

## The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria

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### Abstract

This paper examines the violent rising wave of Fulani herdsmen attacks in Nigeria. The menace of Fulani herdsmen has spread like wildfire which poses a great threat to the corporate existence and oneness of Nigeria. Thus, the crisis is attributed to ethnic cleansings, border porosity, political mitigation, environmental and climate change. The study avers that the relationship of the herders with their animals differ them from normal nature of the civil world or orderly society which influenced the herders to have a less value for human life. This relationship results in incessant crises between the herders and the host communities which have left thousands of people dead and millions homeless. Utilizing secondary data, the paper canvasses civic education as a panacea to tackling the menace of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. Finally, there is also need for collaborative efforts by all security agencies (military and para-military forces) to work together to curb insurgencies in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Ethnic Cleansing, Insecurity, Cattle Rustling, Fulani herdsmen, collective violence

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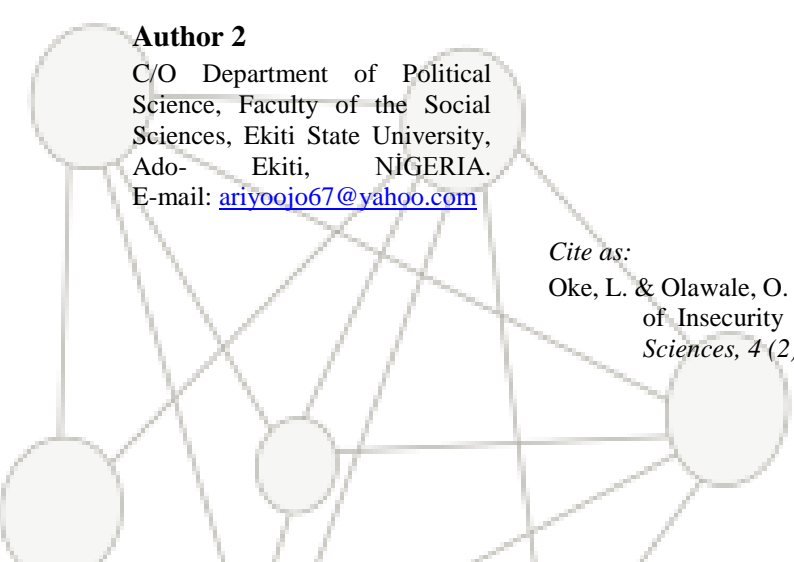
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## INTRODUCTION

Numerous issues bordering on national security are very critical for the material progress of any polity (Burton, 2016). Sutherland and Cressey (1978) are of the opinion that the survival of any society is its law and order which are predicated on national security. Insecurity leaves in its wake tales of woe which the country and its citizens have had to contend with over the years. The Fulani crisis is a unique and emerging one (Burton, 2016). The Fulani in Nigeria are a part of the Peul, or Fula, ethnic group, which has existed in some form for thousands of years (Iro, 1994). Fulani are more than 20 million in Africa today, and the largest community in the tribe is located in Nigeria, where they make up one of the nation's largest ethnic groups (Abass, 2012). The Fula people are almost solely Muslim, having converted to Islam from their traditional belief system in the 1500s, and most Fulani maintain a semi-nomadic lifestyle, earning them the appellation of "Fulani herdsmen (Burton, 2016).

The influence of foreign Fulani groups in search of pasture accounts for the irreconcilable conflicts being witnessed between the Fulani and their host communities. Due to cultural and religious affinity, it is practically difficult to distinguish between Nigeria Fulani and Fulani from other countries across the Sahel region moving into Nigeria (Omitola, 2014). Adisa and Adekunle (2010) argued that the migration of nomadic pastoralists follows a systematic pattern, dictated by variations in rainfall, grazing stock, pasture and water. The migratory nature of the pastoralists is a source of potential conflicts as there is intense competition between pastoralists and farming communities.

Nte (2016) argued that most of the very violent conflicts triggered by Fulani Herdsmen occurred in the middle-belt of Nigeria in general and Plateau, Benue and Taraba States in particular. In the case of Benue State there have been highly devastating conflicts that have claimed so many lives and properties engendered by Fulani Herdsmen in communities of local government areas such as Agatu, Guma, Gwer West, Makurdi, Kwande, Katsina-Ala and Loggo. 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 (Nte, 2016). However, the recent attacks on the South East and South Western part of Nigeria by Fulani herdsmen on their hosting community in Ekiti, Osun, Oyo, Ogun and Ondo States called for proactive actions as many souls were brutally murdered and landed properties, like vegetative, totally destroyed by this marauding Fulani herdsmen.

