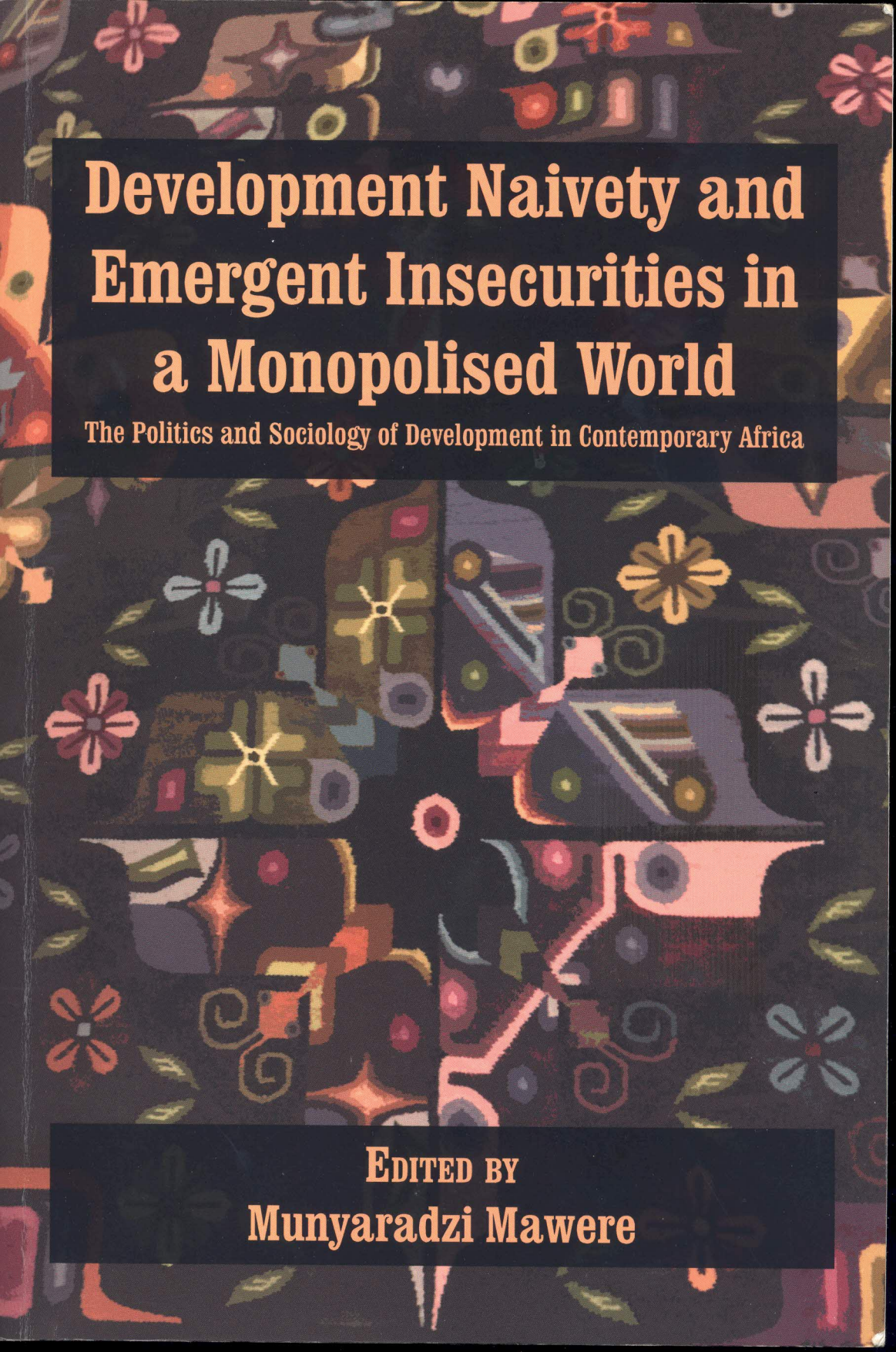




Development Naivety and Emergent Insecurities in a Monopolised World

The Politics and Sociology of Development in Contemporary Africa

**EDITED BY
Munyaradzi Mawere**

**Development Naivety and
Emergent Insecurities in a
Monopolised World:**
The Politics and Sociology of
Development in
Contemporary Africa

**Edited by
Munyaradzi Mawere**



*Langaa Research & Publishing CIG
Mankon, Bamenda*

Publisher

Langaa RPCIG
Langaa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group
P.O. Box 902 Mankon
Bamenda
North West Region
Cameroon
Langaagrp@gmail.com
www.langaa-rpcig.net

Distributed in and outside N. America by African Books Collective
orders@africanbookscollective.com
www.africanbookscollective.com

ISBN-10: 9956-550-98-1

ISBN-13: 978-9956-550-98-2

© Munyaradzi Mawere 2018

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, mechanical or electronic, including photocopying and recording, or be stored in any information storage or retrieval system, without written permission from the publisher

(2016); *Underdevelopment, Development and the Future of Africa* (2017), and *Theorising Development in Africa: Towards Building an African Framework of Development* (2017); *African Studies in the Academy: The Cornucopia of Theory, Praxis and Transformation in Africa?* (2017); *GMOs, Consumerism and the Global Politics of Biotechnology: Rethinking Food, Bodies and Identities in Africa's 21st Century* (2017); *Human Trafficking and Trauma in the Digital Era: The Ongoing Tragedy of the Trade in Refugees from Eritrea* (2017); *The Political Economy of Poverty, Vulnerability & Disaster Risk Management: Building Bridges of Resilience, Entrepreneurship and Development in Africa's 21st Century* (2018); and *Jostling Between "Mere Talk" and Blame Game? Beyond Africa's Poverty and Underdevelopment Game Talk* (2018).

