

## **Herdsmen-Farmer Conflicts: It's Implication on Food Insecurity and Economic Development in Southern Kaduna 1999-2017**

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### **Abstract**

**B**eyond any reasonable doubt, resource ownership and utilization have directly and indirectly has been a major cause of most conflicts involving man since time immemorial. Of all God given resources, we most note, land has remained an unarguably a source of conflicts among various user groups as well as individuals over time and space. To be specific, conflicts between farmers and herdsmen over arable land are becoming increasingly severe and prevalent in Nigeria and Southern Kaduna in particular, largely due to increase of production activities that are necessitated by increasing human population. The persistency in farmer-herdsmen conflict often yields grave socio-economic consequence. Although there is no clear consensus on which group experiences greater hardship, the plight of arable crop farmers who constitute the bulk of Nigeria's agricultural production population, continues to attract research attention. The paper therefore discusses Herdsmen-Farmers conflicts as it affects the economic development as well as food insecurity in Southern Kaduna, Nigeria and Africa at large with the aim of preferring lasting solution through land rehabilitation and conflict prevention.

**Keywords:** *Herdsmen, Farmers, Conflicts, Implications, Food security, Economic development*

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### **Background to the Study**

“Men do not live in perfect harmony with each other. Rather, again and again conflicts arise between them. And the source of these conflicts is always the same: the scarcity of goods. I want to do X with a given good G and you want to do simultaneously Y with the very same good. Because it is impossible for you and me to do simultaneously X and Y with G, you and I must clash. If a superabundance of goods existed, i.e.... If, for instance, G were available in unlimited supply, our conflict could be avoided. We could both simultaneously do 'our thing' with G. But most goods do not exist in superabundance. Ever since mankind left the Garden of Eden, there has been and always will be scarcity all around us” (Hoppe, 2015)

Many agrarian countries in Africa are experiencing high population growth with an accompanying increased demand for arable land. The need to provide food to meet the ever growing demands necessitates opening up of virgin lands hitherto uncultivated. In many cases, especially where increased population densities have led to overcrowding of existing arable lands, agricultural intensification has inevitably resulted. This kind of population-driven agricultural intensification often necessitates the adoption of certain farming techniques such as irrigation procedures and the adoption of agro-chemicals or improved organic farming techniques. The area (Southern Kaduna) under study has experienced a high influx of people of different ethnic background partly as a result of its rich soil, pattern of rainfall, vegetation, location, etc. and that has automatically increased the number of its inhabitant. Following the influx, child birth and increase in the population, farm lands that were left to fallow for natural regeneration of the soil nutrients are fast disappearing so also are grazing lands and paths which have traditionally provided majorly dry season grazing to pastoralist.

The above has remained one of the major remote causes of the conflicts and clashes between farmers and herdsmen for a very long period of time in Southern Kaduna, although there are instances when some of these clashes and conflicts are hijacked, escalated and also given religious and ethnic coloration. The paper therefore, is geared toward analyzing the causes of these conflicts, their effects to food security and development as well as proffering lasting solution.

### **Statement of Research Problem**

It is no longer news that various communities in Nigeria and Africa at large have suddenly been turned into theater for Farmer-herders conflicts, rumors of Fulani attacks are no longer speculations. This menace is well known because researchers have done quite a lot in this area but not without some certain gaps. Not much has been written on these conflicts in southern Kaduna, as more are journalistic reports of the happenings in the region, even with the few researches, none has been able to comprehensively explain and differentiates between what used to be a clash between the farmers and the herders, and the gruesome attacks the people are experiencing by the Fulani. This research is not just interested in discussing the causes of these clashes, or just explaining the nature of the attacks on the indigenes. But it is more interested in discussing the effects and implication of these conflicts on food insecurity and economic development of southern Kaduna with the intention of suggesting measures of coping them.

### **Objective of the Study**

The choice of the topic and the case study are motivated by the fact that the current scholarly works on farmer/herder conflict in Nigeria, even with the rising incidences of such conflicts, little is known concerning the phenomenon in Southern Kaduna, as existing studies have not fully addressed this crucial problem of establishing empirically the causes and the effects. The main objective of the study therefore is to examine the conflict relationship between the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen, and the consequences or implication of such relationship on food insecurity and economic development, using Southern Kaduna as a case study.