The attacks by Fulani herdsmen have in recent years taken more sophisticated dimensions with the use of new types of weapons and communication devices. In consequence, the sedentary agrarian communities have resorted to self-defense through local vigilante groups (Abass 2012; McGregor 2014). This has further aggravated violence, with destruction of lives and properties. According to Fasona and Omojola (2005), conflicts resulting from cattle grazing actually accounted for 35% of all reported crises between 1991 and 2005 in Nigeria.

Therefore, there is a need for critical assessment of the underlying factors responsible for the escalation of conflicts between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers to untangle the various important but conflicting narratives that have been used in explaining the reason behind the recent escalation of the conflict.

## Conceptual Clarification

**Insecurity:** this means the absence of peace in a country and its continuous absence due to impacts of organized crime and terrorism (Omitola, 2014). The continuing impacts of the organized crime and terrorism can lead to political instability and undermine the peaceful human co-existence of such a country as such development can result into state failure or collapse (McGregor, 2014). Thus, insecurity in a state is characterized by failure of major institutions of the state especially the loss of ability to perform central state functions, such as guaranteeing security and order, welfare and the rule of law (Omitola, 2014). Suhrke (1999) was of the opinion that, security and insecurity of any nation are no longer considered as conditioned only upon geopolitics and military strength, but also on social, economic, environmental moral and cultural issues.

In this research, insecurity will be seen as state of instability and continually of livelihood unpredictable living, feeling and safety in the society. The state of danger that is consider as unfit, unsafe, and not conducive for productive activity to take place or when there is absence of peace, tranquility or harmony.

**Conflict Prevention:** Lund (2002) defines conflict prevention as any structural or intercessory means to keep interstate tension and disputes from escalating into significant violence and use of armed forces to strengthen the capabilities of potential parties to violent conflict for resolving such disputes peacefully, and to progressively reduce the underlying problems that produce these issues and disputes. This definition recognizes the part of structural provisions and meditations as a way of reducing conflict and enshrines peace among contending groups in the society (Iwu, 2015). Also the method of this conflict prevention emphasized the uses of force to prevent both parties from going to conflict or war. The method may be disparaging and unacceptable because of the nature of the society and leading to forceful refusal by both parties to display their concomitant attitudes towards the armed forces. Iwu (2015) citing Lund (1997) and Laue (1992) differentiated between conflict management and conflict resolution. To Lund, conflict management is a process of intervening in conflict to contain, reduce the level of violence, prevent vertical or horizontal expansion and transforming the (potential or actual) violent clash into less damaging form of interaction, searching for temporary solution that can prevent escalation. While Laue sees conflict resolution as joint agreement which satisfies the underlying needs and interest of the conflicting parties and does not sacrifice any of their genuinely important values.

The value of conflict prevention as argued by the researcher is that, it controls and manages strained relationship early enough to avoid the threat of conflict and violence. The value of conflict prevention as argued in the research is to detect and respond to early warning and threats of the Fulani herdsmen either given by the society to the civilian agents or by the state government to the federal level.

**Homeland Security:** The concept of Homeland Security originated from America after September 11, 2001 terrorist attack. The essence of homeland security is to protect the United States of America (US) sovereignty, territory, domestic population, and critical defense infrastructure against external threats and aggression, or other threats as directed by the President (Reese, 2013). 2010 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (DHS) defines homeland security as a concerted

national effort to ensure a safe, secure and resilient homeland against terrorism and other hazards where American interests, aspirations, and ways of life can thrive. While 2008 *U.S. Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plan, Fiscal Years 2008-2013* (DHS) sees it as a unified national effort to prevent and deter terrorist attacks, protect and respond to hazards, and to secure the national borders (Reese, 2013). The essence of homeland security as being justified is to ensure that America is safe, secure, and resilient against terrorism and other hazards (Reese, 2013). Regardless of the definitions given above, borrowing the term “homeland security” to Nigeria security context, it will primarily mean to protect Nigerian state from internal insurrection and external attack; it will be a collaborative effort by all law enforcement agents in Nigeria: Military (army, navy, air force) and civilian agents (police, state security service, civil defense, immigration, national intelligence, immigration, prison service) to curb terrorism, insurgency and other hazards.

