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I Will Follow the Green Grass: Issues in Resolving Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Plateau State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The continues spite of violent conflicts between pastoralists and farmers in Plateau is still generating heated debates, arguments, and counter arguments. Therefore, this study interrogated some critical aspects confronting and undermine the mechanisms in resolving issues among the two contending parties in the study areas. Survey design was adopted as a framework while purposive sampling techniques were used to select three (3) Local Government Areas, nine (9) communities and One Hundred and Thirty (130) target audiences. This study relied on both primary and secondary method of data collection. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Study Charts (SCs) were conducted across the study areas, while white paper reports, journal articles and newspapers were also exploited. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was used to analyse the field work reports of KIIs, FGDs and SCs. Theoretically, the paper adopted Collier's theory of economic agenda of conflicts to explain the this work. Thus, the study discovered and argued that issues confronting the management of conflicts is symmetric with; land grabbing, stereotype, under-aged herders, among others. Therefore the study concludes that tension can be managed and peace restored if State government in collaboration with local authorities constitute a balance committee to look into the wide spread issue of land grabbing with a view of reclaiming back land assets to genuine owners, Federal and State Governments to enact laws through the legislatures Houses against child-herder, night grazing and institute Local Task-Force to oversee the implementation of the law.

Keywords: *Conflicts, Farmers, Pastoralists, Green Grass, Land*

Introduction

Pastoralists-farmers conflicts have continued to generate security concern in the socio-political landscape of rural communities especially in the hinterland parts of central Nigeria. The basis of the conflicts itself can be found in the environment degradation, resulting into scarcity of grazing space, and water resources. According to Egwu (2015) the scarcity arises from a number of factors, including changes in agrarian relations, climate change and environmental decline. The tendency for competition among different occupational groups over scarce resources further exacerbates the tension. Such competition, especially where occupational groups into deadly confrontations, especially where occupational and communal boundaries overlap. This appears to be the case in the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and the different ethnic groups that constitute the bulk of agricultural farmer in the central and southern parts of Nigeria during the seasonal movement of cattle for pasture.

By culture, tradition and occupation, herdsmen have remained an itinerate people. The pastoralists are nomadic or semi nomadic herdsmen whose primary occupation is raising livestock. The pure pastoralists do

not engage in randomly moving their cattle while the semi nomadic makes transhumance migration and return to their camps or homes in a seasonal cycle. They either do not own land nor had any permanent abode. They simply live with their cattle wherever there is abundance of green grass, absence of tse-tse fly, blood sucking insect that threaten their flocks (Wegh,1998 cited in Ubwa,James & Ohiani,2018).

The psychology of an average pastoralist today revolves round the idea that, bush or green grasses belongs to God. Thus; there should not be and there is no law governing greener pastures. To a farmer who due to increase in size of the family, needs more space for cultivation, sees every space as a potential farm lands irrespective of government purpose and intends of demarcating such lands. Ubwa et al (2018) reported that, both the farmers and pastoralists are conservative involved with traditionalism; related to agriculture and tied to land. They holds so dear to family trends to the central economic unit of production,consumption,socialization and welfare.

The emergence of agro-capitalists, urbanization, and increase in human and animal population, poor livestock management policies and strategies have continued to overheat climate of insecurity and has allowed farmers and herders to resort to violence with impunity.

Second dynamics and cog in the wheel of resolving farmer-herder controversies in Nigeria includes; land grabbing, hate speech, stereotype/profiting under-age herder among others. These situations succeeded in breeding hatred, grievances, mutual suspicion, fear and mistrust manifesting into violent conflicts. More often than not, these conflicts veer into ethno-religions tensions, mainly due to the character and composition of Plateau's population which is fractionalized by religion and by ethnicity which eventually overheat the political atmosphere into violent crisis.

The atmosphere between farming and pastoral communities has in recent times been extremely better and negative (Ibrahim *et al.*, 2018).It is on this note that, this paper intend to examine some of the major issues contributes or undermining the progression and tenacity in resolving the perennial farmer-herder conflicts in Plateau State.