### **Scope of the Research**

In comparison with many other parts of Northern Nigeria, the movement of Fulani herdsmen and their nomadic activities into Southern Kaduna then Southern Zaria is quite a recent phenomenon. Migration of Fulani as an ethnic group to Southern Kaduna started just before colonial domination of the area. The Northern part of Kaduna was the Fulani's point of call. During colonialism and through the indirect rule system, the Fulani's system of administration (centralized system of administration) was consolidated and that gave them an edge over the indigenes, causing some level of mistrust among them. The clashes became severe at post-independence as a result of claiming and re-claiming of arable lands up till date. This research therefore looks at these conflicts from 1999 to 2017. The choice of 1999 as the starting date is basically due to the change of system of administration, from military to civilian (democracy). Which usher in a different approach to issues of security in the country, and that escalated and intensified these conflicts and insecurity in the country. Southern Kaduna has then suffered these conflicts for decades now, but bulk of the prevailing ideas on the conflicts has been largely and unnecessarily journalistic and anecdotal, lacking in intellectual depth, fecundity and rigor. Therefore, there is the need for a systematic investigation that will leverage scholarly insights on the subject. This therefore has influenced the choice Southern Kaduna as the area of study.

### **Southern Kaduna**

The concept of "Southern Kaduna" is not as imaginary as some spectrum of unintellectual opinion would want the world to believe. It is a real concept and derives its legitimacy from the existence of a geopolitical entity of a Northern Zaria. The mere existence of a Northern Zaria recognized and legitimized by the Emirate system 1846-1903, the Indirect Rule System 1903-1960, and the post-independence Administrations 1960-to date legitimizes the existence of a Southern Zaria now Southern Kaduna. (Ibrahim, p.21).

The geographical or better still, geo-political entity commonly referred to as "Southern Zaria" now Southern Kaduna is situated within the central high plains of Northern Nigeria. It is located between longitude 5 and 7 east. The area shares common boundary to the north and east with Jos Plateau and Bauchi and to the south, with the Federal Capital Territory. It today comprises of Jaba, Kaura, Lere, ZangoKataf, Kajuru, Chikun, Kachia, Jema'a and Sanga Local Government Areas of Kaduna State.(Ibrahim, p.22) Southern Kaduna is inhabited by multi-farious ethnic and linguistic groups belonging to the broader Niger-Congo linguistic family. Its main sub-division is the Benue Congo Linguistic group. Based on the linguistic and cultural linkages between and among these groups some five distinct ethnic linguistic clusters

have since become evident. “These are the *Kataf* and *Netzit* cluster, the *Hamm* or *Jaba* cluster, the *Adara-Kadara* cluster, the *Aninka* or *Ninzam* cluster and the conglomeration of several groups in the *Saminaka* or the *Ninam* or *Saminaka* Clusters”. (Simon, 1988) These Southern Kaduna ethnic clusters all speak dialects belonging to the Plateau groups of languages. The Plateau languages formed the Benue-Congo linguistic sub-family of the Niger-Congo. Greenberg, Williamson, Hoffman, Madison, Shimizu, Gerhard and Jokers are all unanimous in concluding that the Southern Kaduna Communities speak languages that belong to Eastern and wider Plateau linguistic family. (Ibrahim, p.3)

The Southern Kaduna sub-region forms a culture complex of its own. This culture complex comprises of the several distinctive features which culturally link these ethnic clusters together. These are expressed in the respective similarities in terms of their climate, fauna and flora, topography, types of settlement patterns, types of occupations, identical family and kinship structure, traditional political organizations, religious belief and practices etc. which has though been infiltrated by English language and the “white's man” culture forcing this complex culture of the Southern Kaduna into gradual extinction.

There are many ethnic groups in Southern Kaduna as it has already been pointed out. However, their socio-political values and organization are quite similar. They exhibit similar characteristics in culture, language, religion, customs and physical features as well as economic activities. Having many things in common points to the fact that in the distant past they had the same origin. (Turaki, 1993, P.3)

The vegetation of Southern Kaduna in the early period and even up to the British conquest of the areas was influenced by climatic factors, soil, as well as the relationship between man and the environment. The area received higher amount of rainfall of about 55-65 inches when compared with some areas to the north like Kano and Soba districts, which had 34 and 43 inches respectively (Adamu, 1992, pp.5-9). The area has in the 1940s been brought under cultivation due to rapid increase in the population of the area. For example rice along other crops was introduced as another cash crop in 1941 as a means of economic development of the area. This district falls into the vegetation zone described by Buchanan and Pugh as the Southern guinea savannah ecological zone. (Buchanan, 1955 pp.27) This zone forms the transitional zone between the forest and the savannah belts. It consists of broad-leaved savannah woodlands.