**Insurgency:** Insurgency may be seen as the use of force, usually violent, as means of coercing a target population to submit to the will of the terrorists (Isyaku, 2013). While, United Nation Document defines insurgency as any act which is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or international organization to do or abstain from doing any act. The operational tactics of the insurgents are to intimidate, frustrate, and raise feeling of uncertainty, imminent danger and the loss of hope, so as to cripple or limit all aspects of human activities and normal livelihoods (Omitola, 2014).

### **Theoretical Framework**

This paper employed the theory of Collective Violence as its theoretical framework. This theory describes the process by which a group assembles material and non-material resources and places them under collective control for the explicit purpose of pursuing a group’s interests through collective action. Collecting resources must be accompanied by mobilization of resources (Isyaku, 2013). A group may prosper yet still not contend for power. According to Johari (2015), collective violence may result from the role of failed and flailing states. To Johari, he contends that, in some countries, the rulers failed to establish a strong and stable political system, hence, the power-hungry groups came forwards to capture power by means of violence. They created serious problems of law and others. Baylis and Smith (2005) as cited in the Johari (2015) expatiates “failed state” as the one that has collapsed and cannot provide protection to its citizens without substantial external support and where the government of the state has ceased to exist inside its territorial border. Therefore, to Baylis and Smith, the effect of failed state in nonperforming the basic function in protection of life and properties, maintenance of laws and order that will usher in individual and group to result to collective violence in protection of their life and properties. In the words of Rand as cited in Johari (2015), a failed state or ungovernable state has four attributes as follows: (a) lack of state penetration evidenced by corruption, prevalence of informal economy, and absence of effective state institutions, (b) lack of monopoly of force indicated by illegal armed groups, criminal networks and population with access to arms (c) lack of border controls and (d) external interference. All these attributes highlighted by Rand; Baylis and Smith; and Johari are prevalent in the causes of collective violence as seen in Nigeria. The porosity in the border leading

to the influx of Fulani herdsmen from other West African States to Nigeria as well as illegal importation of firearms and ammunitions from Nigeria neighbouring borders of Cameroon, Benin Republic, Niger and Chad Republic (Omitola, 2014). Also, the uncontrollable nature of the movement of militants especially from the neighbouring countries that is experience conflict like Somalia, Mali, Niger Republic, Libya with light and heavy weapons and infiltrated the ranks of Fulani herdsmen resulting in the geometrical increase in the attacks in the country (Mohammed, 2018). The justification for collective violence as argued by the realist group conflict theorists argued that if the interest (“interest or goods” as argued by Wallace and Wolf (1991) which include power, status, resources, position, landed properties, etc.) of a particular individual or group is jeopardized or trampled upon, this can lead to conflict between the individual or group and the invaders. To the Fulani herdsmen, their major interests are to source for food for their cattle as well as protect their cattle in the expense of their life from danger; any act that hindered them from doing this is always leading to collective fight between the herdsmen and the hosting community. Also, the frustration and aggression thesis provides explanation for the justification for act of collective violence by a certain individual or group, it attributes violent behaviour to frustration, which breeds anger, and finally lead to aggressive behaviour (Albert, 2005), while deprivation thesis holds the belief that, people habitually experience a discrepancy between their expectations in life and their actual achievements, they are likely resort to violence (Gurr, 1989). This collective violence may also result from the hosting community because of the failure of the government in protecting the life and properties of their citizens through enabling good laws, and providing enforcement officers to protect the lives and properties of the people by putting laws into their hand in safeguarding lives and properties from dangers of attack.

### **The Menace of Fulani Herdsmen Insurgency in Nigeria**

Many factors have been adduced for the menace of Fulani herdsmen and farmers clashes in Nigeria. Among these factors are:

**Border Porosity:** Regardless of the economic and social aspects, a standard character of the Nigerian boundaries is porous (Burton, 2016). Nigeria has porous borders with Cameroon (1,690 kilometers) in the east, Niger (1,497 kilometers) in the north, Benin (773 kilometers) in the west, and Chad (87 kilometers) in the northeast (Onuoha, 2012). The three critical immediate neighbours of Nigeria have a predominantly itinerant Fulani Islamic population that share common borders with Nigeria’s eight states in the northern region, namely Sokoto, Katsina, Jigawa, Yobe, Borno, Adamawa, Taraba and Gombe. The cross - border activities are defined in certain push and pull variables (Onuoha, 2012). According to (Alli, 2011), the push factors consisting of the domestic conditions in Chad, Niger and Cameroun include the severe socio-economic dislocation that stalls sustainable development, perennial drought, famine, political instability, social and ethnic conflicts and near collapse of state control of resources and institutions, as well as the survival pressures on immediate and extended family members. The pull factors to Nigeria are critically socio-economic prospects, food security, religious and cultural affinity with Nigerians and political freedom. To Onuoha (2012) the Fulani herdsmen, moving with guns, causing violence, fighting with farmers are not Nigerians. These are foreigners coming into Nigeria to cause a breach of the peace of the nation. They are, therefore, terrorists and should be treated as such by the



