

The Challenges of Herdsmen/Farmers' Clashes and Rural Development in Benue State, Nigeria

Tyokase Clement Terlumun

*Department of Political Science, Federal College of Education,
Abeokuta, PMB 2096, Ogun State, Nigeria*

Abstract

The paper examined the herders/farmers conflicts in Benue State from 2013 to present date, which has resulted to a lot of losses of cattle, farmlands, lives and properties; destruction of school facilities, internal displacement, and disintegration of socio- economic and political life of the communities. Using sampling techniques, 60 respondents were selected from the target population from five Local Government Areas of Benue State. Data was collected through primary and secondary sources. The primary source of data was the questionnaire, while the secondary data was collected from textbook, the media, NGOs and Civil Society Organisations reports on the conflicts. Data gathered was analysed generating answers to the research questions raised, which identified the far-reaching effects of the herder/farmer conflicts on development of the communities. The paper suggested the establishment of joint mechanism for monitoring, dialogue and continuous engagement at the Local Government level comprising of herders and farmer's associations, security personnel, community leaders, religious leaders, and Civil Society Organisations. Also the government should carryout comprehensive development of the affected areas, and compensation and palliatives should be granted to people and families affected.

Keywords: *Herders, Farmers, Conflicts, Rural, Development*

Corresponding Author: Tyokase Clement Terlumun

Background to the Study

Rural developmental efforts over the years have not been able to address effectively the needs and yearnings of the rural people in Nigeria. Several government policies have been put in place to tackle rural challenges over the years. The various development Plans and Programmes include: The First National Development Plan (1962-1968); second national development plan (1970-1974), The Third National Development Plan (1975-1980), The Fourth National Development Plan (1985-1990). Other rural development efforts include: Special Programme on Food Security (SPFS) in Nigeria, Poverty Alleviation Programme (PAP), National Programme on Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), and Social Protection and Poverty Reduction Programmes of the current administration (Inedu, 2016).

Despite all these Policies and programmes put in place by successive governments aimed at improving the living conditions of people in the rural areas, little impact is felt. Adedire (2014) observed that in spite of the huge resources committed to rural development in Nigeria, much has not been achieved as most Nigerians rural dwellers still experience on a daily basis, the stark realities of underdevelopment. The problems of rural communities range from insecurity, poverty, lack of basic amenities, which in recent times has been compounded by farmers/herders clashes. The frequent incidences of herders/farmers conflicts in rural communities have become more disturbing with concomitant assault on the progress and development of rural areas. Many rural areas in Adamawa, Taraba, Zamfara, Kebbi, Kaduna, Plateau, Benue, Enugu, Delta, Ekiti, Ondo States etc, have experienced one form of herdsmen/farmers clashes that have led to loss of lives and properties, access to farms, streams/rivers, displacement of rural dwellers, closure of schools, reduction in agricultural production, disruption of markets, rural economies disintegration, intensification of rural urban migration, environmental migration, and health problems.

From 2012 to date, about many lives and properties have been lost as a result of conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers. In January 2016, about 10 Agatu communities in Benue state were razed down by suspected Fulani herdsmen, and as a result 500 people lost their lives to the herdsmen attacks. In the same Benue, on 1st of January, 2018, 73 villagers and farmers were killed by suspected Fulani herdsmen in villagers and farmers at Guma and Logo local government area of Benue state (Sahara reporters, January 11, 2018). In the southwest, On February 13, 2018, herdsmen struck again in Osun and Ondo states, sacking a council secretariat and burning a farm settlement. (Punch, February 14, 2018). The situation is not different in Enugu state where 482 communities in the state have at one time or the other, have been attacked by the herdsmen (Daily Post, January, 2, 2018). There have been several attacks and counter attacks in states like Adamawa, Plateau, Kaduna, Taraba, Ekiti, Imo, Delta, Zamfara, Ebonyi, and Anambra etc. In terms of food and agricultural production, the rural communities contribute immensely to the development of the country through agriculture that provides food for both man and animals, raw materials for industries and non-oil export produce for the country (Mafimisebi, 2002, cited in Adegboye, 2016). Benue state which is one the hotbeds of the conflicts is essentially a rural

agricultural state. The implications of the impact of the conflicts are the worsening living conditions of the people whose livelihood has become strangulated and stifled.