The area is found within the Guinea Savannah vegetation belt of Nigeria. The vegetation comprises mainly shrubs, stubborn tall grasses with big trees. The grasses could grow to over 3.60m tall. The grasses and trees are of economic importance during both the wet and the dry season. The cool, dry climate, topography and soil types have influenced the vegetation of the area. The natural vegetation has been influenced by farming, grazing, and mining and construction activities. (Adon, 2005, pp.10-11).

The land and its physical features, vegetation cover and climate are of paramount significance to the historical geography as well as human development in Southern Kaduna in terms of the socio-political and economic activities of the people. Its configuration, its waters, the winds and

all its physical geography, its flora, its zoology, it's an indication of the level of agricultural activities engaged by the people.

A survey of the economy of the Southern Kaduna area will show that the people developed a complex society made up of various sectors that were/are effectively integrated together into a stable, viable and 'self-sufficient' economy. This is not to say that throughout the existence of the people, everything has been rosy and cosy, because there are times when the economy declined as a result of natural disasters such as locust invasion and conflicts which in turn caused famine food insecurity and also affects the development of the area. (Gajere, 2015)

The Fulani Pastoralists of West and Central Africa trace much of their current political, religious, and socio-cultural identity from the eighteenth and nineteenth century jihad which sedentarized them within conquered communities. The Fulani are said to originate from Senegambia, before spreading across some 20 states in West Africa and the Sahel, up to Western Sudan and the Central Africa Republic. In Nigeria, they are the mainstay of the meat and milk industry. (Olayoku, 2014)

### **Theoretical Framework**

There are a number of theoretical explanations on what causes a violent conflict between two groups. The scope, resources and time available for this research places limitations on any attempt to test all these theoretical perspectives in the paper. Given the environment and the groups involved; farmers and Fulani herdsman, the study adopted the environmental/resources scarcity and eco-survivalism theories.

In the study of environment, scarcity and violence, Homer-Dixon asserts that large populations in many developing countries are highly dependent on four key environmental resources that are fundamental to their livelihood: fresh water, cropland, forests, and fish. Scarcity or shrinking of these resources as a result of misuse, over-use or degradation, population growth, climate change and resource access lead to competition over the scarce ecological resources among groups, and may under some certain circumstances trigger off conflicts. (Homer-Dixon, 1999, pp.73-74) In this perspective, resource scarcity is the product of an insufficient supply, too much demand or an unequal distribution of a resource due to political economic, social and environmental factors. This forces some groups of a society into conditions of deprivation, competition and violence over the limited resources. In effect, resource scarcity raises the competitive stakes and premium that the various societal groups place on available resources, which may engender violent conflicts among groups. (Dixon, 1999, p.74)

By applying the theory to Southern Kaduna, the conflicts have been driven mostly by the scarcity of land as a result of increase in population and economic activities where land remain the key resources, and competition between the farmers and the Fulani herdsman to ensure their viability in the area. The scarcity of land is due to the degradation and shrinking ecological space, human and cattle population explosion, and resource depletion. Therefore, the farmers need the land for cultivation, while the herdsman need the land for grazing and rearing of cattle. This trend is well captured by Adogi;

*As the population is increasing, definitely there will be as well increase in demand for land, water, forest products and grazing land within the territories inhabited by Fulanis and Farmers; these groups are forced to find new ways to cope with different types of conflict at once because of competition over marginal resources. (Dixon, 1999, p 7)*

There have been various debates by scholars who indicate clearly that resource scarcity plays and underpins farmer-herder conflicts in Africa, of which Southern Kaduna is not an exception. Besides the competition and struggle over land, the activities of both have resulted in environmental degradation with adverse effect on humans, social, economic and security in Southern Kaduna.