Nkwazi Mhango is author of *Saa ya Ukombozi, Nyuma ya Pazia, Souls on Sale, Born with Voice, Africa Reunite or Perish, Africa's Best and Worst Presidents: How Imperialism Maintained Venal Regimes in Africa, Psalm of the Oppressed, Perpetual Search, Dependency: Can Africa Still Turn Things Around for the Better?* and *'Is It Global War on Terrorism' or Global War over Terra Africana?: The Ruse Imperial Powers Use to Occupy Africa Militarily for Economic Gains*; member of Writers' Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (WANL) St. John's NL Canada and is an alumnus of Universities of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) Winnipeg and Manitoba (Canada) majoring in Conflict Resolution and Peace and Conflict Studies and Law. Also, Mhango has contributed many chapters in various academic books.

Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri is a Senior Lecturer of History in the Department of Archaeology, Culture and Heritage, History and Development Studies at Great Zimbabwe University. He is a holder of a PhD in History from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. He has published a number of books and articles which focus on environmental history, socio-cultural dynamics, subaltern struggles, African border studies, and Zimbabwe's socio-political landscape during the colonial and post-colonial periods. In addition to reviewing a number of scholarly articles, he has also edited books such as *Resilience Amid Adversity: Informal Coping Mechanisms to the Zimbabwean Crisis during the New Millennium* (2016) and *Contested Spaces, Restrictive Mechanisms and Corridors of Opportunity: A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands and*

Beyond since the Colonial Period (2017). He is also a member of the editorial boards of international journals which include the *Zimbabwe Journal of Historical Studies* and the *International Journal of Developing Societies*.

Solomon Mutambara is a holder of a PhD in Environmental Science from the University of Botswana. He also holds a Master of Science in Safety Health and Environmental Management from Midlands State University in Zimbabwe, a Master of Science in Human Resources Management from the University of Zimbabwe and a B. A (Hons.) Geography from the Group Buckinghamshire University, United Kingdom as well as a Diploma in Project Management for Development Professionals. He has worked as a Consortium Team Leader for the Enhancing Community Resilience and Sustainability Programme Education/Training from July 2013 – October 2015. Currently, he is a team leader at Care International in the Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund's ECRAS (Enhancing Community Resilience and Sustainability) project aiming at building the resilient livelihoods for the rural communities, where he is responsible for the overall management in project planning, project implementation, research, monitoring and evaluation, stakeholder coordination, project reporting and staff supervision for the consortium of 3 International Non-Governmental Organisations. His research interest is on livelihoods resilience, sustainable agricultural/rural development, policy and capacity building of development agencies.

Odeigah, Theresa Nfam is a holder of a PhD in History; B.A Degree in History; M.A. (History), and Post Graduate Diploma in Education. She is a lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies at the University of Ilorin, Kwara State, Nigeria. She is an Economic Historian specialising in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. She has published widely in scholarly journals in the area of economic history.

Joseph Muroiwa is a Marketing Specialist with CARE International in Zimbabwe under the Zimbabwe Resilience Building Fund (ZRBF) supported Enhancing Community Resilience and Sustainability

(ECRAS) project. His roles and responsibilities involve identifying pro-poor value chains suitable for improving incomes for the marginalised rural communities as well as linking the farmers to inputs and output markets. He holds a Masters Degree in Strategic Management (Chinhoyi University of Technology) and a Bachelors Degree in Agricultural Economics from the University of Zimbabwe. Joseph is currently studying for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Agricultural Economics with the University of Fort Hare, South Africa. He has worked in Zimbabwe's agricultural private sector for more than 10 years as an Operations Manager responsible for implementing contract farming arrangements for smallholder farmers.

Andile Mayekiso holds a PhD in Social Anthropology obtained from the University of Cape Town. His thesis title: *'Ukuba yindoda kwelixesha'* ('To be a man in these times'): Fatherhood, marginality and forms of life among young men in Gugulethu, Cape Town. His thesis examines how young, marginalised men in Gugulethu, a poor township in Cape Town, formulate their conceptions of fatherhood and fathering, and understand their roles and involvement with their children. Andile worked as a project manager for a very large cohort study of an intervention in neighbourhoods of Khayelitsha and Mfuleni townships (Cape Town). This large randomized control trial focused on HIV & drug abuse prevention for South African men. Currently, Mayekiso is a lecturer at the University of Johannesburg in the department of Anthropology and Development Studies. He worked closely with researchers from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). In 2008, he joined the Children's Institute of UCT as a researcher to conduct ethnographic fieldwork of infants' born to HIV-positive mothers in Gugulethu Township.

Golden Maunganidze is a holds a Master of Arts Degree in Media and Society Studies from the Midlands State University (MSU) and several midcareer journalism courses from Germany. He is Edward R. Murrow fellow (2011) as well as 2016 Mandela Washington fellow and has won several awards in the past, which include The child reporter of the year from National Journalistic and Media Awards (NJAMA) in 2009 and National Integrity Award from Transparency

International Zimbabwe (TIZ). He has over ten years' experience working in the Zimbabwean media industry. He currently lectures in the Department of English and Media Studies at Great Zimbabwe University (GZU), where he teaches practical journalism courses. Before joining GZU, Maunganidze worked as a journalist and editor for various community newspapers in Masvingo, Zimbabwe.