Statement of Research Problem

Resolving pastoralists and farmers conflicts is more often a very difficult task is Nigeria especially in Plateau State. This could be ascribed to emerging issues creeping in as old ones are addressed.Thses news issues are; land grabbing, under-aged herder, reckless grazing/ trespassing or grazing on grave yards, stercotype and profiling. In plateau State, it is not usual for law breakers and criminals to be first identify by their religion, ethnic group or physical features at the expense of justice and tranquility.Fundamentally, issues emerged in the course of pastoralists' movement in desperate search for green grass and water in a depleting and fast drying green vegetation and water resources as a result of massive desertification of vegetative lands and droughts in the region. Similar condition such as population growth and expansion of farm lands limits pastoralists access to better pasture and water for his herds. These situation often translate to violent conflicts with huge humanitarian consequence which more often makes resolving matters between the two parties more challenging because, as old issues are addressed, news dynamics and trends are emerging which often compromised existing or established mechanism for sustaining peace in Plateau State and its environs.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature and what are the dynamics of land grabbing in Plateau state?
2. What is the relationship between night grazing and social conflicts in Plateau State?
3. What is the impact of under-age herders on reckless grazing on farm lands?

4. To what extent has hate speech and stereotype influenced the management or escalation of farmer-herder conflict in Plateau State.

Research Objectives

1. To examine the nature and dynamics of land grabbing and farmer-herder conflicts in Plateau State.
2. To establish the relationship between night grazing and farmer-herder conflicts in Plateau State.
3. To understand the impact of child-herders and reckless grazing on farm lands
4. To examine the roles of hate speech and stereotype and farmer-herder conflicts in Plateau State.

Scope of the Study

This research on issues in resolving pastoralists and farmer conflicts focuses on Plateau State, with particular attention to three (3) local government areas (LGAs) which are located in the three (3) senatorial districts of the State (See Appendix A) the selection of the three (3) LGAs and their local communities is informed by the frequency and magnitude of violent conflicts due to land grabbing, stereotype, underage herder.

Methodology and Data Analysis

The study adopted a qualitative approach on the use of narratives that give insight to the thoughts and perceptions of critical community stakeholders as regards to issues in curtailing farmer-herders conflicts in Plateau State. In achieving this, civil society organizations (CSOs) Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) Plateau State Building Agency (PPBA) were used as gate keepers in having direct contacts with target population (victims, community leaders, religious and opinion molders).

Data were generated through a combination of primary and secondary methods. Primary sources of data included key informant interviews (KIIs), Focused Group Discussion (FGDs) and study chats (SCs) were conducted at various stakeholders meeting across the study area (See Appendix B). A study chat according to Okoli (2015) is an improvisation designed to deal with the challenge of conducting a normal FGDs as originally proposed. The study chat take the form of casual discussion whereby person deemed to be knowledgeable on the subject matter are interacted with base on chance-contact.

Thus, narratives of victims, community leaders, pastoralists, farmers, eye witness accounts were transcript using the Thematic Content Analysis (TCA), hence, response were scientifically verified, synthesized and sieved to reflect current realities and situation of the study area. The secondary data were collected and collated from white paper reports, minutes of meetings of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) such as Community Security Architecture Dialogue (CSAD) among others.

In all, 24 KIIs, 10 FGD and 10 SCs were conducted across the six (6) communities targeted for this research. Importantly, population engaged in the FGD, KIIs and SCs were all above the age of 18, and standard population of not less than 8 and maximum of 12 people was contend allow-for ease of group control and quality discussion in the case of FGD were met.