This paper therefore examines the development impacts of herders/farmers conflicts in rural communities of Benue State. The paper addresses a number of questions: How has the conflict impacted on socio-economic, political and environmental conditions of the selected communities? In what ways has the conflict affected farming in the targeted communities? How has the conflict affected the herders? How has the herders/farmers conflict affected the operation of markets and economy of the communities considered? In what ways has the conflict affected children and education in the selected communities? What policy options can be developed to address the challenges of herders/farmers conflict in Nigeria?

Rural Area

The term “rural” suggests a place with agricultural orientation; the houses are farmhouses, barns, sheds and other structures of similar purposes. As noted by Olisa and Obiukwu (1992) cited in Enyi, (2014), population is the main characteristic that differentiates rural from urban areas, especially in the developing countries. On this note, in a country like Nigeria, an area with a population of 20,000 people and below is classified as a rural area. Notwithstanding, this is not enough to explain a rural area. Hence, according to Olisa et al (1992) cited in Enyi, (2014) the main characteristics of rural areas are depression, degradation and deprivation. Many rural villages are immersed in poverty so visible that the people are the embodiment of it. In most rural area in Nigeria, basic infrastructure where they exist at all, are too inadequate for meaningful development. In addition, rural areas in Nigeria have been linked with agriculture which still depends on manual and crude tools. The effect is that the rural areas depend on agricultural sector for income, employments and other livelihoods opportunities. Despite its contribution to the national economy and GDP, rural areas in Nigeria remain very poor and deeply neglected (IFAD, 2011 cited in Akpan, 2012), and lack the basic services, employment opportunities, and leisure activities that most urban areas possess. Basic amenities and infrastructure such as roads, medical and health facilities, portable water, electricity etc. are grossly inadequate or non-existent. On the positive side, rural areas enjoy much more open space and less crowding. Their violent and property crime rates are much lower than those in urban areas. However, the recent menace of Fulani herdsman attacks unleashed in some of these rural areas have undermined peaceful living and co-existence and threatens sources of livelihood of the rural dwellers.

Rural Development

There is no universally acceptable definition of rural development, and the term is used in different ways and in vastly divergent context. Over the years, rural development is seen as an essential tool for improving development; especially in developing countries. It concerns itself with the review and assessment of the improvement in the quality and standard of life of the rural people; which is largely measured with the sufficient provision of health and social services, good living conditions and bridging of income inequalities

amongst others. These leads to universal concerns that, rural development lies upon the improvement of quality of life of the rural people (Madu, 2015). In line with this view, Ibanga, (2016), opined that the concept of rural development is used to indicate a sustained improvement in the quality of life of the people in the rural communities. In the words of Mukherjee (1971), Rural Development is an approach to enable a specific group of people, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas to demand and control more of the benefits of rural development. The group includes small scale farmers, tenants and the landless.

Similarly, according to the World Bank (1975) cited in Ogunkoya, Lasisi, Hassan, and Elumah (2015), rural development must be clearly designed to increase production. It recognizes that improved food supplies and nutrition, together with basic services, such as health and education, not only directly improve the physical well-being and quality of life of the rural poor, but can also indirectly enhance their productivity and their ability to contribute to the national economy.

The various definitions of rural development points at a similar direction with special focus on the rural people and enhancing the productivity and quality of life of the rural dwellers through well structure policies geared at integrating the rural areas with the national economy. It is also important to note that without the productive resources the rural areas produce in terms of food, cash crop, raw materials and other agricultural products, the urban areas will suffer.