Joseph Mupinga is currently researching for a PhD in Development Studies. He holds a Master's Degree in Educational Administration, Planning and Policy Studies from the Zimbabwe Open University. He also holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Education and a BSc (Hons) Degree in Politics and Administration from the University of Zimbabwe as well as several development related diplomas and certificates. He is the incumbent Provincial Head for Masvingo Province under the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development since 2006. He directs formulation, implementation, monitoring and monitoring and evaluation of government policies, programmes and projects for women empowerment, gender equality and community development. His research interests are but not limited to poverty, energy studies, women and poverty.

Kilibone Choeni is a lecturer in the Department of African Languages and Literature at Great Zimbabwe University. She is a holder of a Master's Degree in Tshivenda from the University of Venda and a Post-Graduate Diploma in Education from the Great Zimbabwe University. Her research interests are but not limited to culture, literature and onomastics.

Simeon Maravanyika is a holder of a PhD in African Environmental History from the University of Pretoria in South Africa. He is currently a lecturer in the Department of History, Archaeology and Development Studies, Simon Muzenda School of Arts, Culture and Heritage Studies, Great Zimbabwe University. His main research focus is commodity history, aspects natural resources management praxis, climate change and adaptation in Africa and soil conservation on white farms in the colonial period.

Silibaziso Mulea is a Temporary Full-Time lecturer of Tshivenda in the Department of African Languages and Literature at Great Zimbabwe University. She holds a Master's Degree in Tshivenda from the University of Venda as well as a Diploma in Education from United College of Education. She is currently a registered PhD candidate with the University of South Africa. Her research interests include but not limited to culture, Indigenous Knowledge Systems and onomastics.

Henry Chiwaura is currently a PhD Candidate in Culture and Heritage Tourism with the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He obtained his MA in Heritage Studies from the University of Zimbabwe. Chiwaura is an incumbent Lecturer in Archaeology, Museums and Heritage Studies at Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe. His research interests include, but not limited to, heritage management, museology and public archaeology.

Last Alfandika is a PhD Candidate in Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. His research interests are Media policy; media activism; alternative media; digital media studies and Cultural studies.

Tobias Marevesa is a New Testament lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, under the Joshua Nkomo School of Arts and Humanities at the Great Zimbabwe University where he teaches New Testament Studies and New Testament Greek. He is pursuing doctoral studies at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. His areas of interest are Bible and politics, Pentecostal expressions in Zimbabwean Christianity, culture, human rights, and gender-based violence. He has also published in the area of Bible and conflict-resolution in the Zimbabwean political landscape. He has attended and presented a number of papers in both regional and international conferences and has published articles in reputable international journals. He is a member of Reading Association of Nigeria (RAN), Association for the Study of Religion in Southern Africa (ASRSA), African Consortium for Law and Religion Studies (ACLARS), and International Consortium for Law

and Religion Studies (ICLARS). He is serving as an External Examiner in a few Teachers' Colleges in Zimbabwe.

Prosper Hellen Tlou received her Master of Arts with Bachelor of Arts Honours from the University of Venda (UNIVEN), Bachelor of Arts Degree at Great Zimbabwe University and is teaching Tshivenda language at Great Zimbabwe University. She currently serves as a Tshivenda coordinator in the Department of African languages and literature. Her research interest focuses on linguistics, onomastic and Sociolinguistics

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

The (In)securities and Futures of Development in Africa	1
---	---

Munyaradzi Mawere

Chapter 2

Development without the People? What has Always Missed in Development Paradigms “Imposed” on Africa?	13
--	----

Nkwazi Mhango

Chapter 3

‘Green Bombers,’ Torture and Terror: Political Security and the Nazi Legacy in Zimbabwe, 2001-2009	35
--	----

Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri

Chapter 4

Building Development Bridges and Resilience for Africa’s Marginalised Communities: The ‘Magics’ of Value Chain Approach in Resilience building and Development Pragmatics	77
---	----

Joseph Muroiwa; Solomon Mutambara &

Munyaradzi Mawere

Chapter 5

Land Redistribution, Justice and Development in Africa: A Religious Survey of Successes and Failures of the Land Redistribution in Zimbabwe, 1985-2017	99
--	----

Tobias Marevesa & Prosper Hellen Tlou

Chapter 6	
(In-)securities and Ethical Dilemmas of the Field: Reflections on Insecurities and Ethical Dilemmas encountered by Male Researchers in a South African Place	121
<i>Andile Mayekiso & Munyaradzi Mawere</i>	
Chapter 7	
Chaos and (In)security in the Nether: Repressive Media Policies in Zimbabwe in the Age of Political Paranoia.....	137
<i>Last Alfandika</i>	
Chapter 8	
Cyber Communications, Social Media and National Security: Reflections on the Laws Governing Social Media and Online Communications in Zimbabwe	171
<i>Golden Maunganidze</i>	
Chapter 9	
Fish Farming and Aquaculture in Zimbabwe: Revisiting Zimbabwe's Aquaculture development Enigma through the Lenses of Regulatory Framework.....	189
<i>Henry Chiwaura & Munyaradzi Mawere</i>	
Chapter 10	
Extractive Engagement of Key Value Chain Actors: The Major Barrier to Resilient Livelihoods and Economic Growth for Rural Farmers in Zimbabwe?	205
<i>Solomon Mutambara</i>	