Nigerian security agencies. The porous borders are to blame for the infiltration of the extremists. Nigeria has international land borders of about 4,470 kilometres (2,513 miles) with Chad, Cameroon, Benin, and Niger, and a coastline of 774 kilometres (480 miles), which are largely unmanned.

**Cattle Rusting:** In Nigeria, the pervasiveness of cattle rustling especially in the northern part of Nigeria has been extensive with thousands of the incidence reported by the cattle rearers every year. The paucity of data make it difficult to ascertain the exact statistics on the trend of cattle rustling, nevertheless, isolated figures that exist with cattle breeders association put the death toll of herders at 322 and the loss of 60,000 cattle's stolen by rustlers in 2013 alone across Plateau, Nasarawa, Niger, Kaduna, Taraba, Benue and Zamfara states (Okoli and Okpaleke, 2014 cited in Burton, 2016). It was observed by Okwor (2016) that, in Plateau State among Berom and Fulani tribes, cattle rustling led to loss of lives and properties among them. Okwor recorded that, on several occasions, Fulani traced their cattle to Berom communities, throughout 2014, more than 1 thousand cows were stolen; this did not include those that were killed. After a fighting that ensued between these two tribes, the Fulani could be able to retrieve like 150 cows, but more than 887 were still missing till date (Okwor, 2016). The Okwor report ostensibly narrated what really led to fighting between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Plateau State, Nigeria and the case is more of suspicion other ethnic group as perpetrator of an act.

**Environmental factors:** The environmental factors range from desertification, bush burning, climate change and increase in population. Mohammed (2018) observed that like lake chad that used to provide water and other resources to more than 30 million people in four countries including Nigeria in the early 1960s has shrunk by 90% from 25000 square kilometers to 2500 square kilometers, thus forcing those affected to move southward in search of resources for their flocks. Therefore, this migration resulted from loss of grazing land to expanding settlements, and the migration to southward is causing unholy violent competition over land within communities in Nigeria. To Mohammed, this and other reasons like desertification have altered the resources landscape, heightened competition for dwindling resources and raise the possibility of clashes between the hosting communities and herders (Mohammed, 2018).

**Political mitigation:** The fact that farmer/Fulani clashes are politically motivated with ethnic conflation in Nigeria cannot be undermined. The comments of Nigerian political class especially Emir of Kano, Sultan of Sokoto and the silence of Mr. President, Muhammad Buhari juxtaposed this fact. Burton (2016) argued that, even Nigerian President Muhammad Buhari has been accused of giving the Fulani preferential treatment due to his own Fula heritage, and legislation proposed by his party has been met with suspicion and outrage. This legislation, a series of attempts to provide grazing land for the Fulani herdsmen, has been rejected at least once already, though the government continues its attempts to resolve the conflict peacefully (Burton, 2016). As of June 8, 2016, the Nigerian military was not being used to counteract the efforts of Fulani militants, and members of the government have expressed the improbable belief that local police forces have the resources to get the situation under control. Therefore, the fact that the president did not visit the scene of the attack of Fulani herdsmen in Benue until after a year despite the Benue State Governor,

Samuel Ortom submitted a report of early warning that, there would be deadly strike of the Fulani herdsmen in the state, this transmits that the group still enjoys continuing support from the presidency. Similarly, Nobel Laureate, Prof. Wole Soyinka has said the President was in a trance to have remained silent over heinous crimes committed by Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria (Soyinka, 2018). Soyinka came to this conclusion based on “unforced errors” and the President body language which had aggravated the killings by the herdsmen in Nigeria (Soyinka, 2018).