Challenges of Herder/Farmer Conflict on Rural Development

Herdsmen/ Farmers conflicts have become a key challenge ravaging rural communities in Nigeria in recent times. No meaningful development can take place in a conflicts ridden environment. There is no doubt that the clashes between herdsmen and farmers in the predominantly farming areas of the North Central region resulted in the destruction of lives and farmlands have become a major treat to the efforts to boost food production. Eyekpimi,(2016), and Ijirshar, V.U, Ker G and Terlumun, Y.C (2015) observed that from Benue to Taraba, Nasarawa and Plateau in the North Central region and Zamfara State in the North East, clashes between herdsmen and farmers have left several people dead and loss of live and property affect farming activities and other related businesses and socio-economic activities. This has resulted in a drastic reduction in farm outputs, a development that has heightened the fear of hunger. Already most farmers in the affected states have abandoned farms and schools for the for fear of being attacked by the herdsmen.

Several farmers have been displaced and dispossessed of their farms by armed men believed to be herdsmen Agricultural and development experts are unanimous in their predictions that the gains recorded in the agricultural sector of the economy, especially in the area of food production, may suffer a serious setback as a result of the negative effects of terrorist activities on farmers in Benue and neighbouring states (Ijirshar, etal. 2015). These impacts are detrimental to rural development. The conditions and standard of living

of the farmers have become worsen. They have been disposed of their sources of livelihood and the ability to produce food for themselves and the larger markets across Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

Any valid research is anchored on theoretical construct. The essence of theory is to explain in order to reach generalizations, predict and control. It is on this note that the study adopted the Constructive Confrontation Theory propounded by Burgess, and Burgess, (1996). The theory is based on the assumption that intense, long-term confrontations over important and difficult issues are inevitable. What is not inevitable, however, is the destructiveness commonly associated with these conflicts. Consider, for example, the deaths, destruction, fear, and despair created by long-running herdsmen attacks in rural areas. The long-term confrontations and the destructiveness commonly associated with these conflicts. Such as the deaths, destruction of farm land, cow theft/killing, destruction of property, destruction of rural development efforts/projects etc. These attacks/conflicts can reverse development strides in the rural areas.

The direct bearing this theory has on this study is that the 'destructiveness' associated with herdsmen attack/conflicts which has impacted negatively on the every aspects of live of rural farmers, just like a disease that has ravaged the entire body system. This has resulted in a drastic reduction in farm outputs, a development that has heightened the fear and threat to livelihood of rural settlers. Already most farmers in the affected states have abandoned farms and schools for the for fear of being attacked by herdsmen.

Research Design

Descriptive research design was adopted in this study. The study attempt to confine its framework to the menace of the Herder/Farmer conflict and analyse it influence on rural development. The study was carried out inGuma, Gwer West, Makurdi, Kwande, Katsina-Ala and Logo Local Governments in Benue state. These local governments were chosen because of their preponderance in Herders/Farmer conflict. Interview and structured questionnaire was used in the collection of primary data from the respondent in the area of study. The questionnaire was designed to carry variables such as Age, Gender, Marital Status, Education, occupation, Number of Herdsmen attack, impact on household' survival, impacts on agriculture, impacts on school activities, impacts on business, and the presence of development projects in the village (rural area). The study also utilize secondary sources of data collection such as library sources; books, journal, magazines, periodical.

The target population consisted of 60 respondent randomly selected comprising of farmers, herdsmen, village chiefs, youth leaders, traders, market chiefs, leaders of vigilante groups, local government officials. Purposive sampling technique was adopted to draw out samples from the five selected Local Government area. The data gathered was analyse qualitatively, based on critical evaluation of victims, eye witnesses, participant in the conflict, security agencies and community leaders narratives and reports.

