freedom without threat to life and property. Therefore personal insecurity does not ensured conduct of individual's daily activities in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility without hindrance. The crises ensued personal insecurity as evident amongst other the loss of 200 people in the southern district of Nassarawa state due to the said crisis (Umar, 2018), and the kidnapped

of his Royal Majesty, Sunday Olisewokwu the Monarch of Ogodor kingdom in Aniocha North L.G.A by herdsmen demanded 15 million naira for ransom (Ahon, 2018).

Community insecurity – This implies that there are immense and visible threats to lives and properties throughout the nation. It also means that rancor and instability is not devoid of a community atmosphere. Hence atmosphere where high casualty rate and massive displacement of communities (Gadzama, 2018) and 149 people killed due to farmer-herdsmen crisis in Plateau, Benue, Edo, Ebonyi and kogi States within the month of March, 2018 (WANEP, 2018) depicted existence of community insecurity in Nigeria.

Political insecurity –Political security ensues threat to democratic system and fundamental freedoms are dethroned and not guarantee throughout the polity. This is because political security is a time of stable democratic system where peace reigns in the body politics of a nation. But in Nigeria, due to the herdsmen and farmers crisis, the nation's democracy is threatened as result of politicization of the crisis by some politicians and other Nigerians. President Buhari has been accused of be insensitive to the wanton killings of Nigerians because he has refused directly and publicly condemn his kinsmen (Fulani herdsmen) and failed to arrest and prosecute them when invaded towns and villages (Ahmed Gamgum, 2018). Professor Hagher(2017) told Nigerians to regard President Buhari as a betrayal of democracy. In his words, Hagher told Buhari "you betrayed Nigeria's democracy and promote genocide". Even the increasing number of attacks by the herdsmen across the country without decisive actions on the attackers has made most Nigerians believed that president Buhari is supporting the Fulani herdsmen to continue attaching the non-Fulani communities (Ahmed- Gamgum, 2018). The insecurity caused by the mentioned crisis has large implication on the country's corporate existence as it has increased the rate of calling for restructuring of the country. For example,

Chief Nnia Nwado, the President General of Ohanaeze said that the Southerners and Middle-Belt regions will cast their in 2019 election vote for a presidential candidate who political part has restructuring in its manifesto (Agbo, 2018) Ahmed-Gamgum (2018) equally opined that state of insecurity in the country has raised discussion since 2016 on who should be voted into power and who should not be voted into power come 2019 election.

Conclusion

The continuous attacks on farmers in their farming communities and their environs by Fulani herdsmen due to farmers protest over the destructive grazing of farmers' farmlands and crops by the herds/cattle have resulted to unsecured Nigeria state for farmers and Nigerians in general. The protest and the blockage of grazing routes among others by the farmers have caused the Fulani herdsmen aggression which emanating from the frustration imposed by the farmers' resistant attitude. Hence the situation has spurred the herdsmen to adopted frustration-aggression attitude towards farmers in farming communities and their environs, which is one of the sources of security challenges in Nigeria today, due to the proliferation of small arms and ammunitions by the herdsmen. Dividends of democracy can never be enjoyed by citizens in an unsecured political environment (Abdurazak, 2015), and the continual violent clashes have plague Nigerians into insecurity and emotionally unsecured emanating from the examined dimensional security challenges as the aftermath of the violent clashes between the two battling group.

Recommendations

- i. Federal government should formulate and enforce a policy that will map-out possible grazing farming communities for the practice of crops rotation in which the cattle grazing will be possible symbiotic benefits since as noted by Ofem and Iyang (2014) that

prior to this wanton and incessant killings by herdsmen there existed symbiotic relationship between the farmers and the herdsmen in terms of farmers gotten free organic manure/fertilizers from the cattle dung and protein from the cattle beefs, and diary products, while the nomadic herdsmen relied on the farms produce for food. But the herdsmen by law should not be allowed to claim the ownership of such lands.

- ii. Nigerian government should be proactive in crisis prevention between the said two battling groups by enacting a law to mandate the cattle rearers association to establish ranches in a strategic location in which the cattle will be kept before sales.
- iii. Compensation law should be enacted by the federal government to specify parameters with which compensation for farmers crops or herdsmen livestock destroyed either by the herdsmen or those communities can be paid in case of destructions are recorded.

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