In the course of the data collection, the study worked with an aggregate population of One Hundred and Thirty (130) crossed the study area. This target population was a success due to the endorsement, collaboration and consortium of NGOs, CSOs, and PPBA interfacing with stakeholders in the form of humanitarian aids, dialogue, mediation and other forms of reconciliation engagements in the study area. A purposive sampling technique was used in generating respondents who possessed adequate and useful knowledge on the subject matter and study area.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Conflicts

The term conflict has been variously conceptualized, however, the multiplicity of the definition has always pointed at one direction; that conflict is an enduring aspect of social existence. It is believed that wherever a community of individuals is found, conflict is basically a part of their experience. Thus, most conflicts are social in character and usually arise as human beings pursue their different survival and security needs (Musa and Igbawua, 2014).

In this regard, Stagner (1967) defined conflict as situation in which two or more human beings desire goals, which they perceive as being obtainable by one or the other but not yet by both; each party mobilizing energy to obtain a goal, desired objective or situation and each party perceives the other as a barrier or threat to such goal. One common denominator is the presence of two or more actors struggling over allocation of values. Strengthening the above views, Dougherty and Ptalzgarff (1981) cited in Musa and Igbawua (2014) maintain that, the term conflict refers to a condition in which one identifiable group of human beings in a given environment (whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic, political among others) is engaged in conscious possible conflicts to more identifiable human groups because they are pursuing what appears to be incompatible goals.

In contextualizing conflict within the framework of this research, conflict is defined as a deliberate attempt by two or more opposing interest groups in pursuit of their interest or goals against the benefit or existence of the competing interest groups. Such deliberate struggle for allocation or possession of values include, land, water, food, trees and other form of tangible and intangible resources.

Conflicts are a serious disagreement or concentration or state of antagonism between two or more parties or groups. Conflicts evolve from variations in interests, values, ideas, ideologies, orientations, perceptions, and tendencies and are part and parcel of social existence and progress (Bello, 2006). Conflicts are end results of contradictions that exist in the human society. It is a state of discord caused by the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests between people. It can result in stress or tension and negative feelings between disputants, and it is not only disruptive and destructive but also constructive (Bello, 2006).

Sedentary Farmers

There are stationary farmers who stay in a particular settlement for crop farming business. They maintain same place continuously with adherence to shifting cultivation in line with the agricultural extension practice and teachings. According to Omotoso (2017) sedentary farming started in Angerman land, northern Sweden, during the Iron Age and medieval period based on pollen analytical investigations (Jan-Erik Wallin, Umea University, Sweden) and it is still commonly practiced in Argeria and several parts of Africa.

Some of the features of sedentary farmers in central Nigeria are that they are women majority, poor, used local implements for tilling the ground and weeding, have minimal access to social amenities, illiteracy and ignorance among others. These increase their level of vulnerability to be attacked, limited production of farm produce, understanding of law which makes them susceptible to breaking the laws and understanding the need for solving land issues through the instrumentality of the law, desperation.

2.1.5 Nomadic Herders

These are livestock (mostly cattle) herders; they randomly migrate from place to place in search of greeneries and water for their cattle. It is not unusual for a nomadic herder to roam a long distance in search for green grass and water. The Fulani stocks are predominantly associated in pastoral nomadic lifestyle. According to Omotoso (2017) nomadism occurs because of the following factors; search for abundant grass and water, to avoid tax, harmful insects and hostile weather, for social relation, increased sale and to maximized profit.

Thus, nomadism entails a free movement of livestock with little or no definite destination in search for water and good pasture. This practice is predominantly practiced by the Fulani (fulbe) who rear cattle and other domestic animals such as sheep, and goats. Until recent years, pastoralists depended mainly on livestock production for sustenance; milk being the major source of diet and income to families. Momale (2015) succinctly state that; mobility is an important characteristic of pastoral production, which involves movement of both livestock and people in search for feeds, water and friendly grazing routes and areas.

