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## CAUSES OF SEDENTARY FARMERS' AND FULANI PASTORALISTS' CONFLICTS IN SOME SELECTED AREAS IN KEBBI STATE, NIGERIA (2015- 2024)

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### Abstract

*The research examined the causes of sedentary farmers' and Fulani pastoralists' conflicts in some selected areas in Kebbi state, Nigeria (2015-2024). The study adopted a qualitative approach which involves In-depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) and Key Informant Interview (KII) as the instruments of data collection. Thematic analysis was employed as method of data analysis. Frustration-aggression theory one of the variants of social conflict theory was used as a unit of analysis. Research findings indicated that the causes of sedentary farmers' and Fulani pastoralists' conflicts in the study areas include the encroachment of grazing routes, reserves and watering points by the sedentary farmers; competition for land related resources by both the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists; unintentional destruction of sedentary farmers' crops by the Fulani pastoralists; the development of irrigation farming by the sedentary farmers that blocked Fulani pastoralists' watering points; cutting and destruction of sedentary farmers' economic trees by the Fulani pastoralists; and superstitious beliefs and illiteracy between and among Fulani pastoralists and sedentary farmers. Others are formation of racial organizations by both the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists that protect the interest of both parties; the establishment of vigilante groups and the emergence of Banga and Lakurawa in some areas; the movement of Fulani pastoralists from the North to the South during the rainy and dry seasons which destroyed sedentary farmers' crops; demographic changes that put more pressure for land resources competition; climate change which brought about desertification and made Fulani pastoralists to enter into the farmland of sedentary farmers; lack of effective government policies on the distribution of land resources management; abuse of power by the traditional rulers and bribery and corruption by the civilians and security agents and the challenge of cattle rustling, kidnapping and rape.*

*The study recommends that sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists should be educated to respect the rule of law and reduce taking the law into their hands; law enforcement agencies should be neutral and apolitical in discharging their duties; government should make adequate policy on punishment to anybody that violates the law; and government should provide ranching areas for the Fulani pastoralists.*

**Keywords:** *Sedentary farmers, Fulani pastoralists, conflicts, land resources, frustration-aggression etc.*

## 1.0 Introduction:

In contemporary Nigerian society, there are varied conflicts over land resources but conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are more pronounced in many states such as Benue, Nassarawa, Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Zamfara to mention just a few (Aliyu, 2012). Though, the conflicts originally being a land resources used conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists across many societies, it has taken a new dimension of religious and ethnic challenges (Salkida, 2023). The conflict between these land resources users in Nigerian society become a serious issue to the security and affected many individuals' lives and properties such as women and children which in turn affected social co-existence in the country.

Alabi (2015) argued that the new challenge include face-up between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists resulted to violent crises, displacement, migration, loss of lives and properties including agricultural produce and animals etc. most of the response by federal, state and local governments failed to yield desire result with regards to the violent conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists due to the collapse of grazing routes, encroachment, climate change, cattle rustling, raping, kidnapping, population growth as well as migration and urbanization (International Crisis Group, 2017).

The factors associated with conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in most developing countries of Africa and Nigeria in particular could be divided into three factors. The violent conflict between land resources' users have been connected to climate change and environmental security (Chukwuemeka, 2019). Secondly, the Malthusian explanation that urbanization and demographic growth relative to available land resource in Africa could further intensify the conflict due to the expansion in the developmental processes by the large number of sedentary farmers and commercial purposes. The third issue focuses on the worsening inter-personal relationship between Fulani pastoralists and their neighbours in their respective areas (International Crises Group, 2017).

Furthermore, Ajala (2020) stated that the that Fulani pastoralists are well armed with AK 47s and sometimes big weapons that even the security personnel do not possess them. This factor could be explained due to the rearing of cattle owned by the bourgeoisies arising from the need to hide ill-gotten money by the serving and retired civil servants. Other factors identified include armed conflict, trafficking and terrorism are connected to increase in weapon proliferation, cattle theft and reduced grazing areas. In his explanation on settlement and migration patterns of the Fulani pastoralists in Nigeria and Cameroon, Frantz (1981) argued that conflict over access to grazing reserves and water resources shortage are increasing.

