

CHAPTER 11

Exploring the Symbiotic Economic Benefits Between Farmers and Herders in Taraba State to Promote Peaceful Coexistence

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Abstract

This paper explored the symbiotic economic benefits between farmers and herders in Taraba State to promote peaceful coexistence. Taraba State is one of the states in the North East region of Nigeria that is mostly affected by the farmers-herders crisis. The paper explicated the causes of the farmers-herders crisis which include the growing population, abandonment of the grazing reserve system, and proliferation of small arms and light weapons among others. Although the Federal and State Governments have responded in several ways among which are the creation of grazing reserves in 1965, the establishment of the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) in 1989, the use of the Armed Forces to curb internal security cause by farmers-herders crisis, proposed National Grazing Reserve Bill 2016, proposed Cattle Ranching System 2018, legislation prohibiting open grazing and the Great Green Wall Agency of the Federal Government. All these efforts by the Federal Government and various State Governments could not bring the desired peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders. The crisis still lingered in Taraba State and many other states. Therefore, the paper explored the symbiotic economic benefits that could be enjoyed by farmers and herders leading to peaceful coexistence. Some of the symbiotic economic benefits capable of stimulating peaceful coexistence are; after harvesting crops on their farm, they usually allow cattle to graze on the leftovers, during which excrement from the cows provide manure for the farm, use of yam and cassava peels for preparation of animal feeds, use of rice, guinea corn, maize and millet chaff for animal feeds and use of animal waste as fertilizer. The author concluded that exploring the symbiotic economic benefits explicated in this paper can bring about peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders which will also result in a peaceful Taraba State. It was suggested that government and private individuals should establish ranches within farming communities in such a manner that herders can get animal feeds from farmers while the farmers get manure from the herders' ranches.

Keywords: farmers, herders, crisis, peace, coexistence, symbiotic and economic benefits

Introduction

Since the return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria has been grappling with diverse security challenges, chief among them, are insurgency, banditry, election violence, kidnapping, and most recently, the herder-farmer conflicts among others. The North Eastern States of Taraba, Adamawa, and Kaduna, as well as North Central States of Benue, Plateau, Niger, and Nasarawa, among other states, have experienced conflicts that led to thousands of deaths and displacements as a result of clashes between pastoralists (herders) and local farmers in several communities. According to Amnesty International (2018), reports indicate that in January 2018 alone about 168 people were killed as a result of herdsmen-farmers clashes. In Taraba State in particular, on 17th–20th June 2017, several farming communities on the Mambilla Plateau of Saudana Local Government Area of Taraba State came under attack by armed herders, and 732 people were killed. On January 30, 2018, herders living in the Leme Community, a village in the Mambilla Plateau in Taraba State were killed in a vengeance attack. The same occurred in Gareji Village on January 17, 2018. On April 10, 2019, a similar attack took place in Dori, Mesuma, in Gashaka Local Government of Taraba State. Also on 7th March 2022 at least 26 people, including children and women, were feared killed scores of others injured and hundreds of houses were burnt and property worth millions of naira destroyed when suspected armed herders attacked the Tor-Damisa community in Donga Local government Area of Taraba State. *On 6th April 2023, no fewer than eight persons were confirmed dead following attacks and counter-attacks between farmers and herders in Ussa Local Government Area of Taraba State* (Nwangoro, 2023). Various cases of conflict in Taraba State between the herders and farmers involved significant variables in land resources. As pointed out, the livelihood of farmers and herders in Taraba State is threatened by decreasing access to land resources. In areas of stiff competition for grazing land and farming, the intensity of the conflict is high. Abbas (2012) stated that in Taraba State, for example, areas mostly affected include Ibi, Bali, Wukari, and Takun local government areas among others.

Struggle over grazing land and scarce resources have over the years resulted in perennial and growing violent conflicts in terms of frequency, intensity, and geographic scope. Underpinning the escalation in the frequency of conflicts in Nigeria is a confluence of environmental and demographic forces, especially desertification caused by climate change and population explosion. Expectedly, with the depletion of arable land for subsistence farming largely as a result of increasing urbanisation and the adverse effect of climate change, especially along the Lake Chad basin, there is increased struggle between herdsmen and farmers leading to violent confrontations and conflicts, deaths and forced displacement, as well as the destruction of agriculture crops and livestock.