**Climate Change:** One of the major factors that affecting pastoral farming in Nigeria is climate change, this result from long dry season in a year. Describing the annual herding cycle and how climate change has affected herders in Nigeria, Iro (1994) stated that the herding season begins with southward movement of the herds along rivers and stream valleys from October to December – marking the end of rainy season and beginning of dry season. January to February is the harmattan season that is characterized by longer grazing hours, herd splitting, and more frequent visits to stable water sources. The months of March and April are usually the toughest for the herdsman and his cattle, as it is the hottest period in the grazing calendar. Indeed, he now herds his cattle only in the evenings and nights (Iro, 1994). Iro (1994) believed that, climate change coupled with the hot weather in the north caused the Fulani herdsmen to look for greener pasture southward.



The picture 01 above simply portrays the true nature of the attack of Fulani herdsmen in their collective display of madness in the villages they attacked which is nothing but collective violence and as sign of failed society. It is therefore argued that, Nigeria should stay away from the mathematical definitions of the words “Fulani herdsmen” (which mean that, Fulani are parts of and one of the largest ethnic groups in Nigeria) to more prohibitive accuracy of the nomadic educational system and migration which are the causes of this menace of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. Iro (2000) has argued for the nomadic education as a way to encourage people in doing the business of herdsmen without recons to the nomadic education as a panacea to the menace of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. It is observed that Fulani with their cattle can wander from one particular location to the other for more than 30-50 years without reaching the major cities. The city life is even absent in their lives coupled with their wandering from age 0-30 or 50 without good and sound education. Their bush lives coupled with the long years of staying with the animals they rear in the bush tend to influence their animalistic behaviour. As a soldiers see their fellow citizens as bloody civilians because of the numbers of years they have lived in the asylum in the bush without seeing the city is the same way as Fulani herdsmen wandering up and down in the

bush, attempt by any human being to play smart or coming across them without any genuine movement is seen as wolves that wanted to attack their flocks, after all they valued the lives of their cattle than theirs. More provocative in this research is the ideal way Fulani herdsmen carrying stick to monitor and direct their cattle in their migration from one bush to another or villages and towns, but the incidence has changed to Fulani herdsmen directing their cattle with AK 47 Pump Action Gun or better still Small Machine Gun as showed in the picture 02 above. The situation also called for the challenge of the attention of the private individuals' security that have no right to carry gun from one place to another or move with any dangerous weapon.

### **Fulani Herdsmen and Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria**

If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his beast, and shall feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field; of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution (Exodus, 22 vs. 5).

The above assertion taken from the book of Exodus in the bible illustrates the activities of the cattle rearing from the existence of man and how the Moses' law was able to deal with the situation. Historically, the grazing conflict is traceable to the genesis of man, biblically from the conflict between the Cain, a farmer and Abel, the cattle rearer (Genesis 4), Abraham pastoral movement from Ur of Chadians to Canaan, Jacob and his brother Esau to Joseph and his elder brothers (Genesis 12-50). Today, several other heinous crimes have been carried out by Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria which include the following: On February 18, 2016, 5 people were killed in Okokolo village in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue state by suspected Fulani herdsmen. Similarly, 500 people were killed in a simultaneous attacks carried out in 9 communities – Aila, Akwu, Adagbo, Okokolo, Ugboju, Odugbeho, Ogbaulu, Egba and Obagaji in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue state on March 5, 2016 by this dreadful Fulani herdsmen (Vanguard, March 6, 2016). 15 persons were killed in two communities in Gashaka Local Government Area of Taraba State on April 12, 2016. On April 19, 2016 the entire Local Government Areas of Delta state brought economic activities of the state to a halt while protesting against the killing of 23 persons in the state by Fulani herdsmen. 59 persons were killed in Ugondo, Turan and Gabo Nenzev communities in Logo Local Government Area by Fulani herdsmen on June 20, 2016 (Agbedo, 2016). In Enugu State, Igata (2016) reported that, the sleepy community of Ndiagu, Attakwu, Akegbe-Ugwu in Nkanu-West Local Government Area of Enugu State, was invaded by over 50 Fulani Herdsmen armed with machetes, who slaughtered a Catholic Seminarian, Lazarus Nwafor. Four members of the Ogbodo Nwarum family, where Nwafor, the Seminarian, who finished his apostolic work at St. Patrick Catholic Church, Ndiagu, Attakwu, was a tenant, sustained severe machete cuts from the rampaging Fulani herdsmen who slit the stomach of a six months pregnant Mrs. Nwarum in the operation. A similar attack was also reported in Ukpabi Nimbo community in Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State on March 16, 2017, resulting in the death of many local people. As a result of the attack, Christ Holy Catholic Church, Odozi-Obodo, at Onu-Eke was burnt, eleven houses were confirmed razed (Nwodo, 2017). In Ogun State, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked some communities in Ketu local council development area, they invaded farms and hewn down palm trees, vegetables plants, cassava and opened fires on the farmers that challenged them in their farms. The areas attacked in Ketu Local



Council Development Area included Ikotun, Ologiri, Akeru, Ilukan, Ijege and Ajibode (Okogba, 2018).