Another theoretical explanation to the farmer-herder conflict in Southern Kaduna is the theory of eco-survivalism. The crux of this theory is that, the desperate quest of groups to protect and advance their livelihood in a competitive and resource-scarce ecological sphere is likely to precipitate violent conflict. The theory draws the relationship between resource scarcity and survival. Further, the theory holds that, the militant posture of the herdsmen and the farmers must be understood in relation to survival. (Okoli, et.al 2014, pp.76-88) To the farmer in Southern Kaduna, his/her survival depends on the cultivation and harvesting of crops. Therefore, any damage caused to the crops threatening the livelihood of the farmer. In the same way as the Fulani herdsmen; for the average herdsman, pastoralism is a way of living. In this regard, any threat to his herd amounts to a threat to his survival and destiny. As captured by Abbas;

*Our herd is our life, because to every nomad, life is worthless without his cattle. What do you expect from us when our source of existence is threatened? The encroachment of grazing field and routes by farmers is a call to war (Abbas, 2000, pp.331-346)*

By applying this theory to Southern Kaduna, the aggression among the farmers and the Fulani herdsmen is motivated by a do –or–die struggle for a living in a territory that is competitive, and hostile to each other's collective means of sustenance. In effect, the move by the locals to expel or eject the Fulani herdsmen from some parts of Southern Kaduna farmlands has been adjudged as a threat on the livelihood of the latter, resulting in organized attacks and reprisal attacks.

### **Farmer-Herder Conflict: Cases of the Conflict Relation in Southern Kaduna**

Conflicts between farmers and herdsmen are not recent phenomena as they already occurred at the time of the biblical patriarchs (Breusers, M., et.al, 1998, pp.359). Benjaminsen et al, also mention biblical patriarchs as the genesis of farmer- herder conflict, for instance, the conflict between Cain and Abel, which led the former to kill the latter. (Benjaminsen et al (2009, p.423), In West Africa, this conflict is not only rampant and widespread, but also on the increase. Although, some scholars disagree with the increase assertion, it is undeniable that the conflicts persist, and it has attracted the attention of researchers and policymakers. (Hussein, et.al, 1999, p.399).

The act of causing damage to farms and farm produce by the cattle and the Fulani herdsmen is one of the main reasons for the tension between the farmers and herders. According to the farmers, the herdsmen move their cattle to graze at night, destroying all their farms and crops. Some also move their cattle to feed on harvested agricultural produce and stored at a particular place. The farmers further explained that, the work on harvested crops such as maize, yam, groundnuts, plantain is very tedious, hence the need to pack and store them for the work to be done before transporting them to the market. However, the Fulani herdsmen intentionally move their cattle to feed on those harvested crops.(Group of Farmers in Kaura, Personal Communication, 4th November 2017)

The cattle Fulani herdsmen conceded to destruction of farms and crops by their cattle as a major cause of the conflict. They explained that the increase in the cattle population and influx of “alien nomads” account for the problem, as they deliberately move the cattle to graze at peoples' farms. Some also blamed the farmers for cultivating very close to their kraals, and near water-bodies that serve as the source of water for the cattle.(ArdoYero, Personal Communication, 11 November, 2017)

According to the farmers, shooting, butchering and killing of innocent people by the Fulani herdsmen is a major cause of the conflict. They claimed the herders move around with deadly weapons (AK 47, Pump Action guns); shooting and killing or injuring innocent farmers with the least provocation. This normally happens when the farmers confront the herdsmen after causing destructions to their farms and crops.

The practice of burning the grassland is also a major cause of the conflict in the views of the farmers. According to the farmers, the herdsmen frequently burn the grassland during the dry season to ensure regular supply of grazing pasture. This has been the survival strategy for the herdsmen to feed their cattle in the lean season. The inability of the Fulani herdsmen to control the fire very often results in bush fires and burning of farms wealth thousands of naira.(Ishaya Bako, Personal Communication, 2nd, December, 2017)

Furthermore, Land has remained an overwhelming source of conflicts among various groups as well as individuals at varying thresholds. Conflicts of Fulani herdsmen are also the use of agricultural land which is becoming fiercer and increasingly widespread in Southern Kaduna, largely due to intensification and extensification of production activities that is necessitated by increasing human population. (Zakka, et.al, 2017)

The soil in Southern Kaduna is very fertile and arable for the cultivation of crops like Rice, Yam, Cocoyam, Potatoes, Onions, pepper, Cassava, Groundnuts, Beans, to mention but few, (i.e. aside other mineral resources). This is also a major factor that strengthens other commercial activities in the region, attracting traders from within and outside the State. It should be noted that with the continue influx and settling of other peoples (traders/herders) in the region, the scramble for arable land in Southern Kaduna has been on the increase.