Causes of Farmers-Herders Conflict

There are different views regarding the causes of the farmers-herders crisis in Nigeria. The conflict has underlying economic and environmental reasons. It has also acquired religious and ethnic dimensions.

Growing Population

Centuries back, many of the low-lying areas next to rivers in Nigeria were hardly used by farmers because of a wide range of reasons. One of such was the exposure to diseases like river blindness and malaria. Another was the problem of erosion peculiar to these riverine areas. These areas instead were mainly used for grazing by nomadic herders and fishermen. However, the increase in Nigeria's population led to a need for much greater use of these lands, especially for food production. The growing population resulted in large-scale urbanization and a growing demand for horticultural products in all regions. This spread various types of dry season cultivation in many states and ultimately set the stage for the recurring farmers and herders' clashes (Abah & Petja, 2015). The farmers, usually desperate to meet the growing demand for food items by the ever-increasing population and to feed their families took up more of the riverbanks to farm. Doing this meant they encountered struggles with the other users, especially the herders and even the marginal fishermen. The herders' frustration and hostility came mostly from finding the grazing routes and access to watering points covered by farmers' crops such as rice, sugar cane, groundnut, and vegetables among others. This led to misunderstandings and clashes leading to the loss of many lives and properties.

Abandonment of Grazing Reserve System

The driving force of the clashes between farmers and herders is the competition for available resources, especially grazing land. It seems that the government has abandoned the grazing reserve system created by the Northern region government in 1965. Then, the government created over 417 grazing reserves in the north. According to Bello (2015), under the grazing reserve system, the government provided space, water, and vaccinations for the livestock while the herdsman paid taxes to the government in return. However, the discovery of oil and subsequent exploration and export made Nigeria an oil economy, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. Subsequently, the grazing reserve system was abandoned due to the neglect of the agricultural sector as the mainstay of the country's economy.

Consequently, grazing reserves that were under a neglected agricultural sector could not be sustained. It received little or no attention from succeeding administrations. As a fallback, herdsman began to resort back to their traditional and seasonal grazing routes which had been interrupted or interfered with by industrialisation, urbanisation, demographics, and other natural factors (Abah and Petja, 2015). This then led to clashes and conflicts between farmers and host communities. These conflicts have been on the increase in recent times and now constitute one of the major threats to Nigeria's national security.

Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons

A major cause for the escalating intensity of the conflict between farmers and herders is the increasing proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria (Ugwumba, 2018). Given that local communities including farmers and herders in Taraba State have access to small arms

and light weapons. In Taraba State, it is very common to see herders carrying AK-47s and other small arms while grazing their cattle. For instance, Troops of the 101 Special Forces Battalion deployed to Taraba state on 14th May 2018 nabbed four suspected armed herdsmen caught grazing their cows on farmland in Suntai Daji village of Donga Local Government Area of Taraba State, one AK-47 rifle with 30 rounds of 7.62mm special ammunition were recovered from the suspects.

Justifying this action, Olubajo (2021) stated that the Fulani herdsmen were exposed to the dangers of the forests, orchestrated by animals and cattle rustlers who rob them of their cows and kill them, adding that a herdsman has no option but to defend himself because the society and the government are not protecting him. Similarly, farming communities do tax themselves to raise fund in order to buy arms to defend their communities in case of attack by herdsmen. As a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Taraba State, minor disagreements or provocation between herders and farmers often degenerates into violent clashes, resulting in widespread destruction of property and human casualties. Could there be no weapons, most of the disagreements and provocations between herders and farmers would not result to violence clashes.

Drought and Desertification

Nigeria's far north is arid and semi-arid, with a long dry season from October to May and low rainfall (600 to 900 mm) from June to September. In 2008, the National Meteorological Agency reported that over the preceding 30 years the annual rainy season dropped from an average of 150 to 120 days. In the last six decades, over 350,000 sq km of the already arid region turned to desert or desert-like conditions, a phenomenon progressing southward at the rate of 0.6km per year. In Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara states, estimates suggest that 50-75 per cent of the land area is becoming desert. These environmental changes have wrecked agriculture and human livelihoods, forcing millions of pastoralists and others to migrate to Taraba State, in search of productive land.