## 2.0 Statement of the Problem

Turner (2004) carried out an empirical study on conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in South-west and South-

central Niger. The author adopted a combination of survey instrument and qualitative research work. The study was conducted at four levels. The researchers focussed on formal and informal aspects of village, districts and national governance that affect lines of cooperation and conflict mediation among sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. The levels included gathering of general village data, socio-economic and basic demographic data, seventy-nine households representing the major groups found in the villages and interviews with representatives of social groups, government officials and non-governmental organizations to collect information. Findings from the study indicated that crop damage was the main cause of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. The increased crisis was due to illegal grazing of crop residues while other causes were access to watering points, expansion of crop field to corridors for animals' passage and rustling of animals. The author recommended that to prevent and manage the crises was largely based on the routers and increasing communication between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists' interests, respecting community leaders and rulers in neighbouring villages, local institutional levels should be functional and crises would be effectively managed.

In an empirical study by Audu (2013) on conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Methodologically the author used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. The respondents included sedentary farmers, Fulani pastoralists, local government officials, community leaders, security agencies and non-governmental organizations. The study adopted theory of tragedy of common whereby the resources are owned collectively by both the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. The study found out that the causes of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists could be identified as natural and artificial. Water scarcity, population growth, water contamination and pollution, climate change are some of the causes of the conflict. The study would find if these factors prevail also in Kebbi state of Nigeria.

In another study by Adisa (2015) on conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in North-central Nigeria, the author employed qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. Four-stage random sampling technique was employed to select the respondents for the study. Six local governments were selected as the study area. In each local government five sedentary farmers were randomly selected. This gives the total number of respondents to 360. Lazarus's cognitive theory was adopted as unit of analysis for the study. Findings from the study indicated that the causes of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists were little respect for traditional farming norms, lack of respect for traditional grazing land and reduction of soil fertility, low level of education and compliance with routes and changing access to land and water. The study wants to find if these factors necessitating conflict between the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in

North-central Nigeria accounts for the same crisis in Kebbi state, Nigeria.

The above empirical studies provided trajectory of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in some parts of Nigeria and neighbouring states. The study area which is Kebbi state is endowed with abundant land resources and this was based on land tenure system. This is supported by certain norms and values of the groups (Kebbi Industrial Policy, 2022). In the selected local government areas, there existed various land resource conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. It is of interest to this study to know some of the factors occasioning these violent and non-violent conflicts. In recent times, some conflicts are manifested in both violent and non-violent nature. In the study areas land resources are administered by local authorities such as traditional rulers, chairmen of the local governments, sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists since during colonial period and post- colonial era. The argument was supported by the Land Use Act of 1978, where all land resources in the Nigerian state belongs to the government (Adisa, 2012). This Act affects the rights of various, individuals and groups such as sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in the rural areas as well as politically marginalized women groups that are badly affected by the modern tenure system that replaced the customary one (Aliyu, 2012). Land resource conflicts are very hard to resolve. This could be observed in the failure and weaknesses of the institutions that are shouldered with the authority to resolve and reduce the crises in the society. Some of the conflicts that occurred in the study area included Alelu/Jadadi and Kimba conflicts in Jega local government, Felande and Maginga in both Argungu and Yauri local governments respectively. It is along this line that the study seeks to investigate the circumstances that trigger the conflicts between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists.

### 3.0 Objectives of the Research

The objective of the study is to identify the factors responsible for sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralist conflicts in Kebbi State selected area, (2015 – 2024).

#### 3.1 Conceptual Review:

Concepts reviewed include conflict, sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists.

##### 3.1.1 Conflict

Giddens (1996:395) contends that conflict refers to antagonism between individuals and groups in the society. It could be a clash of interest or people may involve in active struggle with one another. Mock and Synder (1957:212) identified the characteristics of conflict as the existence of two or more parties; their interaction arises from a condition of resource scarcity or position of scarcity; they engage in opposing actions; their behaviour is intended to damage, injure or eliminate the other group; and their interactions are overt and could be measured by outside observers. The conflict between farming groups and Fulani population had been occurring in the study area due to the scarcity of land resources such as land routes and watering points and resulted to loss of lives and property. In this study conflict refers to the prolong disagreement between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists over access and control of land resources. This conflict could be violent and non-violent in nature.