Chapter 11	
Herdsmen, Farmers and the National Security under Threat: Unveiling the Farmers and Fulani Herdsmen Violence and Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria	237
<i>Odeigah, Theresa Nfam & Munyaradzi Mawere</i>	

Chapter 12	
The Creation and Performance of Secure Agricultural Processes and Practices in Colonial Zimbabwe: Tackling Food and Land Tenure Insecurity through Learning Resource Conservation Lessons from the Bromley Farming District.....	253
<i>Simeon Maravanyika</i>	

Chapter 13	
Women, the Poor and Energy Developmentalists on the Margins: The Politicisation of Development by the Global Elites	291
<i>Joseph Mupinga & Munyaradzi Mawere</i>	

Chapter 14	
The Bitter Harvest of Militant Agronomics in Mugabe's Zimbabwe, 2000-2017	309
<i>Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri</i>	

Chapter 15	
Reproductive Health Vulnerabilities and Insecurities in Africa: Reflections on the Practices of Indigenous Family Planning Methods and the "Modern" Contraceptives in the Tshivenda Culture of Zimbabwe	347
<i>Kilibone Choeni; Silibaziso Mulea & Munyaradzi Mawere</i>	

Herdsmen, Farmers and the National Security under Threat: Unveiling the Farmers and Fulani Herdsmen Violence and Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria

Odeigah, Theresa Nfam & Munyaradzi Mawere

Introduction

Cattle rearing and farming are both occupations that are common to the people of Nigeria. Though now practised at commercial level, the activities are still being practised at subsistent level. Nigeria and especially the Niger Delta Region is blessed with vast fertile land, vegetation, favourable climatic conditions and a large human population. The favourability of climatic conditions have, however, generated fertile grounds for violence and conflicts between farmers in the Niger Delta and the nomadic Fulani herdsmen. Conflicts between herdsmen and farmers have also become common in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria because of the cattle open-grazing system. Because of the open-grazing system, the Fulani herdsmen's cattle often eat up most of the crops on the farms. The consequent violence between the farmers and the herdsmen has resulted in loss of lives, wanton destruction of crops, herds of cattle and other property. The herdsmen in the Niger Delta Region are mainly of Fulani ethnic group and this has brought ethnic and religious colouration to the conflicts and resulting violence (Nairaaproject.com, 2018).

The security challenge in the Delta Region is serious especially because some of the herdsmen are from the neighbouring countries such as Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger Republic and Equatorial Guinea as well as from amongst members of the Boko-Haram the Islamic fundamentalist sect that is opposed to Western education and that is trying to create an Islamic State in Nigeria. Herdsmen have been implicated in the assassination of prominent people in the Niger

Delta Region. They have also been implicated in armed robbery, cattle rustling and other forms of criminality rampant in the region. Open-grazing of cattle has been known to cause “road traffic accidents” involving road crashes that attract reprisals from the herdsmen. The elite and highly placed Nigerians are also reportedly said to own herds of the cattle being reared by the herdsmen. The new and dangerous security challenge in the Niger Delta Region, arising from conflicts between farmers and herdsmen, is that some of the herdsmen are now well armed with sophisticated weapons such as automatic rifles and pump action guns, knives, daggers, bows, arrows and dane guns. The farmers who are more in number, on the other hand, are usually poorly armed with only machetes and hoes as their farm implements (Nairaproject.com, 2018). This means that the farmers remain vulnerable to attacks by the herdsmen. More so, their farming activities are interrupted exposing themselves and the nation to food insecurity and related problems.

This chapter critically examines the conflicts, the resulting violence and criminality that have been associated with the relationship between herdsmen, farmers and the generality of the people of the Niger Delta Region. A historic-structural and multidisciplinary approaches are adopted in this study owing to the complexity and multifarious nature of the problem(s) under investigation. The study reveals that conflicts and violence between herdsmen and farmers of the Niger Delta are not new. They have a long history dating back to the colonial period – a period that first exposed the Niger Delta farmers to land and food insecurity. Concurring with Animasaun (2016), the chapter advances that the recurrent herdsmen and farmers conflicts and the resulting pockets of violence are a national security threat that should be nipped in the bud.

The Fulani Herdsmen of the Niger Delta Region

The Fulani herdsmen are referred to as a group of people in northern Nigeria, also known as nomadic or Fulani pastoralists. The Fulani (as they are also fondly known) are populated and spread all over Africa, but predominantly in West Africa. The main Fulani in

Nigeria are in Fulbe Sokoto, Fulbe Adamawa, Fulbe Mbororo and Fulbe Gombe, among other areas (Nairaproject.com, 2017). These people are engaged in random movement with their cattle, goats and sheep from one destination to another, and returning later after several months or years to their original camps. The Fulani herdsmen are mostly found in the Northern part of Nigeria and other parts of West Africa (facts.ng 20018). The bulk of the beef consumption in Nigeria is from the livestock supplied by the herdsmen. The cattle, however, are owned by very privileged Nigerians in politics or business. These cattle owners have powerful union known as the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN) which is said to be a very powerful group that has tremendous influence on the government of the day. Some people have alleged that this group is a very powerful and influential group and that this could be one of the reasons why herdsmen have not been arrested, tried in the court of law and convicted for criminal offences so far in Nigeria (Toromade, 2018).