Migration initially was seasonal, with herders spending December to May in Taraba State before returning to their original states of Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara. Over the last two decades, however, as available pastures shrank in the far north states, herders have been staying in Taraba State longer, from December to June or July. More recently, some have chosen to graze their herds in the state permanently. This has triggered increasing disputes over land and water use with Taraba State's growing populations of sedentary crop farmers.

The Government's Strategic Response to the Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict

1. ***Creation of Grazing Reserves in 1965.*** In 1965 the northern regional government initiated one of the first attempts to respond to the herdsmen-farmer conflict in the country (Peace and Security Forum, 2017). The grazing reserves allocated large portions of land to be exclusively used by herders to rear their livestock. However, the grazing reserve system was not supported

adequately. The government was still in the process of initiating legislation to legitimise the grazing reserves before natural factors such as population growth and other related consequences like urbanisation and migration encroached on these designated areas reducing the herders' chances of accessing the reserves. Thus, the policy failed.

2. ***Establishment of the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) in 1989.*** The federal government in 1989 established the NCNE and it is supported by the Nigerian legal system. The main goal of the programme was to integrate nomadic pastoralists into national life through mobile basic education and skill acquisition. The programme intended to integrate them into society through education.
3. ***The Use of the Armed Forces to Curb Internal Security.*** One of the Federal government's immediate measures to address the herdsman-farmer conflicts is the engagement of the Armed Forces of Nigeria as enshrined in the Constitution. For example, in Plateau state, in 2001, the government deployed a Special Task Force called Operation Safe Haven (STF-OSH) to check insecurity resulting from the herdsman-farmers clashes. Recently, the OSH mandate was expanded to replace Operation Harbin Kunama II in Southern Kaduna state whose mandate was similar to that of OSH in Plateau. Presently, many are calling for a total declaration of a state of emergency in Benue and Plateau states as a result of the gruesome killing and displacement of thousands of people in those states. Nigerians also expect the government to activate all the necessary sections of the constitution regarding the use of the military in internal security. This call came as a fall-out of recent action taken by the government to suppress the Indigenous People of Biafra's (IPOB) agitations in the South-East and similar uprisings in other parts of the country. The military was deployed in September 2017 in an operation code-named Operation Python Dance to suppress the IPOB agitation and protests.
4. ***Establishment of the National Grazing Reserve Bill 2016.*** A National Grazing Reserve bill was sponsored in 2016 at the parliament to address the herdsman-farmer conflicts. The Bill did not survive due to opposition from different stakeholders. Those that opposed the Bill hinged their rejection on the provisions of the Land Use Act of 1978 which vests all powers related to the regulation of ownership, acquisition, administration and management of Nigerian land with the state governors. Thus, the Land Use Act is an Act of the National Assembly, and by implication, a binding legislation, unless it is amended. State governments and their representatives at the parliament have always opposed any attempt to establish grazing reserves in their domain. They consider it to be usurping the constitutional powers vested in them.
5. ***Proposed Cattle Ranching System 2018.*** In reaction to increasing conflicts and mass killings resulting from seasonal pastoral movements, the government in 2018, as a matter of policy approved a 10-year National Livestock Plan at a cost of about 179 billion naira. The plan would culminate in the establishment of 94 ranches in 10 pilot states of the federation. Again, state governments, especially in the South and North Central areas rejected the proposal on the grounds of not having enough space for such projects.
6. ***Legislation Prohibiting Open Grazing.*** As part of measures to end the persistent conflict between herdsman and farmers in various states, governments at state levels began enacting

legislation prohibiting open grazing in their States. This, they hope, would reduce the risk of herdsmen's destruction of farm lands and the associated conflicts. Benue, Ekiti, and Taraba states are leading this opposition by enacting state laws prohibiting open grazing. On 22 May 2017, Benue State enacted the Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law (2017) and its implementation began on 1 November 2017. Ekiti and Taraba states have also signed Bills prohibiting open grazing in their states. This makes open grazing under any guise, an illegal activity punishable by law.