##### 3.1.2 Sedentary Farmers

According to Popoola, Brimah and Olowale (2020) a farmer is one who engages in agricultural activities, earns a living in any kind of farming either in organism or crops, it could be a small scale or owing large acres of land. Gefu and Gilles (1992:50) argued that any individual or group that raises crops as their primary occupation and keeps few animals are sedentary farmers. Sedentary farmers are primarily engaged in agriculture, cultivating crops on a fixed plot of land. They also practice settled cultivation where they clear, cultivate and harvest crops on the same land overtime. Sedentary farmers have a strong sense of territoriality, associating their identity with the land they cultivate and they often enjoy relatively stable economic conditions as their agricultural produce provides a steady income. In this study, sedentary farmers are persons or group of persons that raises crops as their primary occupation and few animals are kept and all other activities are secondary ones.

##### 3.1.3 Fulani Pastoralists

According to African Union (2010) pastoralism is a way of life based primarily on raising livestock particularly ruminants, cattle and camels. It is also argued by Abubakar and Yakubu (2014) that Fulani pastoralists are people who derive more than 50 percent of their income from livestock and livestock products. Fulani pastoralists are also known as unitary group with a unified culture (Blench, 1990). There are several Fulani pastoralists sub-group in Nigeria such group include Baggara, Uda'en, Saukara, Konuri, Koyain etc and their primary occupations are rearing of cattle, sheep, goats, camels and other ruminants (Blench, 2010). However, Fulani pastoralists in Nigerian society had become sedentarized class in religious teaching and their devotion to Islam and dedication of their subjects led to the emergence of Usmanu Danfodiyo Jihad of 1804. Most of the kingdoms such as Borno, Nupe and Ilorin came under Sokoto caliphate influenced Fulani pastoralists' leaders. The concentration of Fulani pastoralists had created a division between Fulani (Fulbena'i) and urban Fulani pastoralists (Fulbe wuro). The urban Fulani pastoralists are characterized by their subject ways of life and lost their language. Some aspects of their culture are similar with their kindred Fulani (Blench, 2010). Therefore, Fulani pastoralists are traditionally nomadic, moving seasonally with their livestock to find grazing land and water. They also practice transhumane, migrating between fixed routes and grazing areas. Fulani pastoralists have a strong cultural identity tied to their cattle which provides milk, meat and economic security. In this research, Fulani pastoralists are group of persons who coincidently rears animals like cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys etc and move from one area to another in search for pastures.

##### 3.1.4 Empirical Review/Review of Previous Studies:

Several studies have focussed on developing countries like Nigeria on the causes, repercussions and consequences of resource conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Mufutau and Shittu (2020) conducted a study in South-western Nigeria on the effects of farmers and herdsmen conflict on entrepreneurial practice. The instruments of data collection for the study were personal observation and quantitative survey. The findings of the study showed that farmers and herdsmen conflict had negatively affected the income generation of the farmers and herdsmen and job generation. Furthermore, the study indicated that the blood crises between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists was a social challenge that affected the security of the nation and brought a lot of threats to the economic activities to the individuals in the



study area. Therefore, the study recommended that there was the need for good governance and that each state and local government in the study area should conduct a comprehensive review of the farming practice that would enhance peaceful relationship between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. In addition, the study recommended that peace and conflict studies should be made compulsory subject from primary, secondary and tertiary institutions to enable Nigerian citizens grasp the basic ideas and knowledge about living in a peaceful and harmonious environment.

Alhassan (2013) conducted a study in Yobe, Nigeria. The author employed four-stage cluster random sampling technique in selecting the respondents for the study. Out of the 14 local government areas 10 were randomly selected. In each local government five farming communities were randomly selected totalling 50 villages. Ten arable crop farmers were randomly selected from each village given a total of 500 sedentary farmers. In each local government 250 Fulani pastoralists were also randomly selected. The selection was done by randomly selecting five Fulani pastoralists from the transit camps in each local government. In all 750 respondents were selected for quantitative data collection. The findings from the study indicated that the causes of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists included destruction of crops by cattle and other property (reservoirs, irrigational equipment) by the Fulani pastoralists, burning of rangeland, Fadama blockage of routes and watering points by sedentary farmers, increase rate of cattle rustling and antagonistic perception and beliefs among sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. In addition, findings from the study showed that there were negative repercussions of the conflict to include loss of income and resources, home/farm destruction, bodily injury or death, rise in emotions and exhaustion and socio-economic and political tensions. The study recommended that there was the need for demarcation of grazing for Fulani pastoralists and that non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) should create awareness and educate Fulani pastoralists and sedentary farmers in order to prevent the re-occurrence of the conflict.