Empirical Verification

Internal Displacement, Deaths and Destruction of properties

The outcome of farmers/herdsmen clashes is that it has resulted in the displacement of several households affected by the herdsmen attacks in various states in Nigeria. Most of the affected victims are either domiciled in IDPs camp in a neighboring state or in the affected state capital with women and children in the majority in these camps. For example, “in the IDPs' camp in Guma Local Government Area of Benue State observed that the camps were dominated by children of nursery, primary and/or secondary school age” (Punch, February 3, 2018).

The table below is a compilation of some of the very violent and heavy casualty communal conflicts triggered by Fulani Herdsmen occur in Benue State, in communities of local government areas such as Agatu, Guma, Gwer West, Makurdi, Kwande, Katsina-Ala and Logo. The communal conflicts orchestrated by Fulani herdsmen in Benue State had claimed the lives of more than 5000 victims in the first half in the year 2014. The victims include women and children and they sacked more than 100 communities and have thrown thousands of refugees into Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camp located Makurdi. Earlier more than 200 people were killed by Fulani Herdsmen in the Shengev community in Gwer West Local Government Council with strange substance that looks like bio-chemical weapons. (Ugbechie 2016, Akevi 2014 cited in Ubelejit, 2016). Benue was again attacked in 2016 where several people were killed in Agatu communities. The recent killing took place on 1st of January 2018 where 73 people were killed farms and properties worth fortune destroyed because the state government introduced anti open grazing law in the state.

Table 1: Herdsmen/Farmers clashes 2013- 2018

Date	Place	No of casualties	Source
April, 2013	TseAgbe, Uhembe, Guma LGA	14	The Nation April 13, 2013
April 2013	Makurdi, LGA	22	Anon, 2013
April 23, 2013	TseKasar, MbayerYandev, Guma LGA	7	Anon, 2013
May 5, 2013	Mbayer- Yandev, Guma LGA	5	The Nation 8/5/2013
May 4, 2013	Madugu, Makurdi	6	Anon.2013
May 5, 2013	Kulayem, Hagher, Guma LGA	5	Anon. 2013
April 3, 2013	Farmers/Fulani clashes in Guma LGA	3	Okoli A.C etal (2014, p78)
April 10,2013	Clash between Fulani and Tiv, Guma LGA	28	Sunday Trust p2
Sept 2014	TseShima, Mbatoho- Mbalagh, Makurdi LGA	3 Rape and killing	Sunday Leadership, Sept, 2014, p10
September 10,2014	Five Villages in Ogbadibo LGA	20	
January 27, 2015	Abube, Okoklo, Ogwule&Ocholoyon in Agatu LGA	17	

January 30, 2015	Five villages in Logo LGA	9	
March 15, 2018	Egba Village in Agatu	90	
April 27, 2015	Mbadwen, Guma LGA Benue state	28	
May 11, 2015	Ikyoawen community in TuranKwande	5	
May 24, 2015	Ukura, Gafa, Per, and Tse-Gusa, Logo LGA	100	
July 7, 2015	ImandeBebeshi in Kwande LGA	1	
November 5, 2015	Buruku LGA	12 People killed, 25 injured	
February 8, 2016	Tor-Anyiin and Tor-Ataan in Buruku LGA	10 were killed, over 300 were displaced	
February 18, 2016	Okokolo village in Agatu Local Government Area	5	
February 21-24, 2016	Agatu LGA	500 People were killed, 700 displaced	
January 24, 2017	Ipiga village in Ohimini LGA	15	
March 2, 2017	Mbahinmi community, Gwer East Local Government Area	10	
March 11, 2017	A Tiv community, Mkgovur village in Buruku LG		
May 8, 2017	Tse-Akaa village, UgondoMbammar District of Logo LGA	3	
January 17, 2018	Logo and Guma LGA	4	
January 30, 2018		1	

Source: Compiled by the Author (2018).