7. ***The Great Green Wall Agency of the Federal Government.*** In 2013 the Federal government established the Great Green Wall Agency to tackle desertification. This was in response to the 2007 African Union Great Green Wall Initiative that aimed at encouraging member states to plant 8000 km of trees along the Southern Sahel to counter the effects of desertification along that area. Continued desert encroachment along the Sahel region as a result of climate change is a major factor responsible for the seasonal migration of herdsmen from one region to the other in search of water and vegetation for cattle grazing.

During Nigeria's colonial era, large irrigation schemes to ensure freshly planted food crops became popular. These schemes however became unsustainable forcing successive governments to find alternatives. The need to have substitutes necessitated the introduction of the Fadama projects in the early 90s to support traditional small-scale farmers. Fadama is a term denoting irrigable low-lying plain. The idea was to promote low-cost technology for irrigation under the World Bank financing. The Fadama cultivation was promoted throughout the northern region.

Symbiotic Economic Benefits that can Stimulate Peaceful Coexistence between Farmers and Herders

The greatest proportional cost in livestock production is expended on feeding. Meanwhile, animal feeds can be obtained from farmers at little or no cost to the herders. Most of these feeds are like wastes to the farmers. In Taraba State for instance, cotton is produced in large quantity in Lau, Gassol and Jalingo local government areas. After extracting the fibre, large quantity of cotton seeds is obtained. Most farmers use less than 5% of the cottonseed produced to save for the following year's cropping. The remaining cottonseed can be used as animals feed. Whole cottonseed meal can be fed to ruminant animals such as cattle, goats, and sheep. Whole Cottonseed has energy, protein and fibre in greater concentrations than many other feedstuffs. That's why it's recognized by dairy producers nationwide as a cost-effective premier feedstuff for lactating cows of high genetic merit. In fact, more than 50% of the annual supply of whole cottonseed is consumed by dairy cattle. Cottonseed can be obtained from farmers by herders at a very low price or even free since some farmers throw them away after extracting the cotton fibre.

Similarly, corn (maize), sorghum, millet and guinea corn which are cultivated across all local government areas in Taraba State are good sources of carbohydrate for livestock. During corn, sorghum, millet and guinea corn harvest, some of the forage of the plants along with a small

amount of grain are left in the field. Particularly, the forage of these plants are waste to the farmers and most farmers either allow the forage to decay or are burnt. Upon agreement with the farmer, herdsmen can take their livestock to the field to feed on the forage left on the farm or the herdsmen may gather the forage and take them to feed their livestock. Ensuring that the leftover feed is used by livestock plays an important role in the sustainability of the soil. The goal is to minimize waste and the cattle are very helpful at accomplishing this. The majority of what the cattle feed on is not the primary harvest crop. Corn stalks and wheat stubble are baled after harvest and provide the main source of forage or roughage for the cattle. By grazing crop residues, the abundance of forage that would otherwise be unused or wasted are utilized. For every bushel of corn harvested, typically some pounds of residue are left in the field. Corn residue includes the stalk, leaf, husk and cob, and downed ears. Cattle are selective grazers, and will eat any leftover corn first, then the leaf and husk material.

Large numbers of agro-by product feedstuffs with enormous potentials exist in Taraba State, amongst them are cassava peel and yam peel which are produced across Taraba State. Cassava processing for both household consumption and industrial use generates considerable quantities of cassava peel which are left in large heaps to rot or are set on fire. Nigeria, which is the largest global producer of cassava, harvests about 59 million tonnes of cassava a year (20% of global production), resulting in about 15 million tonnes of wet peels (Popoola, Kehinde, Oladele-Bukola & Banjoko, 2021). The use of cassava peels in livestock feed is an age-old practice. Traditionally, farmers would sun-dry the peels in small quantities as a feed resource. This labour-intensive process has been cut to a fraction of the time thanks to a process developed by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) that grates, dries and dehydrates wet cassava peels and turns them into High Quality Cassava Peel (HQCP) mash. With a moisture content of about 10-12%, the final product can be stored for about six months. The cassava peel mash is energy-rich and has a nutritional value close to maize. When used in animal feed, it reduces the amount of maize needed, which lowers costs and frees up valuable grain for human consumption. Cassava peel mash is now a viable industry in Nigeria and has the potential to be scaled out in other countries. Converting the waste from cassava into a safe livestock feed is a game-changer in resolving the near-perennial animal feed scarcity crisis, pastoralist-farmers conflicts over natural resources and the high costs of compound feeds in Nigeria.