Frustration-aggression theory serves as the root cause of sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists' conflict. The theory elucidates the personal and interpersonal factors that triggered conflict over land resources while social conflict theory agrees with the assumptions of frustration-aggression theory and expands its assumptions by providing techniques for resolving conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. This is done by recognizing the role of third parties in the conflict resolution process. The third parties could be formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions comprise the courts, police, civil defence and forest reserve officials while informal include traditional rulers, religious leaders, non-governmental organizations and community based-organizations. The third parties adopt different mechanisms to resolve the conflict and include mediation, arbitration, conciliation, offering specialized knowledge to the conflicting parties, building trust through establishing a neutral and trustworthy environment for conflict, managing emotions through helping sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists to control their emotions and communicate effectively and ensuring that conflict resolution process is fair and impartial. Despite the efforts of third parties there experience the continuous prevalence of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in most of the Nigerian societies.

### 3.2 Theoretical Framework:

This study adopted frustration-aggression as its theoretical frameworks. The approach has been employed by Dollard, Dooh,

Mowrer and Sears (1939) to explain that "the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression". They also argued that "frustration produces instigation to aggression, but this is not the only type of instigation that it may produce" (Dollard et al, 1939). This theory assumes that aggressive behaviour is always caused by frustration and that individual always responds to stressful events by striking out at others with aggressive behaviour.

Besides, environmental contingencies and internal tensions were considered as important ingredients to the understanding of the frustration-aggression connection (Wiley, 2017). The theory suggests that crisis will not be resolved for as long as groups such as sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are deprived of land resources from the people's actions on the land. Therefore, the theory believes that the aggressive behaviour of contemporary sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in the wetland places are due to high level of frustration. The target of aggression as explained by Dollard et al (1939) suggested that the greatest aggressive reactions are those directed towards the perceived causes of frustration. It is important to note that the aggression toward the causes of the frustration is the revenge behaviour (Zillmann and Cantor, 1976).

However, interpersonal cause of frustration, one of the known root causes of frustration is competition between groups (Deutsch, 1993). It is also indicated by Berkowitz (1989) that "competitive encounters are at least partly frustrating as the disputed goal threatens each other with a total loss". In addition, the goals and expectations are among the causes of frustration. For instance, a goal has to be personally important if the blockage of the achievement is to evoke negative effect that is conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Furthermore, it is not only the disputants who usually cause frustration. Some well-to-do individuals or selfish co-operators also generate frustration as the detrimental behaviour which may prevent individuals from achieving their objectives.

However, Seward (1945) who studied the behaviour suggested that aggression could also be caused by dominance struggle which for him was different from frustration. In addition, Walker and Pettigrew (2011) have criticized this approach arguing that correctional study has shown that feeling of illegitimacy negative intergroup attitudes and predisposition to engage in relations were generated by fraternal deprivation resulting from intergroup comparisons and not by individual deprivation deriving from interpersonal comparisons.

## 4.0 Methodology:

The research was carried out in Kebbi state from the three selected local governments. They included Argungu, Jega and Yauri. In Argungu local government the three towns consisted Argungu, Gulma and Sauwa. From Jega local government, the towns were Alelu, Jega and Kimba. In addition, in Yauri local government, the towns included Birnin Yauri, Giron Masa and Yauri. All the nine towns from the three local governments were purposively selected. The study adopted a qualitative method. This involves In-depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) and Key Informant Interview (KII) as the instruments of data collection. Thematic analysis was adopted as a method of data analysis.

## 5.0 Data Presentation and Analysis

This research examined the factors associated with conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists over the utilization of land related resources. Sedentary farmers encroached grazing route, reserves and watering points because the land is rich in manure and more fertile to the crops than ordinary terrain because most of the land in the reserves is followed for a period of time. In connection to this, some of the respondents for In-depth Interview (IDI) and Key Informant Interview (KII) and participants from Focus Group One of the participant remarked that:

Land is very essential for both sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. They all claimed the ownership of the land based on norms and culture prevailing in their environment and have right over land in the area. All the groups claimed the monopoly of the land in their area. This phenomenon has caused and intensified conflicts between the two groups (FGD Sedentary farmers participant educated, aged 60 years).

In a related development, one of the respondents lamented that:

Sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are interested in the land, they also claimed the reserves and routes but sedentary farmers used their closeness with the authority over such places and encroached them. This scenario has intensified the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists (KII participant, educated, age 56 years).

Research findings revealed by the respondent argued that:

Competition for land related resources due to the increase demand for land by both sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in the community had triggered conflict between the two parties (IDI respondent, non-educated Fulani pastoralist, aged 54 years).