Figure 1: The Fulani herder, grazing inside a farm

Source: *Vanguardngr.com*, 2018

The main occupation of the Fulani herdsmen is to manage the herds, by moving them around in search of grazing sites. In northern Nigeria, the business of rearing of cattle is dominated by the Fulani

and they have migrated to other parts of the country. The Fulani herdsmen provide security around their settlements by making security tools like dane guns, knives, bows and arrows towards protecting themselves and their livestock.

Over the years, the movement of the Fulani herdsmen had been peaceful and not much of violence was recorded because of the general low population density especially along their grazing routes (Soriola, 2018). The fact however remains that, the Nigerian population, including that of the Fulani herdsmen, has over the years grown to about 180 million (Vanguardngr.com, 2018). This increase in population around the country has encouraged blockage of the grazing routes of the Fulani due to personal and official structures being built as well as increased population of the herds of cattle over the years. As a result of this obtaining reality and the increase in the rate of consumption of livestock meat in Nigeria, the Fulani herdsmen move with their cattle to places where water and grass are sufficient for their herds. As noted earlier, the herds are usually owned by individuals who are into business and trade. More so, the rearing of cattle is expected to boost agriculture from livestock farming and also to increase the agricultural yield of farmers and not to encourage violence and conflicts (Gambari, Agwai *et al*, 2018).

The random and planned trans-human movement of the Fulani herdsmen is primarily because of the grass and water that their cattle need in a seasonally changing environment. Because of the riverine terrain and the vegetation of the area in the Niger Delta, most Fulani herdsmen bring their cattle to the region in search of good pastures and water. The herdsmen, most of the time, would carefully study a particular area before embarking on any journey with their cattle. The availability of grass for their cattle is always the most important factor and prized priority considered by the herdsmen, and also to ensure reduction of excessive grazing in a particular spot. It is also pertinent to note that cattle's grazing in Nigeria is a private business and not a government venture. The political elites and rich people in Nigeria are the main group of people in cattle business in the country, using the Fulani herdsmen, whose main occupation is cattle. This also could explain the enormous influence that the herdsmen wield such

as the privilege of carrying Ak-rifles as they move from one location to another (Abubakar, 2017).

Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts in the Niger Delta Region

Decades ago, the Niger Delta farmers and the Fulani herdsmen have somehow lived together in harmony. In the 1960s, the Federal Government of Nigeria made attempts to introduce legislation to guarantee major grazing routes for the nomadic cattle herdsmen to avoid destruction of farmlands. However, because cattle rearing are a private business, this move could not be achieved and the plan was eventually aborted. Part of the failure of the proposed legislation was that farmers and other citizens of Nigeria were not ready to cede any part of the land to the herdsmen. The Federal Government of Nigeria in the heat of the crisis mooted the idea of the establishment of cattle colonies for grazing (or grazing reserves), but this was vehemently opposed by some States like the southern Nigeria (Toromade, 2018).

But when exactly the Fulani herdsmen and farmers' conflict and violence started did, remains a mind boggling and critical question. The question is critical in that it lays bare the genesis of the conflicts and violence in the Niger Delta. In view of the question, we note that the Fulani herdsmen and farmer's conflicts and violence have always occurred in the past, but it was always limited in scope and to some areas. Only between 1996- 2006 about one hundred and twenty one people were killed by the herdsmen having conflicts with farmers (Oluabunwa, 2018). The cattle herdsmen have also reportedly encountered several cattle rustlers and a lot of such complaints had gone to the government and the necessary authorities. Unfortunately, attempts to solve these problems have failed as the Fulani herdsmen keep trespassing farmlands, destroying valuable crops. Farmers, most of the times, are overpowered because of the weapons and firepower of the Fulani herdsmen (Adetula, 2016). In 2016, over one million three hundred herds of cattle were said to have been rustled in Katsina State of Nigeria one of the thirty states in Nigeria which predominately a Fulani state (Vanguardngr.com). Several herdsmen

also loss their lives in the attacks by the cattle rustlers and some people believe that the frequency of these attacks on herdsmen and their cattle informed the sophistication noticeable in the arm they now wield. It has also been alleged that at times, the cattle are poisoned by the farmers leading to the death of several herds of cattle, while at other times the cows are said to be shot dead by angry farmers (Effiong, 2018). Below is a picture showing a herder holding across a sophisticated weapon. Below is the picture showing the herdsmen holding weapons, this is one of the weapons used by herdsmen in attacking the farmers.

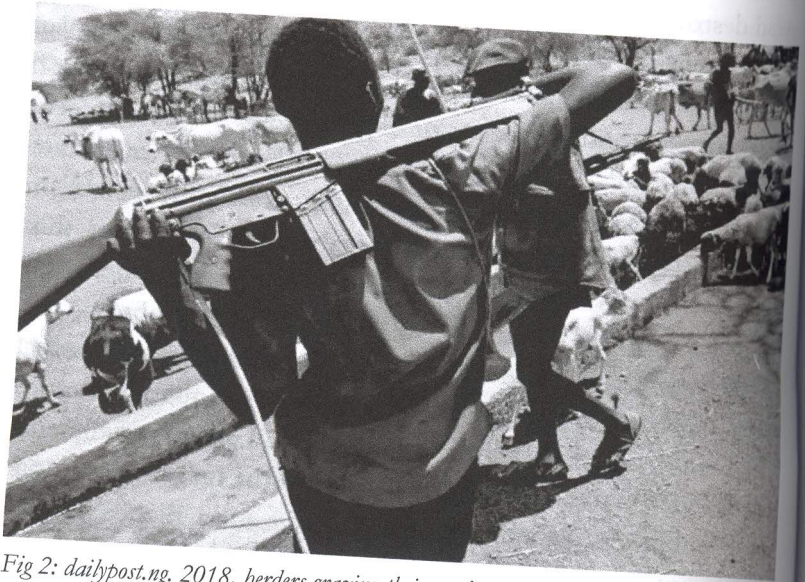


Fig 2: daihypost.ng, 2018, herders grazing their cattle.