Yam peel is a by-product during processing of yam to pounded yam or yam flour and could be used as alternative source energy in the diet of livestock. Yam peel is another feed resource that can be used as an alternative ingredient. Yam peel is consumed fresh by cattle, sheep and goats without any adverse effect. Yam peel can be sun-dried in order to enhance its utilization. The peel contains 2-6% of crude protein depending on the varieties, the crude fibre ranges between 9-15% (Popoola, Kehinde, Oladele-Bukola & Banjoko, 2021). Yam peel is readily available in all parts of Taraba State with little or no cost.

Animal waste can serve as organic fertilizer for the farmers' crops. **Cattle are great recyclers whether they are grazing a corn stalk or rice after harvest or eating those leftovers on the farm.** Animal manure (AM), such as swine, cattle, sheep, and horse, as well as other organic waste materials from recycling agri-food or other processes, may be used as a nutrient source for horticultural annual and perennial crops, increasing nutrient cycling and reducing costs related to acquisition of industrial fertilizers. Additionally, over the years it is expected to modify chemical, physical, and biological soil attributes such as increasing the nutrient content in the soil, which can affect crop productivity, change the food composition, fruit and vegetable storage aptitudes, and impact on the environment. Animal waste in soils may increase N, P, and K contents. The N present in animal waste is typically in the form of N-NH₄⁺, and when applied to the soil it is rapidly transformed into nitrate (N-NO₃⁻) (Giroto et al., 2013). Cow manure is rich in nutrients and is suitable for plant growth. It has 3% nitrogen, 2% phosphorus, and 1% potassium 3-2-1 NPK, making it the right type of fertilizer for almost all types of plants and crops. Cow dung has long been recognized as perhaps the most desirable animal manure because of its high nutrient and organic matter content. The addition of cow dung increases the organic carbon content of degraded soil which may lead to the increasing activity of beneficial soil microorganisms as well as the fertility status of soil by increasing the availability of nutrients for the plants from soil. Cow dung significantly increased the growth and yield of plants (Mehedi, Siddique & Shahid, 2011).

Suggestions

The herder-farmer crisis is a threat to Nigeria's national security. The Federal government and state government should acknowledge this and work together to prevent further conflict. The following suggestions are made:

- 1) **Improve Security for Herders and Farmers:** An immediate step is to improve security for both herders and farming communities. At a minimum, the federal government and its security agencies should intensify operations against cattle rustlers, improving systems to track livestock movement and trade, arresting individuals who carry illegal firearms and prosecuting suspected assailants. The federal government should follow through on promises to stop armed attacks on farming communities, especially in badly affected southern Kaduna and Benue states. To that end, federal security agencies – notably the police and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps – will need to focus on preventive measures, including community liaison mechanisms to upgrade intelligence gathering, early warning and rapid response. A key priority is to curb the influx and possession of illegal firearms, especially automatic rifles. The new federal whistle-blower program on illegal firearms is a promising start; it should be supported by speedily following up on informants' leads and protecting their identities. Likewise, the steps taken by several state governments to curb illicit weapons should also be sustained. Finally, state governments also could provide greater assistance to victims of herder-farmer violence, especially those not directly involved in the violence. Working with local and international organisations,

they could, for example, expand humanitarian aid for displaced persons, especially women and children.