The increase in the human population had led to dramatic consequences in Southern Kaduna, including food shortages, farmland expansion, and conflict over land and natural resources. Currently, more farmers and herders try to use the same land, making it very difficult for herders to find suitable grassland for grazing especially during the rainy season. Therefore, the relationship between farmers and herders deteriorates due to livestock-induced crop damage. Two causes of farmers-herders conflict have always been discussed by researchers; competition for access to increasingly scarce productive resources and the failure of the local adjudicative mechanisms (traditional institutions) to resolve the tensions created by this competition, but the conflicts in Southern Kaduna has recently taken a different approach. It is more of attacks than a mere misunderstanding and disagreement over arable lands and other resources. (Group of Farmers in Gidan Waya, Jema'a LGA, Kaduna State, Personal Communication, 2nd April, 2018). It is therefore worth noting, that although southern Kaduna farmers and herders have long coexisted in symbiotic relationships that have persisted through both peaceful and contentious encounters, reports of violent clashes between these two groups are becoming more frequent and disastrous with gruesome experiences and adverse effects on the main stay of the people (agriculture).

### **Consequences of the Farmer-Herder Conflicts**

The consequences of the conflict can be linked to humanitarian, social, economic, and security effects. The humanitarian effects of farmer-herder conflicts are generally enormous. Natives-nomads conflict often results in loss of life, population displacements, human injury and livelihood crisis (Okoli, et.al, 2014, pp.76-88). In this regard, the conflict does not only lead to the killing of people, but also people become homeless, displaced and destitute. Elaborating further on the humanitarian effects, apart from the killings by nomads and reprisal attacks by the indigenes, some people become widows, widowers and orphans during the conflicts, while other victims of the conflict are maimed or injured. People become internally displaced as a result of the conflict, especially women, who decide to stop going to the distant farm for fear of attacks by nomads (Ofem, et.al, 2014, p. 512).

Citing the case of the Southern Kaduna between 1999 to 2017, investigations reveals that no fewer than eighty five (85) attacks were launched, living about one thousand three hundred and thirteen people (1313) death, while sixty nine (69) people were seriously injured. Also, many houses were burnt and properties destroyed. In a nutshell farmer-herder conflicts result in loss of lives, loss of houses and properties, and displacement of farmers (Group Interviews). In their view, during such conflict, many people are killed through attacks and reprisal attacks by the nomads and the host communities. Also, some become victims through injuries or maimed. As such, some women farmers and children become widows and orphans respectively.

Below is a table summarizing the number of attacks and the outcome in each of the local government area in Southern Kaduna:

S/No	LGA	No of Attacks	Death	Injured	Damage In Properties
1	Kauru	21	53	11	Many houses destroyed
2	Jema'a	22	211	18	Many houses destroyed
3	ZangonKataf	15	33	20	200 houses destroyed
4	Kaura	25	473	15 and above	250 houses, 3 churches, and food stuffs destroyed
5	Kachia	3	4	3	Not available
6	Jaba	4	15	11	Not available
7	Sanga	15	483	Not specified	420 houses destroyed
8	Kagarko	1	15		Not available
9	Kajuru	1	6		Not available
10	Lere	2	10	One person	Not available
11	Chikun	45	Not specified		Not available
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>129</b>	<b>1313</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>870</b>

**Source:** Records of attacks in Southern Kaduna, Kaduna State collated and saved by SOKAPU, 2017

Records of attacks in Southern Kaduna, Kaduna State collated and saved by Chikun Response Group, 2017

Updated from the works of Asake, G.N (2013), and Minority Report Nigeria (2015) The social effects of farmers-pastoralists conflict threaten peace and tranquility among various groups. In their work herder/farmer conflicts, Okoli & Atelhe (2014) asserted that such conflicts create tense and volatile inter-group relations amongst the various people. There is presently a clear manifestation of mutual mistrust and animosity in Southern Kaduna between the Fulani herdsmen and the natives. In view of this, the herdsmen see the natives as enemies of their collective survival and destiny, and vice versa. They continue by arguing that, the conflict creates an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and perpetual tension that threatens peaceful coexistence, security and stability of society (Okoli). Nomads-natives conflict leads to threats

and intimidation forcing both to leave conflict-prone settlements. In this regard, the tense relationship affects the level of cooperation, agricultural activities and economic exchanges between the two groups.