Fundamentally, the Fulani herdsmen have been known to wreak havoc in many communities in the Niger Delta Region. About some decades ago, a cow was found dead in Ogoja Ndem in Cross River State and this issue became a major problem among the community and the Fulani herdsmen. The issue resulted to conflict and the herdsmen poisoning one of the streams in the community leading to the death of several community members who drank the water (Edoko, 2010). In recent times, the conflict between the farmers and Fulani herdsmen has become very frequent with massive loss of lives and property posing a threat to food and national security in the region and Nigeria in general. Since 2015, the violence has increased

infrequency and scope because the cattle herdsmen now carry automatic weapons against the farmers who most of the times are unarmed, resulting in multiple clashes and fatal reprisal attacks (Odey 2017).

These attacks have also occurred in several other parts of Nigeria such as Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Ondo, Cross River, and Delta States, among others (Oluabunwa, 2018). In the Niger Delta Region, these same attacks have occurred and maintained a regular crescendo engulfing farmlands and farmers. In the Niger Delta states and especially in Bayelsa State, people have been thrown into mourning following recurrent attacks by the Fulani herdsmen and this has led the people suffering unprecedented hardship and insecurities in the hands of the herdsmen. Perennial suffering and tears of sorrow following as incidents of killing, rape, robbery, destruction of farmlands have always been afflicted on the people. In a recent incident, the Fulani herdsmen attacked a 52 year old woman and her 18 year old daughter on the farm from Ofumwengbe village in Ovia South West Local Government area of Edo State using machetes on them (Osagie, 2018). Such attacks have become a major threat to farmers who are no more able to do their business because of the fear of being attacked by herdsmen (Nairaproject.com, 2018).

In their quest to find good grazing sites for their cattle, the Fulani herdsmen have also attacked the people of Okuku in Yala Local Government area of Cross River State living a lot of people dead and several others displaced (Calabarreporters.com, 2018). Some of the victims were students of the Cross River State University of Technology, Okuku campus. Consequently, most farmers in the Niger Delta Region have abandoned their farmlands because of fear of the Fulani herdsmen (Abdul Abdul-Rasheed, 2017). It has also been reported that the Fulani herdsmen in the process of grazing, raped a women and injured three other people in the Delta State in Aniocha North and Ughelli South areas of Delta State (Nseyen, 2018). The recurring attacks of Fulani herdsmen have become a problem to farmers, especially amongst Cross River State indigenes (Abdulsalam Abdullahi, 2018), who feel insecure and vulnerable not only to attacks by the Fulani herdsmen but also to famine and hunger. Attacks have become a routine in Cross River State; in the 7th of

December, 2017, the Fulani herdsmen attacked Mbiabong in community in Odukpani Local Government area following an invasion of the herdsmen living over 200 hundred families homeless (Ike, 2017). This community was also invaded by the herdsmen who took their cows into the farmlands of the people. During the conflict, it was discovered that the Fulani herdsmen had sophisticated weapons that were used against the farmers, which led the community fleeing from their farmlands and homes (Effiong, 2018).

On a separate incident, it was reported that the officials of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation were attacked by the suspected herdsmen at Tse Torkula, a border town between Nasarawa and Benue States, during their official duty on petroleum pipelines (Duru, 2018). Many of the workers were injured and taken to the hospital for treatment. Worse still, there have been regular incidents and attacks of this nature in the Niger Delta communities and Nigeria as a whole and this has caused a lot of hardship to farmers and the people (Oluabunwa, 2018), in general who remain exposed to both land and food insecurity. As reverberates with Tope's (2018) report on the Urhobo people when he notes that the issue of Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts has become terrifying and caused communities like the Urhobo and other ethnic groups in the region to live in fear and unable to enjoy a good quality of life.

Factors prompting the Herdsmen and farmers conflicts

There have been a lot of theories and concern over the identity of the people behind the attacks in the Niger Delta. There are three main schools of thought. The first one views the Niger Delta conflict and violence as a result of the Fulani herdsmen being manipulated by the *Boko- Haram*. The second school of thought views the violence and conflict as a result of the *Boko-Haram* members masquerading as Fulani herdsmen. More others are of the opinion that the herdsmen are from other West African countries that have illegally migrated into Nigeria. This could be as a result of poor management of the Nigerian borders. The Nigerian Immigrations Surveillance Office has not really lived up to expectation. Whatever the real force and people behind the violence and attacks could be, what remains clear is that

the Fulani herdsmen clashes are driven by a combination of factors ranging from climate change, environmental factors, political factors and land scarcity (Adetula David, 2016).