- 2) **Support Community-based Conflict Resolution:** Local and community-based dispute resolution mechanisms have proved effective in both averting violence and helping communities recover from conflict. Forums that allow various constituencies; farmers, pastoralists, community vigilantes, and state security agencies to monitor, identify, discuss, and manage potential threats can be particularly helpful. These also can be used to help farmers and pastoralists explore mutually beneficial ways to coexist. Wherever possible, state and local governments should support or establish such mechanisms, especially across the worst-affected north-central region. Also, local politicians, ethnic, religious, and community leaders, as well as representatives of pastoralist and farmer associations need to speak out against violence. The media should try to provide more balanced coverage that avoids inflaming tensions through stereotyping, unfair generalizations, and sensational reporting.
- 3) **Establish Grazing Reserves and Encourage Ranching:** There is an urgent need to reform and improve grazing arrangements. In March 2016, the federal government announced its intent to establish grazing areas across the country, but vehement opposition from farming communities forced it to relent. It needs a more nuanced approach, which takes into account local sensitivities regarding cattle roaming and open grazing, not only in the Taraba State but also in predominantly farming areas of the north-central states. As a first step, the federal government, working with state governments, should jointly survey, demarcate and officially document existing grazing reserves that have not been over-run by human settlements and infrastructure. The federal government also should follow through on its plan to establish new grazing reserves in the ten northern states that have already provided 55,000 hectares to that end. It should help state governments develop these areas following the model provided by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), which is funding three reserves in Sokoto State. Also, the federal government should take steps to encourage ranching. The Buhari's administration's Agriculture Promotion Policy (APP) 2016-2020 acknowledges "the cattle value chain has become a security problem as roaming cattle increasingly is a source of friction between land owners and herdsmen". Accordingly, "a key shift is necessary: retaining cattle in ranches". Likewise, an April 2017 northern leaders' summit recommended "a concerted development of ranches" as a key step toward ending clashes.

Some initial steps have been taken. In April 2017, a policy dialogue initiated by the federal agriculture ministry and facilitated by UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) recommended that the government formulate and implement a ten-year National Ranch Development Plan. It also called for securing support from traditional livestock producers by helping them establish cooperatives and linking them up with financial institutions such as Bank of Agriculture (BOA) and Nigeria Incentive-Based Risk Sharing system for Agricultural Lending (NIRSAL).

- a) **Combat Desertification:** Some estimates suggest that during the twenty-first century, two-thirds of Nigeria's eleven far northern states could become desert or semi-desert regions. Besides provoking considerable economic and livelihood losses, this would force many more pastoralists to migrate southward, risking more conflicts with the growing farming communities. Over the longer term, therefore, federal and state governments should intensify the implementation of the Great Green Wall Initiative for the Sahara and the Sahel. Nigeria's National Agency for the Great Green Wall aims to rehabilitate 22,500 sq km of degraded land by 2020. Thus far, the agency's impact is scarcely felt: there is no evidence of increased tree cover, significant new infrastructure, or environmental restoration across the eleven impacted states. The agency needs to be reorganised, better resourced, and more goal-oriented to deliver results within the 2020 timeline. In the same spirit, the federal government should develop strategies for mitigating the impact of climate change, managing environmentally-induced migration, preventing conflicts over the use of land and other natural resources, and implementing them.
- b) **Adoption of modern agriculture techniques:** There is an unprecedented increase in the number of farmers who need more portions of land to farm and herders with larger herds of cattle who need more grazing areas. These dynamics are geared by an increase in human and livestock population, whereas land is fixed. There is thus an urgent need to transition from the traditional crop and livestock farming methods adopted by farmers and pastoralists. While these methods may have worked successfully in the past, they have become less sustainable today. Modern farming implies crop and animal husbandry using science and technology to increase production. On the one hand, for crop farming, modern techniques such as greenhouse farming, urban agriculture, precision agriculture for crop suitability assessment, and so on can be adopted. On the other hand, ranching has become a more viable alternative for cattle breeding. It would provide an opportunity for the herders to stay in a particular location and care for their cattle.

Conclusion

Escalating conflicts between herders and farmers are among Nigeria's most pressing security challenges. This could potentially generate bloodshed on an even wider scale unless the federal government makes ending this violence a national priority. Taraba State governments also need to formulate and implement steps to address the needs and grievances of all sides transparently and equitably. Exploring the symbiotic economic benefits between farmers and herders could enhance peaceful coexistence. Strengthening law enforcement, supporting local conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms, and establishing and protecting grazing reserves would all make a significant and immediate difference. In the longer term, the greater challenge will be curbing the arms influx and, crucially, addressing the environmental trends that are forcing herders to migrate. Failure would spell greater danger for a country already battling other severe security challenges.

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