Impact of Farmer Herder Clashes on Food Production

The despicable activities of the herdsmen reverberate across Nigeria and have constituted a serious threat to national food security by the destruction of crop resulting in avoidable crises and blood shedding. The herdsmen attacks on farmers and farmlands, especially in Benue, have destroyed many farms and yam seedlings. (The Guardian, 17 March, 2018). Crops farmers across the sampled areas have become apprehensive over the destructive nature of the herdsmen who unleash their herds on crops, destroying them to points of no redemption. As a result, farmers of yam, cassava, rice, maize, guinea corn and groundnuts now incur extra cost to put hedges around their farms to fend off the marauding cattle whose owners have grown most insensitive to the plights of the average farmer. This confirms Basil (2015) and Ekpeyemi, (2016), who have shown in their various studies the devastating effect of the conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, which leads to

loss of lives, valuable properties and destruction of vast expanse of arable agricultural farmlands thereby posing serious threat to food security since farmers for fear of attack could no longer go to farm and harvest their farm produce. In For instance, Iortim Dura, 55-year old farmer in Logo village described how Herdsmen “open up barns in the farm and destroyed the yam seedlings. Even the planted ones are uprooted and stepped on in the process of grazing. (Field work, 2018). Of 60 Persons interviewed, 22 reported loss of a whole farm of standing crops, 41 reported losses of livestock, while 8 households in the sampled area reported loss of human lives. The respondents indicated that stores, barns, residences and household items were destroyed in many of the violent clashes.

Furthermore, it was observed that many farmers have been forced to flee their farms for fear of being attacked and killed by well-armed herdsmen and loss of part or the whole of their crops which translated into low income on the part of the farmers who take farming as a major occupation. These activities of herdsmen tends to negatively affect the savings, credit repayment ability, as well the food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers that depend on these farmers for food supply. Thus, discouraging farmers and stifling rural/agricultural development effort. Besides, the burning of crops and brutal murdering of farmers by the herdsmen, farmers who survived the senseless killings have been detained in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps under horrific condition since they fled their ancestral homes on account of the conflict and cannot return to take advantage of the raining season for agricultural purposes which guarantees food security (Sahara reporters, May, 18, 2018).The result of the survey also indicates that the herders suffer losses from cattle rustling.

Impact of Farmer Herder Clashes on Economic Activities/ Revenue Generation

The economic implications of the farmer-herdsmen clash cannot be quantified. It has resulted in disruption of markets and increase in the prices of foodstuff. Benue is known as the Food Basket of the Nation and that explains the strategic importance of the state in the nation's food chain.” (Economic Confidential, April 16, 2016). The sample of opinion of some traders in the ZakiIbam Market, in Ukum Local Government Area and Ugba market in Logo Local Government Area on the impact of the herdsmen attacks on market and commercial activities reveal that at the section where foodstuffs are being sold, there were sessions of haggling, ranting and banter among traders and customers, who kept going from one stall to the other to see if the prices will reduce, while the sellers at different points reeled out the same litany, 'that is how we bought it'. It was also observed that some markets in the sampled areas no longer receive much patronage of traders following dwindling supply of farm produce by farmers to the markets, with consequential effect on revenue generation of the Local Governments. Mr Micheal Tyobee, a revenue collector in ZakiIbam market reported that there was reduction in the commercial activities at the market as an average of 50 Lorries instead of over 100 now load at the market.

Impacts of Farmer Herder Clashes on Education

Several of the Local governments and Communities affected by herdsmen/farmer clashes have had impacted negatively on the education of the children of those affected. In Guma

LGA, Benue, Punch, (Feb. 3, 2018), reported the experience of a primary four pupil at St. Alfred Nursery and Primary School, Torkula in Guma LGA:

“Our village was attacked by some people, who were killing us and we had to abandon the place. Since then, we have been living in this camp. We had just resumed school in our area when the herdsmen came to attack our village. My parents' property was all destroyed by the herdsmen. We were able to escape with the help of security agents. It is a shame that I cannot go to school now. Every morning when I wake up, I think about my friends who must be heading to school while I waste my time here”

These children who are supposed to enjoy basic education at the Primary level have been forced out of school owing to the activity of the Fulani herdsmen in their community. This will further accentuate the level of ignorance and poverty among these children.