Climate change, which is one of the critical factors affecting the cattle business, is one of the reasons prompting the Fulani herdsmen to move from one place to the other in search of grazing sites. The change in temperature has prompted the herdsmen to move to areas that have comparatively lower temperatures such as the Niger Delta Region where there is adequate rainfall almost all the year round. The environment in the northern part of Nigeria has contributed immensely to the conflicts in the Niger Delta because it gets very dry and at times with very little rain in the year causing the land to dry up and unable to sustain cattle grazing. This climatic challenge is a poses a big problem for herdsmen, who then embark on pastoral nomadic movements as they search for better pastures for their cattle.

More so, the focus on grazing has also shifted because the Fulani herdsmen have been involved in other forms of criminality such as armed robbery, kidnapping, assassination and rural banditry. All over the Niger Delta, the issue of the Fulani herdsmen eventually has the potential to limit agricultural production and the involvement of the people in arable farming, because the farmlands are no longer conducive and safe for farmers (Odey, 2017).

The Niger Delta Region is undergoing several security threats that have in turn impacted negatively on the people economically, politically, socially and religiously. Adding on to the conflicts that arise as a result of oil exploitation, the Niger Delta remains a shimmering pot with prickled holes. In fact, the frequent attacks on oil installations by the militant groups has been a source of concern to the people and therefore adding the problem of the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts is a serious challenge to the region (Nimo, 2017).

Beyond the Fulani herdsmen and Farmers conflict

The Niger Delta Region, with its abundant natural and human resources, has become both a source of hope and despair to the people of Nigeria. Even though, the Niger Delta is known for the

rich production of oil and gas and account for the bulk of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings, agriculture remains one of the dominant occupations of the people. The Niger Delta happens to be rich in both oil and fertile soils suitable for agriculture. This exposes the region to people from almost all walks of life, who are attracted either by the rich oil reserves or by the fertile tracts of land.

Taking it from a sociological perspective, where there are more people there is likely to be more conflicts as well. This is because conflicts are inevitable where numbers are high. This has been the case in the Niger Delta where the problem of the conflicts between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers is gradually affecting the farmers' agricultural output and exposing people to personal insecurity. As noted by the Global Terrorism Index (2015), the Fulani Militants are the fourth deadliest terrorist group in Nigeria as far back as 2014. It is for this obtaining reality that the herdsmen's activities and associated violence have resulted to fear, hunger and starvation in the land (Omawumi, 2018). The recent attacks by the Fulani herdsmen on Ossissa Community in Ndokwa East and Abraka Community in Eti-Osa Local Government areas of Delta State, for instance, has led to the killing of not fewer than sixty people (Osagie Otor, 2018). The attack also resulted in the displacement of people and destruction of property worth several millions of naira. All these attacks have imposed danger and brewed insecurity to socio-economic activities of the people in the region (Animasaun, 2016).

Food security has become a problem in the Niger Delta Region where supply of food has become limited as a result of the Fulani herdsmen's conflicts with the farmers. The farmers now find it difficult to go to their farms for fear of being attacked by the Fulani herdsmen who can strike any time of the day. Consequently, the conflicts have resulted in an increase in the prices of basic food commodities thereby causing hardship for the ordinary people in the region (Adetula, 2016). A recent empirical research carried out by the Global Humanities Organisation with the British Department for International Development (BFID) between 2013 and 2016, has revealed that the negative effects of the conflicts between the herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria are a perennial one that has negatively affected the country's economic development (Global

Terrorism Index 2015). As the Global Terrorism Index further reveals, the States affected by the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts loss an average of 47 percent of their revenue from agricultural produce. This poses serious threats to the country's food security and Gross Domestic Product.

The Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts has also created unfavourable atmosphere for business. It has stirred and created unprecedented fear in the minds of [potential] foreign investors, with the result showing down on economic growth and national development.

The Way Forward

The solution to the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflicts and violence are not easy to come up with, owing to the complexity of the problem itself. During the gathering of data for this research, it became apparent that the cattle are owned by individuals who are wealthy and highly placed in government and politics. More so, cattle's rearing in Nigeria is a private business and not a government venture. The major solution therefore is for the government to enact a legislation that outlaws the open grazing of cattle, but before that there should have been sensitisation of the herdsmen on this new approach. This approach is likely to be successful because cattle are healthier when they are ranched since they are not exposed to diseases and stress on open grazing.

More importantly, the herdsmen should be educated on this new approach and if possible given soft loans by the government, to facilitate a smooth transition from their current way of life. The soft loans may also help to lure the nomadic herdsmen, especially in the Benue State (of Nigeria) – the middle belt which is the food basket of the nation.

We further argue that the establishment of cattle colonies or national grazing reserves is likely to intensify conflicts. This is because the national grazing reserves would warrant government needing to acquire peoples' land or may result in government using land for a purpose that most Nigerians feel is a private business.

More so, we note that security agencies such as the Police and Immigration Service should mop-up the various arms and ammunition in the hands of the people who are not licenced. Those who are apprehended should be made to face the wrath of the law of the land. The security agencies especially the Immigration Service should control and monitor the country's porous borders to ensure that people from within and others from neighbouring countries are not involved in this criminality.

The inability of the Nigerian the national security agency to contain this mayhem for this long remains a challenge to the people and the national economy. In view of this problem, we urge that the government properly train and equip the Police, so that they can better handle conflicts and violence. Most importantly, the Federal Government should facilitate dialogue and education among the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers (Gambari, Agwai *et al*, 2018) to avoid unnecessary violence and conflicts.