### **The Implication on Food Insecurity and Economic Development**

Food insecurity exists when people lack sustainable physical or economic access to enough safe, nutritious, and socially acceptable food for a healthy and productive life. This may also result in severe social, psychological, and behavioral consequences. Food-insecure individuals may manifest feelings of alienation, powerlessness, stress, and anxiety, and they may experience reduced productivity, reduced work and school performance, and reduced income earnings, and this therefore has direct effects on the economic development of the individuals.

We must note the economic effects of pastoralists and farmer's conflict leads to dire productivity and agricultural consequences, causing food shortages in the region. Economic implications relate to losses associated with the destruction of homes, farmlands, community assets, and household properties. From 2015 to date to be precise, many people refuse to go to farm, for fear of being attacked, resulting in low agricultural productivity during harvest season. Further, in 2016 and the first quarter of 2017, many farmlands and large volumes of farm crops and produce were destroyed by herders. We should note that the conflict leads to a reduction in farming output and income of farmers and nomads. Farmers lose part or whole of their farms and crops through the grazing and the destruction by the cattle, and indiscriminate bush burning causing a severe drop in the quantity of food production in the region. On the other hand, as a result of reprisals there is also loss of cows belonging to the nomads through indiscriminate killing. In this regard, the yield of the farmers and the nomads are reduced, which is translated into lower income. Consequently, this negatively affects their savings, credit repayment ability, as well as food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers. Moreover, the conflict has a negative effect on agricultural productivity as farmers find it difficult to acquire the services of cattle required for ploughing, weeding of fields and transporting of harvested crop. This discourages the farmers and rural agricultural development (Interview with Mr John Bonat, farmer, 50yrs, Pasakori, Jema'a LGA, 2ND April, 2018).

### **Conclusion**

A violent conflict, particularly farmer-herder conflicts, have been a common feature of economic livelihood for a long time, hence, been identified as a threat to peace, security and development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This menace, we must note, has succeeded in slowing, retarding and even stopping some major economic activities in Southern Kaduna. The loss of lives and properties, reduction in agricultural produce, unemployment, loss of revenue etc. has unleashed fear animosity and hatred among the people, retarded the economic development of the region, has increased the rural-urban migration, and increased poverty and social problems (school dropout/streetism/social deviant, teenage pregnancy). These and many other factors remain African's topmost challenges to meaningful development. Therefore, it requires our collective efforts to find a lasting solution to this problem.

## **Recommendations**

This section attempts to proffer some remarkable reforms that if adopted by relevant government agencies, civil society groups, and individuals will go a long way in providing solution to the problem of Fulani herdsmen attacks/conflicts in Southern Kaduna.

1. Relevant agencies of government and the civil society should work towards reviewing existing and developing new mechanisms for the monitoring and control of Fulani herdsmen movement across the country. This should include the registering and branding of cattle across the country. Cattle trader should be certified and registered. Reviews standardize transportation policies, upgrading and regulations across the country. These policies need to be implemented before the full take off of ranches.
2. Government should put more efforts in monitoring and controlling small arms and light weapon across the country. Great attention should be placed on our borders, especially illegal entry points across states that have international borders. Government should also actively engage neighboring countries on the trans- border movement of humans and goods, within the limits of ECOWAS protocols with a view to checking illegitimate movement.
3. Resettlement of displaced persons, especially women and children should be integral part of all policies of government, non-governmental organizations and civil society groups. Other forms of support for lost property should continue to be given to victims, particularly the resettlement of communities that may have been destroyed.
4. Traditional rulers in the past played the role of police and judges whose duties also include effective management of conflict informally and arranging peace-meetings when matters got out of hand. Indeed, their power in the community has been eroded and subverted by local government officials. Apart from working towards strengthening traditional institutions, government should take a lead in bringing together, various sections of the rural community; community leaders, local vigilantes and security agencies to identify, monitor, and manage potential threats before the conflict escalated/spread.
5. An early warning and response mechanism need to be developed to track incidents and potential threats that could arise, either between Fulani herdsmen and indigenous people of Southern Kaduna. Herdsmen/Herder conflicts usually reach a boiling point usually towards end of January through February and March. These are months to monitor in this regard.

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