Furthermore, Prof. Wilfred Uji, the Executive Secretary, Benue State Teaching Service Board, (Punch, April 18, 2018), reported that the persistent herdsman attacks on Benue communities, had disrupted the school calendar and forced 300,000 children out of school. 200,000 of the figure are secondary school students and 100,000 are primary school pupils, which cut across three local government areas.” The crisis had adversely impacted negatively on the educational system, especially the primary and secondary school system with attendant negative consequences on the future development of these affected children who are Nigeria rising generation. Apart from the fact that children were forced out of schools, teachers are not left out as their lives are being threatened by herdsmen. According to the Executive Secretary, Benue State Teaching Service Board, (Punch, April 18, 2018), “I was in my office when some of them (teachers) walked in and showed me threat letters and once this kind of letter is written to you, you better take it seriously or the next day, you find yourself in a different form”. The future of our children is under serious attack and education in Benue State and by extension in Nigeria is under severe attack and has been compromised as a result of herdsmen and farmers' crisis.

Political Dimension of Farmer Herder Clashes

The development problem of herder/farmer cannot be seen solely in term of underlying socio-economic factors. Rather, they are immersed in wider discourse on politics and power in Nigeria. As Greiner (2013) has shown with respect to Kenya, the conflict is perceived as part of the struggles for exclusive access to land, and attempts to safeguard ethnically homogenous electoral bases. Similarly, as (Human Right Watch, 2013) observed, the issues are not unrelated to decisive state and local government policies that discriminate on ethnic and religion grounds. Winter and Rowley (1986) also suggest that political disempowerment has been a recurring issue where rules governing the trespass of animals are made and enforced by farmers with an inherent bias against pastoralists and animal keepers.

The importance of political factors and power relations, which appear to be skewed against nomadic pastoralists, emerges in the Benue state with the manner of the enactment and implementation of the Anti-Open grazing law by the government of Benue state. In Benue, animosity against herdsmen has become worsened by the largely indigenous farming communities' exclusive claims to land and water resources. Those claims as observed by Egwu (2015) have reinforced competition between the two different occupation groups for land and water. He stated that the subsisting Land Use Act of 1978, made elected and appointed local government officials and traditional institutions to play an active role in regulating access to land and water resources, which in some cases, requiring officials' express permission for grazers to settle for a period of grazing in particular domains. He further explains that states where there has been long-standing identity issues dividing ethnic majorities minorities, and where indigene/settler dichotomies existed, the politics of protecting local resources against perceived 'others' increases the likelihood of more animosity and conflict (Egwu,2015).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study established the fact that Herders-Farmer conflict constitutes a major problem to rural development in Benue state. The study reviews the negative impact of the various conflicts which include displacement of people, destruction of lives and properties, destruction of educational facilities and closure of schools, and disintegration in social and economic livelihood of the people. The study also reveal the political dimensions of the crises, which re-enforced ethnic differences, and enhanced mutual distrust among nationalities, especially in areas where there had been long standing issue of identity between indigene/settlers.

The politics of protecting local natural resources (land and water) by the indigenes against perceived outsiders promotes and adumbrates animosity and conflict. In Benue state, during the run-off to 2019 general elections, the herder-farmer crises has become a key issue in electioneering and political mobilization. The Governor Ortom led government of the opposition PDP has made it a campaign issue and associate the Fulani Herdsmen with President Buhari due to shared ethnicity.