Buari (2017) also reported several attacks perpetrated by the Fulani herdsmen in Taraba State. He reported that, the Fulani herdsmen imported about 500 others from Nasarawa state to help launch the attack on the community causing death of more than 15 people and many sustained injuries. Reacting to the development, stakeholders from the local government held a meeting where they tried to find solutions to the increased attacks by herdsmen on communities. Preceding this time, Vanguard newspaper reported in December 10, 2017 that, some aged women were attacked and machete in between Moro and Egelu Villages for the refusal to submit themselves to be raped by the herdsmen (Vanguard Newspaper, 10 December, 2017). Even six months after the attacks reported by Buari and Vanguard newspaper, several attacks, maiming and killings have carried out in Taraba State and its environs without any prior counter-attacks from the federal Government.

The terrorist atrocities were also committed in Kogi State, as the suspected Fulani herdsmen killed traditional ruler, the Onu Agbenema, Musa Edibo, and his wife and burnt several houses in separate attacks on Agbenema town, Aj'Ichekpa, Opada and Iyade villages on 19 March, 2018 (Odogun, 2018). Dimelu, Salifu, Enwelu and Igbokwe (2017) has recorded similar attack carried out in Kogi that hundreds of lives lost in Kogi State in 2017. In Ondo State, suspected Fulani herdsmen attacked the farm of a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Chief Olu Falae, at Ilado Village in Akure North Local Government area of Ondo State. The hoodlum burnt down five hectares of the oil palm farm; this attack preceded the attacks later carried out in his farm killing his security guards in the farm this was after the said man Olu Falae was kidnapped by suspected Fulani Herdsmen in September, 2015 and released after three days (Alabi, 2018). Similar experience of Fulani herdsmen attack recorded in Oyo State, Aanuoluwapo (2018) gathered that, farmers in Lagun, Iyana Offa, Offa Atagba, Lapata, and their surrounding communities in Lagelu Local Government Council Area of Ibadan were attacked by a group of Fulani armed men between 30-40 in number and injured a guard, raided farms and carted away valuables.

One of the challenges of the menace of Fulani herdsmen is to name the group as the fourth deadliest known terrorist group in the world after Boko Haram, ISIS and Al-shabab (Burton, 2016). The statistics of deaths recorded in 2014 in Nigeria is 1229 caused by Fulani herdsmen as comparable to 80 people killed in 2013 (Burton, 2016). This has not only dented the image of Nigerians but also foreclosed Nigeria as a terrorist zone that is not safe for investment and development.



The above image is a testament of the increase in the menace of Fulani herdsmen and Boko Haram activities in Nigeria, Terrorism index in Nigeria decreased from 9.31 in 2015 to 9.01 in 2016. While the terrorism index in Nigeria averaged 6.50 from 2002 until 2016 reaching an all-time high 9.31 in 2015 and the record low of 3.86 in 2002 Global Terrorism Index, 2016). The Nigeria Terrorism Index is no way comparable to any country in the world as Nigeria is considered as most unsafe country in the World after North Korea (Global Terrorism Index, 2016).

Despite the terrorist atrocities committed by this deadly Fulani Herdsmen, the reaction from Nigeria's federal and state authorities, so far, has been wanting. Aside from the unyoke push against Boko Haram and military operations against cattle rustling, they have done little else to address rural insecurity caused by this Fulani herdsmen in the country. Federal security and law enforcement agencies have established neither early-warning nor rapid response mechanisms; they have not arrested and prosecuted perpetrators of violence or offered redress to victims (International Crisis Group, 2017). Until recently, officials have paid little if any attention to improving livestock management practices to minimize friction with agrarian communities. State governments' responses overall have been short-sighted; most have failed to encourage community-level dialogue. As a result, both herders and farmers are taking matters into their own hands, further aggravating conflicts.