Furthermore, findings of the research from the participant of the discussions remarked by the respondent stressed that:

Lack of rearing places for cattle, encroachment of cattle routes and irrigation farming by the sedentary farmers are responsible for the emergence of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists (FGD participant, Fulani pastoralist, non-educated, aged 60 years).

Similarly, one respondent argued that:

Sedentary farmers usually encroached cattle routes or watering points because they want to expand their farm size or some areas that are demarcated to the Fulani pastoralists without even fencing the encroached land (KII respondent, educated, aged 55 years).

Unintentional destruction of crops by the Fulani pastoralists is also one of the associated factors that triggered the conflict. As revealed by the research findings, one of the respondents stressed that:

In some instance sedentary farmers intentionally encroached the cattle routes because they want to increase their land that are already demarcated to the Fulani pastoralists by the authority (IDI Fulani pastoralist respondent, educated, aged 40 years).

It was discovered from the research findings, another participant remarked that:

Whether deliberately or not destroying sedentary farmers' crops by the Fulani pastoralists could be associated with the prevalence of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, non-educated, aged 50 years).

In a related development, from the research finding revealed that:

Intentional destruction of farm produce that belong to sedentary farmers by the Fulani pastoralists' animals in the night or during some occasions in the society such as Sallah festival and deliberate rearing of animals by the under-aged children of the Fulani pastoralists in the area could be a factor that triggers the conflict (KII respondent, educated, aged 54 years).

The above arguments of the respondents and participants agree with Tuner and Patterson (2005). Similarly, Felix and Mneka (2016) reported that Fulani pastoralists destroyed sedentary farmers' crops in search of greener pastures for their animals when the routes are blocked and the Fulani pastoralists drive their animals into farmland. In the same vain, Gulsah (2019) argued that in Nigeria sedentary farmers encroached grazing routes, reserves and watering path ways and Fulani pastoralists destroyed sedentary farmers' crops. But Ajala (2020) remarked that whether intentional or deliberate Fulani pastoralists' pattern of grazing forced them to graze into new areas of their interest.

However, the new trends associated with factors responsible for the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists as argued by the respondents during IDI and KII and participants of FGDs. One of the respondents lamented that:

The development of irrigation farming by the Fadama users that blocked Fulani pastoralists' watering pathways, cutting of trees, night grazing and disallowing Fulani pastoralists' animals to crop residues during the dry season and attacking the Fadama users (IDI respondent, Fulani pastoralist, non-educated, aged 62 years).

In relation to the above argument, another participant remarked that:

Attacks of Fadama users by the Fulani pastoralists have intensified the conflicts. Sedentary farmers have engaged themselves in irrigation farming in both day and night times. The attacks by the Fulani pastoralists are accompanied with theft of the sedentary farmers' watering pumps, smart phones and seizure of materials (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 56 years).

The above arguments have already been reported by Blench (2010) who argued that the development of irrigation farming have increase the income generation of the Fadama users however, it has also affected the movement of the Fulani pastoralists in search for grazing land for their animals into the farmland that belong to the sedentary farmers.

Another respondent also argued that:

Cutting and destroying of economic tress by the Fulani pastoralists such as mangoes and other important trees

without following the due process of forest rules which is illegal and offenders would be sued to court (KII respondent, educated, aged 52 years).

Another respondent added that:

Night grazing by the Fulani pastoralists and when they are caught with their animals as exhibit, they claimed that their animals were stolen therefore they could not be punished as the consequences (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 48 years).

The findings of the research agreed with Chukwuemaka (2019) who maintained that the worsening social relations between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists has been attributed to the issues of night grazing as well as cutting of the economic trees.

There exist superstitious beliefs and illiteracy among Fulani pastoralists and sedentary farmers. This factor has contributed to the emergence and prevalence of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. The formation of racial associations such as Sedentary Farmers Associations and Miyetti Allah and Kotu Hore Association have triggered the conflict between the two racial groups. A participant remarked that:

Superstitious beliefs and illiteracy exist between Fulani pastoralists and sedentary farmers. Specifically, the Fulani pastoralists believe that if their animals commit mischief in sedentary farmers' farms their herd would get fatten throughout the year (IDI participants, a sedentary farmer, educated, 64 years).

Another participant stated that:

The Fulani pastoralists' racial organizations are contributing to the factors associated with the crises because they are always protecting the interests and rights of their people by all means (FGD participant, a sedentary farmer, non-educated, aged 55 years).