The following recommendations are hereby proffered;

1. Government should enhance the security of the communities, which are remote from the state capital and local government headquarters by stationing patrol joint teams of the police, military and other security agencies. Community vigilante groups comprising of both header and farmers should be encouraged and made to work cooperatively with the joint security patrol team.
2. The state and local government should earmark and provide adequate grazing land for the pastoralists. Those lands should not be earmark on any family or community farmland.
3. Farmers and Herders should be encouraged to establish joint mechanism for monitoring, dialogue and continuous engagement at the Local Government level comprising of herders and farmers associations, security personnel, community leaders, religious leaders, and Civil Society Organizations.

4. The government should carryout comprehensive development of the affected areas, and compensation and palliatives should be granted to people and families affected.

References

- Abass, I. M. (1993). The challenge of rural development strategies in a deregulated economy. Paper prepared for a national seminar on rural development-doing more less developing rural resources in a deregulated economy-organized by New Nigerian Newspapers Limited in collaboration with Arthur Green consultants held at Shiroro Hotel Minna, Niger State from 10th-12th February.
- Akpan, N. S. (2017). Rural development in Nigeria: A review of pre- and post-independence practice. *Journal of Sociological Research*, 2.
- Abubakar, A. (1981), The financing of rural infrastructure in Nigeria. A paper presented at the first national workshop on rural infrastructure organized by the federal department of rural development at the Conference Center University of Ibadan; July 22nd – 25th.
- Adedire, S. A. (2014), Local government and the challenges of rural development in Nigeria (1999 to date). *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 19(4), 98-107.
- Adegboye, A. A. (2016). Socio-economic status categories of rural dwellers in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of Advances in Research*, 7(2), 1-10, Article no. nAIR. 21836. http://www.journalrepository.org/media/journals/AIR_31/2016/Apr/Adegboye722015AIR21836.pdf
- Burgess, G. & Burgess H., (1996). Constructive confrontation theoretical framework. http://www.intractableconflict.org/www_colorado_edu_conflict/peace/essay/conf_conf.htm Accessed on March 3, 2018.
- Enyi, J. E. (2014). Rural and community development in Nigeria: An assessment. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Nigerian Chapter)*, 2(2).
- Egwu, S. (2015), The political economy of rural banditry in contemporary Nigeria in Mohammed J. Kuna & Jibrin Ibrahim (eds), *Rural banditry and conflict in northern Nigeria*. Abuja: Centre of Democracy and Development.
- Eyepimi, O. (2016). History of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria. <https://infoguidenigeria.com/fulani-herdsmen-farmers-chashes/> Accessed on March 2, 2018.

- Greiner, C. (2013). *Guns, land and votes: Cattle rustling and politics of bandary remarie of northern Kenya*. Oxford: African Affairs.
- Human Right Watch (2013). Leaving everything to God: Accountability for inter-communal violence in Plateau and Kaduna state, Nigeria.
- Homer-Dixon, T. F. & Blitt, J. (1998). *Eco-violence: Links among environment, population and security*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Ibanga, I. (2016). "Problem and prospect of rural development in Nigeria" <https://infoguidenigeria.com/problem-prospect-rural-development-nigeria/> Accessed on March 2, 2018
- Ijirshar, V. U., Ker, G. & Terlumun, Y. C. (2015). Socio-economic effects of farmers-fulani herdsmen's conflict on farmers output in Benue Nigeria. In Bakpo F. S & Ugbede, M. (2015), Eds. Proceeding of an International Academic Conference of the International Multidiscipline Research and Academic Society, Obudu, Cross River State.
- Imo, C. K. (2017). The demographic implications of nomadic herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria. *International Journal of Development and Management Review (INJODEMAR)*, 12(1).
- Inedu, S. A. (2016). Rural development policies in Nigeria: The way forward. *Capital Journal of Education Studies*, 3(2).
- International Crisis Group, (19 September, 2017). Herders against farmers: Nigeria's expanding deadly conflict. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/252-herders-against-farmers-nigerias-expanding-deadly-conflict> Accessed on March 2, 2018.
- Kamar, Y. M., Lawal, N. I., Babangida, S. I. & Jahun, U. A. (2014). Rural development in Nigeria: problems and prospects for sustainable development. *The International Journal of Engineering and Science (IJES)* 3(12), 24-29.
- Madu, A. Y. (2015). Democracy and rural development in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Challenges and Prospect. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286440525_Democracy_and_Rural_Development_in_Nigeria's_Fourth_Republic_Challenges_and_Prospect. Accessed March 3, 2018.
- Mukherjee, M. (1971). Rural poverty and the minimum level of living a reply. *Indian Economic Review*, 6 & 7.