These wide scale destructions of life and properties by Fulani Herdsmen and other insurgent groups like Boko Haram in the northern part of the country have cripple the once buoyant economic fortress of Benue, Taraba, Southern Kaduna Kano, Yobe, Maiduguri, Adamawa and the tourism life of Plateau states, the main cities and towns in north are now living in abject fear (Isyaku, 2013). Fear of unknown happening has dominated the mindset of the people that they no longer walk alone. The current wave of domestic terrorism and insurgency by the Fulani herdsmen in the southern part of Nigeria is called to the attention as the security of the zone is mayhem (Adisa, 2012). Lives and properties worthy billions have lost to this heinous collective violence caused by the attacks of Fulani herdsmen (McGregor, 2014). In the states like Benue, Taraba, Enugu, Kogi, Ekiti, Nasarawa, Ondo and Plateau States, Fulani herdsmen conflicts have endangered the lives of women and children and has crippled the socio-economic and political activities and the security situation in the in these affected areas in the country. States like Benue

and Taraba, the menace of Fulani herdsmen is deteriorating on a daily basis those charged with the responsibility of protecting the life of Nigeria are also infiltrated by terrorist ideology and thus perpetuating violence on defenseless Nigeria. Adisa (2012) argued that, the patriotic zeal of the nation's law enforcement officials are placed under severe siege because of the threat of switching allegiance and sympathy to terrorists and insurgents has placed Nigeria on a dangerous path and it will take a long time before this situation can come under control. The terrorist acts have been termed a political joke when the presidential aspirant, former Governor of Kano State, Rabi'u Kwakwaso has nothing to campaign for than he wanted stop the menace of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. He noted that, the indiscriminate killings and unending economic hardship caused by this deadly insurgent that was inflicted on the people is the main reason he is contesting presidential election in 2019 (Kwakwaso, 2018).

### **CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATION**

The essence of the political manipulation of conflict and violence through grouping in Nigeria, such as Fulani herdsmen, Boko Haram, Niger/Delta militant and host of others is retrogressive and uncalled for. Nigeria democracy has drastically moved away from the predisposition of government of the people by the people and for the people to certain individual who can mitigate a group as instrument of violence, war, disorderliness and conflict to wrestle power from the opposition or better still to cause chaos in the society and this serves as a means of weakened the government in power. With this current state of insecurity in Nigeria, development will always be at low ebb, it is therefore argued by the researcher that, the root causes of Fulani herdsmen must first be dealt with. First, it calls for total overhauling from government to ensure proper border management as the country has several borders and jungles whereby foreigners migrate to the country without any documentation, this will curb the excess of illegal migrants in Nigeria as well as saving Nigeria from the illegal migration small light weapons in the hands of the private individuals and groups. Also, there is need for proper mechanism of checking the proliferation of weapons in the hands of non-state actors and terrorists who use these weapons to perpetrate illegal and heinous acts against the civilians. The challenges of insecurity in Nigeria; Fulani herdsmen, Boko Haram, Niger/Delta militia, crime rate and kidnapping call for a proactive efforts and method from all levels of government in Nigeria; federal, state and local level to establish and encourage community-based policing to tackle insecurity in the local levels. While this research totally against the community vigilantes to tackle the menace of Fulani herdsmen, the fact that this will also encourage and breed insecurity if governments were to give small light weapons to non-state actors and increase the rate of insecurity in the nation. This has really affected the instability of Nigeria state before which needs to be controlled. Also, the research enjoin for dialogue and peace committees meeting to be regularly done among the Chief security Officer of the State (Governor), Local Level (Chairman), farmers, herdsmen, Local High Chiefs and the Fulani herdsmen, as this will encourage inter-personal relationship and peaceful accord in their hosting or living together. There is urgent need for nomadic basic education (civic education) for the Fulani herdsmen as they are dealing with both human and animals. As a result of trans-human moment, failure to have a requisite education in this, is a disease, there is need to encourage them to have basic education as most of them wander from one place to another without good and sound education. There ought to be a restrain in their moment with provision of ranching reserves for

them to allow them to have a basic education, this will assist them to have knowledge about interpersonal relations skills with other tribes and culture, teaching ethical culture in nomadic or cattle rearing and migration, trans-human moment, history and culture of each ethnic group and society and how to exploit their environment for the good of ranching for their flocks. Finally, there is need for collaborative efforts by all security agencies (military and para-military forces) to work together to curb insurgencies in Nigeria.

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