This scenario makes other respondent and participant remarked that:

The emergence of Miyetti Allah and sedentary farmers' association have mostly affected our social relationship not only in exchange relations but also in manure and other products (KII respondent, educated, aged 50 years).

These research findings tally with Gulsah (2019) who argued that civil organizations for instance All Sedentary Farmers' Association of Nigeria (AFAN) and Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), usually defend the interests and rights of their members by all means. Similarly, in Mali, Benjamin-Sera and B A (2009) earlier argued that the policy drive discrimination and marginalization of the Fulani pastoralists in the policy of modernization in agriculture has been the root cause of the conflict not the civil organizations. It is important to state that the issue of superstitious belief is cultural in nature which most the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are indoctrinated upon without given due consideration to religious injunctions.

The establishment of vigilante groups in the study areas and the emergence of 'Banga' and Lakurawa in Argungu, Gulma and Sauwa had intensified the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Research findings. A respondents indicated that:

The arrival of security agents and Banga group in Rugga (Fulani pastoralists' houses) without the knowledge of Dikko or Ardo (Fulani pastoralists' leader) in both seasons was responsible for intensifying the crises between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists which ended in terrible situations (IDI, respondent, Fulani pastoralist, non-educated, aged 65 years).

Also, another participant argued thus:

With the emergence of 'Lakurawa' (New terrorist group) in the community, most of the Fulani pastoralists become host to the group who have been stealing our animals and kidnapping our wives and children. This motivates sedentary farmers to go to their farms with Wagila (gun) (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, non-educated, aged 45 years).

Relative to the above argument another participant remarked that:

The establishment of 'Banga Group' (Vigilante) by the sedentary farmers and those in the position of authority in order to counter-attack the Fulani pastoralists (FGD participant, a sedentary farmer, educated aged 45 years).

Another participant argued that:

Many Fulani pastoralists are moving with weapons such as AK47 and other small and light weapons in order to protect their properties against internal and external attackers (IDI respondent, Fulani pastoralist, educated, aged 40 years).

The findings of this study was justified by Agala (2010) who stated that people have been seeing Fulani pastoralists moving with sophisticated weapons such as AK47 and other light weapons. Similarly, Felix and Nneka (2016) supported the argument raised by Agala (2010) where they lamented that many Fulani pastoralists are moving with their animals, AK47 and AK49 rifles. However, the Secretary of Miyetti Allah Association during interview with News Magazine (2016) that the Fulani pastoralists are carrying weapons to defend their life and properties. For Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016) stressed that some communities that experienced attacks are not satisfied with the security agents therefore they established vigilante groups to defend themselves. However, in Kebbi state selected areas of Argungu, Jega and Yauri local governments they established vigilante groups with the sole aim of protecting their properties in order to reduce the incidence of animal theft, kidnappings and rape. However, in most of the weapons possess by the vigilante groups are used wrongly with the desire to achieve their vested interest.

Another factor associated with conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists is the movement of Fulani pastoralists from North to Southern Nigeria during the rainy and dry seasons. Another participant stressed that:

During the rainy seasons the migration of the Fulani pastoralists are attracted by the Yabanya (early germinated plants) and entered the sedentary farmers' farms and destroyed their crops. During the dry seasons they destroyed late harvested crops and crop residues (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 45 years).

The destruction of germinated crops during the early raining seasons is more pronounced in Gulma, Giron Masa, Alelu and

Kimba areas while the destruction of crop residues in Fadama areas where irrigation farming is taken place and are manifested in areas such as Gulma, Argungu, Sauwa, Alelu, Jega, Kimba, Giron Masa and Yauri. This happens because the areas are focal points of Fulani pastoralists' transhumane.

Findings from this study resonate with Iro (1991) who stated that Fulani pastoralists move from one place to another in search for favourable places where grasses and water are available in order to raise their animals and avoid diseases. Tuner et al (2005) and Moritz (2010) also supported the argument presented by Iro where the lamented that Fulani pastoralists move from one geographical area to another with their herds in search for greener pasture, water and shun diseases.

It is important to note that the growth in demographic changes puts more pressure on the rural settlements in Nigeria. Increase in human population and animals leads to high growth in sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists thereby putting more pressure on land resources. In addition, due to climate change, crises are more pronounced between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. This argument was presented by respondents from IDIs, FGDs and KII. It is remarked by a respondent thus:

The demographic growth of both human beings and animals due to technological improvement in health care services increased the population of both sedentary farmers and animals possess by Fulani pastoralists. This phenomenon increases pressure on land resources that are being utilized by the two parties thus the tempo of conflicts become more manifest (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 52 years).