- Ogunkoya, O. A., Lasisi, J. O., Hassan, B., Elumah, L. O. (2015). An integrated approach to rural development in Nigeria. *International Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 11
- Olisa, M. S. O. & Obiukwu, J. I. (1992). *Rural development in Nigeria: Dynamics and strategies*. Awka: Mekslink Publishers (Nig).
- Punch, (2018). *Herdsman attacks: Food crisis imminent as farmers flee farmlands*
- Punch, (2018). *Herdsman attacks force 300,000 Benue pupils out of school*. <http://punchng.com/herdsman-attacks-force-300000-benue-pupils-out-of-school/>
- Punch, (2018). *Herdsman destroy farms in Osun villages*. <http://punchng.com/herdsman-destroy-farms-in-osun-villages/>
- Punch, (2018). *Herdsman attacks: We're in IDPs camps instead of our classrooms –Benue schoolchildren*. <http://punchng.com/herdsman-attacks-were-in-idps-camps-instead-of-our-classrooms-benue-schoolchildren/>
- Punch, (2017). *Killing fields: How herdsman attacks on farmers threaten Nigeria's food security*. punchng.com/killing-fields-how-herdsman-attacks-on-farmers-threaten-nigerias-food-security/
- Reliefweb, (2016). *Nigeria: Herders and Farmers Clash Over Land* <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/nigeria-herders-and-farmers-clash-over-land>
- Sahara reporters, (2018). *Benue State Buries 73 Killed By Fulani Herdsman*. <http://saharareporters.com/2018/01/11/benue-state-buries-73-killed-fulani-herdsman-0> accessed on February 10, 2018
- Ubelejit, N. T (2016), Fulani Herdsman and Communal Conflicts: Climate Change as Precipitator. *Journal of Political Science and Leadership Research* 2 (1) 2016 www.iiardpub.org
- Vanguard, (2017). *Herdsman attacks as trigger to famine*. Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/herdsman-attacks-trigger-famine/> accessed on March 1, 2018
- The Guardian, (17 March, 2018), “Herdsman/farmers' clash as threat to food production” By Samson Ezea. <https://guardian.ng/saturday-magazine/herdsman-farmers-clash-as-threat-to-food-production/>
- This Day, (2018). *Suspected Herdsman Kill 14 in Benue, Nasarawa Communities*. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2018/04/12/suspected-herdsman-kill-14-in-benue-nasarawa-communities/>

Sahara reporter, (2018). *The Impact of Herdsmen Attacks on Federal Government's Food Security Policy: The Case Of Benue*. <http://saharareporters.com/2018/05/18/impact-herdsmen-attacks-federal-government%E2%80%99s-food-security-policy-case-benue/>

Vanguard, (2018). *Herdsmen Destroyed farm, injure one in Ogun*. Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/01/herdsmen-destroy-n6-8m-farm-injure-one-ogun/>

<http://punchng.com/herdsmen-attacks-food-crisis-imminent-as-farmers-flee-farmlands/>
accessed on February 1, 2018

<http://www.africanagricultureblog.com/2007/03/farmers-in-northern-nigeria-suffer.html>.
Accessed on March 1, 2018

<https://infoguidenigeria.com/problem-prospect-rural-development-nigeria/>

<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/255364-resolve-herdsmen-crisis-nigerian-working-group.html> Accessed on March 2, 2018