Conclusion

Fundamentally and historically, the Fulani herdsmen have always grazed their cattle in the open along the roads and farmlands in almost all the parts of the Niger Delta Region. But recently there has been an upsurge in the herdsmen trespassing of farmlands and destruction of crops and other valuable products, exposing the people of the Niger Delta to both land and food insecurity. Besides, the menace has caused a lot of violence leaving a number of people dead and property worth millions of dollars destroyed. The herdsmen are involved in crime, and violence leading to unprecedented fear to till the land among the farmers eventually. This has negatively impacted on the land and food security in the Niger Delta. Although the government has proposed grazing reserves to address the conflict and violence problem between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in the Niger Delta, we submit that this is not likely to work in Nigeria because cattle rearing is a private business. We note that the enactment of anti-open grazing bill has not produced the derived results and so there is need for proper sensitisation and involvement of the herdsmen at every stage of the bill.

References

- Aderula, D. (2016) Understanding the Fulani Herdsmen Crisis in Nigeria: Here is everything you need to Know, venturesafrica.com.
- Aderula, D. (2016) Understanding the Fulani Herdsmen Crisis in Nigeria: here is everything you need to know, <https://www.venturesafrica.com>. Accessed 12th October, 2017.
- Alabi, T. (2018) Herdsmen Attack NNPC official in Benue State, <https://www.informationmng.com>. Accessed 15th January, 2018.
- <https://www.calabarreporters.com>, 2018.
- Animasaun, D. (2016) <https://www.vanguardngr.com>. Accessed 10th March, 2017.
- Duru, P. (2018) Herdsmen attack NNPC Officials Working on Pipe Line in Benue State, Accessed February, 2018, <https://www.vanguardngr.com>.
- Effective of Fulani herdsmen and Farmers Crisis on Food Security in Abraka Delta State, Nigeria, <https://nairaproject.com> Accessed 12 January, 2018.
- The Fulani Ethnic Group Nigeria, (2018) <https://www.Fasts.ng>. Accessed 3rd March, 2018.
- Gambari Ibrahim, Agwai, M. L., Ibrahim J., Jeja Attahiru., Kwaja Chris, Balla Fatima., Muhammed-Oyebode Aisha., YA'u Y. Z. (2018) How To Resolve Herdsmen Crisis-Nigeria Working Group. www.premiumtimes.com. Accessed 5th February, 2018.
- Global Terrorism Index (2015) Institute for Economics and Peace, Nigeria.
- How to Resolve Herdsmen Crisis-Nigeria Working Group, (2018) www.premiumtimesng.com. Accessed 6th March, 2018.
- Ike, U. (2017) Herdsmen Sack 200 Family in Cross River. www.vanguardngr.com, Accessed, 28 December 2017.
- Mazi, S. O. (2018) Routing the Fulani Herdsmen Militants Calls for external Help, <https://vanguardngr.com>. Accessed 13th February, 2018.
- Ohuabunwa, S. (2018) Routing the Fulani Herdsmen Militants call for External help). www.vanguardngr.com, Accessed 7th January, 2018.

- Olu, O. (2018) Rampaging Fulani Herdsmen a Threat to Nigeria Unity, [ttps://www.realnewsmagazine.net](https://www.realnewsmagazine.net). Accessed 6th March, 2018.
- Oral Interview with Abdul Abdul-Rasheed, 66+ years, status male, Occupation cattle rearing, place of interview Ogoja, Cross River State, 2017.
- Oral Interview with Abdulsalam Abdullahi, 69+ years, status male, Occupation cattle rearing, place of interview Makudi, Benue State, 2018.
- Oral Interview with Briggs Nimo, 78+ years, status male, Occupation business, place of interview Port- Harcourt, River State, 2018.
- Oral Interview with Effiong Asuquo, 70+ years, status male, Occupation famer, place of interview Odukpani, Cross River State, 2018.
- Oral Interview with Musa Abubakar, 72+ years, status male, Occupation cattle rearing, place of interview River State, 2017.
- Oral Interview with Odey John , 71+ years, status male, Occupation cattle rearing, place of interview Ogoja, Cross River State, 2017.
- Oral Interview with Nseyen Nsikak, 64+ years, status male, Occupation famer, place of interview Ughelli, Delta State, 2018.
- Oral Interview with Edoko Paulina, 73+ years, status male, Occupation Civil Servant, place of interview Cross River State, 2011.
- Oral Interview with Yahaya Zainab, 67+ years, status female, Occupation Cattle Owner, place of interview Oncha-Ugbo, Delta State, 2017.
- Osagie, O. (2018) Herdsmen Attack Woman, daughter in Edo <https://www.thenahiononline.ng.net>.
- Toromade, S. (2018) What You Need to Know about Fulani Herdsmen and Anti- opening Grazing Law, Miyetti Allah, [hpps://www.pulse.ng](https://www.pulse.ng).
- Osagie, O. (2018) Herdsmen Attack Woman, daughter in Edo. [Thenationonline.ng.net](https://www.thenationonline.ng.net). Accessed 11th September, 2017.
- Soriola, E. (2018) History of Fulani Herdsmen in Nigeria and today's Crisis, www.naija.ng. Accessed 2nd February, 2018.

Wifa, B. A. (2018) Problems and Challenges Afflicting the Niger Delta Region, particularly the Core Niger Delta, www.focusnigeria.com.