The research findings agreed with International Crisis Group (2019) that argued that demographic growth and urbanization related to land in Africa has triggered conflicts between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Similarly, this argument was earlier raised by Muhammad et al (2015) who stated that the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists were caused by the increase in population of human beings and animals.

Climate change has brought about desertification which in turn resulted to drought in most of the land resources that are utilized by both the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. This scenario has also intensified conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Research findings from the respondents and participants indicated that:

Climate change and desertification led to the degradation of grazing land for farming and grazing. This makes both parties to search for new areas to satisfy their vested interest (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 62 years).

Another respondent added that:

Late planting of crops such as guinea corn, maize, millet and groundnut by the sedentary farmers in the respective areas are contributory factors responsible for conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists (IDI respondent, Fulani pastoralist, non-educated, aged 48 years).

The above research findings were justified by Ajala (2020) where he stressed that one of the challenge noted as being responsible for violent crises between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists

was climate change. However, Janpeter et al (2010) had earlier argued that the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralist over land resources are neither new processes nor overtly connected to climate change but related to resource deficiency in North Africa. But Adisa (2012) already agreed that climate change was one of the factors that was connected with desertification in Northern Nigeria which resulted to increase in drought in the country.

Another factor connected to conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists is that the big men mostly serving or retired civil servants, military or paramilitary officers who own cattle and are non-Fulani pastoralists. They usually pay salary to Fulani pastoralists who breed their cattle and provide weapons to the Fulani pastoralists in their private farms. This is done with a view to diverting the funds they have stolen. This issue continues to trigger conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists because they are equipped with weapons to attack the sedentary farmers. Qualitative data generated from the research revealed that:

The nature of bourgeoisie herding by big men and their herding contract engagement with Fulani pastoralists where they are being paid salary and provided with other materials. The Fulani pastoralists are feeling protected by these people and they are not afraid of any judge. The big men comprise Emirs, top government officials, retired military and para-military officers (KII participant, educated, aged, 46 years).

The above research findings tallied with Ajala (2020) where he remarked that the non-Fulani pastoralists kept cattle and paid Fulani pastoralists salary with the intention of diverting public funds.

From the respondent in the study area it becomes clear that:

Lack of effective government policies on the distribution of land resources management between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists could be an associated factor that triggered conflicts (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, educated, age 59 years).

The finding from this study was earlier justified by Vedeld (1992) that the conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists has increased in West African countries due to government policies to expand agriculture. This resulted to expanding of farming areas by the sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. Similarly, the argument was also supported by Iro (1990) who stated that the Fulani pastoralists are searching for conducive areas to herd their animals. This movement motivates many sedentary farmers to look for fertile land around Argungu, Gulma, Sauwa, Alelu, Jega, Kimba, Birnin Yauri and Giron Masa to cultivate their crops.

A factor associated with conflict between sedentary farmers' and Fulani pastoralists' in Kebbi state selected areas are the abuse of power by the traditional rulers and bribery and corruption by the civilians and security agents. It is remarked that:

District heads whose salary are very meagre and could not take care of their horses before the end of the month therefore resort to giving grazing reserves to sedentary farmers as 'Tirgishi (token as gratuity from the sedentary farmers. Besides, the district heads levy taxes such as Jangali, Mazada and Haraji before they confirm traditional titles to Fulani pastoralists such as Rugga, Ardo, Sarkin Fulani, Fi-ama, Jauro etc and whatever the



expenses would be shifted to sedentary farmers' crops. This situation has intensified conflict between the two parties (KII respondent, educated, aged 55 years).

Another respondent reported that:

Court touts ('Yanbarandar Kotu) are those people who serve as intermediaries between Alkali (Judge), sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. They include retired civil servants, members of military and paramilitary, Miyetti Allah and Kotal Hore. These categories of people are very dangerous because they sometimes collect money or other gratification from sedentary farmers or Fulani pastoralists to buy judgement in favour of the highest bidder in the courts. This denies judges to deliver justice when there exists conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists (KII respondent, educated, aged 60 years).

While another respondent remarked that:

The carelessness of internal security personnel because of the corrupt nature of the system, they give pass to some Fulani pastoralists without proper investigation. A very good example is the issue of Lakurawa in Argungu local government (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, educated, aged 60 years). For other respondents, reprisal issue which is associated with corruption and favouritism by security agents and politicians was responsible for intensifying the tempo of conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists. For instance, the governor, chief justice and some correctional officers become instrumental in granting pardon to the convicts. In addition, some convicted individuals are released due to politics. This phenomenon makes relatives of either sedentary farmers or Fulani pastoralists to take the law into their hands by resorting to revenge (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, educated aged, 60 years).

The finding of this study was earlier reported by Amnesty International (2018) where it argues that political office holders and security agents are corrupt in the conduct of their primary assignment. Similarly, the argument was also supported by Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) (2001) that the allocation and distribution of land resources by the government officials from the state and local levels are corrupt. The level of corruption has reached a stage whereby criminals and security personnel cooperate with one group of the land users in order to assist them in the case. For instance, 'Yarga grazing area was shared in conjunction with some Fulani pastoralists and ward heads. The incidence has led to the suspension of traditional title holders in 2010. It was reported that some grazing areas are shared in Argungu and Yauri local government areas in Kebbi state in favour of the interest of either sedentary farmers or Fulani pastoralists.

Furthermore, a factor connected to conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in the selected areas of Kebbi state is the challenge of cattle rustling, kidnapping and rape. A Respondent stressed that:

The conflict between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are the issue of animal theft, kidnapping and rape. These criminalities are mostly connected to Fulani pastoralists (IDI respondent, sedentary farmer, non-educated, aged 65 years).

Another participant lamented that:

With the emergence of Lakurawa terrorist group in some of the communities, most of the host to this group are Fulani pastoralists and they become our enemies due to the theft of our animals, kidnapping and rape our wives and children (FGD participant, sedentary farmer, non-educated, aged 60 years).

The above research findings agreed with Alexander and Saba (2018) who stressed that the case of Fulani pastoralists' activities affected many sedentary farmers leaving them in fear of robbery, rape and kidnapping. The argument was further supported by Global Terrorism Index Report (2018) that Fulani pastoralists killed, kidnapped and rustled cattle in many parts of Nigeria. The study indicated that many girls were kidnapped in Federal Government College Birnin- Yauri, Yauri local government area. Relevance to this is that due to the emergence of Lakurawa in Argungu local government many animals were stolen and people were kidnapped in Kimba, Alelu in Jega local government.

## 6.0 Conclusion

The expansion of farming areas due to the developmental processes by the government and commercial purposes by the sedentary farmers into the grazing reserves have affected Fulani pastoralists' access to necessary materials such as cattle routes, pastures and transhumane which resulted to competition as well as conflict between these groups in Argungu, Jega and Yauri local government areas of Kebbi state. Conversion of grazing reserves into specific developmental usage by the government and private personalities such as markets, schools, farmlands, houses to mention but a few without alternatives are the ways in which Fulani pastoralists are neglected in Nigeria. Though, there are various types of conflicts in the study area such crises are conflicts between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists over allocation as well as distribution of land resources by vested interest officials in the sharing of grazing reserves to farmlands. Besides, the conflict was also between other users of the land resources as a result of increased in population of both human and animals. This created the scarcity of land in Kebbi state. The conflicts between sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists are more pronounced in Argungu, Jega and Yauri local government areas which happened throughout the rainy and dry seasons each year. Cases of such conflicts are reported to various conflict resolution agencies in the areas irrespective of the efforts of conflict management committees, traditional rulers, courts, police/civil defence and community based organizations in order to reduce the occurrence and reoccurrence of the conflicts.

### 6.1 Recommendations:

- Effort should be made by the government in collaboration with NGOs and community based organizations to reduce poverty by providing financial assistance between and among sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists in order to reduce the incidence of conflict between the groups.
- Sedentary farmers and Fulani pastoralists should be educated to respect the rule of law and reduce taking the law into their hands whenever there is conflict between land users in the areas.
- Law enforcement agencies such as courts, police/civil defence should be neutral and apolitical in discharging



their duties. They should avoid the use of touts and other agents without any internal or external involvement.

- d. Government should make adequate policy on punishment to anybody that violates the law among sedentary farmers, Fulani pastoralists and security agents.
- e. Government should provide ranching areas for the Fulani pastoralists with adequate social infrastructure such as schools, water, hospitals etc where they would train their children and rear animals with the use of modern techniques to reduce the incidence opened grazing and reduce to reduce conflict between the groups in the areas

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