These forms of movement have been classified as follows:

- i. **Nomadism:** The pastoral family and livestock are involved in constant migration. There is no permanent settlement for the group. They may have a regular pattern of migration, or may sometimes keep moving in different directions.
- ii. **Transhumance:** This is a form of regular movement, often directed by seasonal variability in climatic conditions and availability of pasture and water. In Nigeria, livestock migrate to the north in the Wet season and to the south in the dry season. These groups are also described as semi-sedentary pastoralists, particularly if they have established permanent settlements where some members of the family reside throughout the year.

Thus, the most common denominator of nomadic pastoralism is movement with the herds, hence this study contextualized herders mobility as a survival strategy.

On this note, mobility is a flexible strategy, perhaps the most important flexible strategy of the nomadic pastoral utilization system. The reasons for being mobile or nomadic are numerous. One of them is that movement enables the continuing search for food among fluctuating, low density resources, and it facilitates close tracking of favorable environmental conditions, hence, the system of migration allows the range to 'recover'. Another reason is that movement serves as a means of risk spreading (Adriansen, 1997).

Theoretical Framework

Collier Theory of Economic Agenda of Conflict

The rise of pastoralists-farmers conflicts in Plateau State can be examined through the prism of economic struggle which is manifested through inequality in terms of land possession, poverty, fear of the unknown and fear of domination. According to Kwaja (2015) in the current discourse on social conflict and rural banditry in Nigeria generally and Plateau state particularly, economic factors have taken center stage, with social and political factors sidelined. The argument presented is that at the heart of conflict, violence, insecurity and rural banditry in the state, economic greed is the key driver, rather than political or social grievance. The reality is that there is an organic link between conflict and livelihood.

From the foregoing, the paper exploded extensively from Collier (2000), whose submission regarding the economic agenda of conflict emphasizes the relationship between economic conditions of people especially youths between ages 15-24 as core drivers of conflicts. Collier theory holds that, the willingness of young man to join a rebellion might be influenced by their other income-earning opportunities. If young men face only the option of poverty, they might be more inclined to join a rebellion than if they have better opportunities.

Collier's theory holds that there is a high tendencies of grievances to the extent to which the society of fractionalized by ethnic and by religion. A second important narrative of grievances is focused on economic inequality. The grievance might refer either to unequal incomes to or unequal ownership of assets and land, lack of political rights and raising unemployment. Therefore the implication of adopting Colliers' theory is base on the fact that all the proxies of conflicts analyzed by colliers ranging from poverty, unemployment,

lack of political right, unequal access to land and good asserts, unemployment exists in Plateau State as such, it constitute a driver to the continuous social conflict for survival between the pastoralists and farmers.

Field Reports:

Land grabbing and Unending Tension

Another new dimension of farmer-herder issue in security management is the continuation of retention of farm/land grab across the study areas. Many farmers as well as the pastoralists claimed that, their lands have been grabbed from where they used to stay before they were sent parking due to violent conflicts in the past. Both parties lamented the need for government to develop a means of resolving issues of land grabbed. Some of the respondents during a (FGDs & KIIs 30th June, 2019) lamented as follow:

“Our ancestral land has been grabbed. We cannot go back to our settlements; we are clocking more than a year in Internally Displaced Persons Camp. Fulani’s nomads/Natives as the case may be, are now occupying our farmlands and calming to be theirs. This issue must be settled if peace is to be maintained. I can’t stay and watch a stranger occupying my, ancestral lands, land that I bought with my hard earn money”.

Land grabbing is more prevalent in Heipnag, Ganawuri communities of Riyom LGA, Miango in Bassa LGA and Gashit and Fan communities of Barkin Ladi LGAs.. Further inquiry regarding this issue did not stopped at seizure of farm lands only; it involves illegal occupation and retention of houses and other assets of the fled population.

One of the respondents gave another dimension of the land grabbing.

“It is common among the land grabbers at either side to claim land and structures belonging to the flee populations in his/her communities. In fact, what is trending now is, is not unusual to see people farming on land that they grabbed or building new structures on foundation of houses that had been burnt” (KIIs & SCs 31st July, 2019)

As a confirmation to this, affected population in the communities were either still seeking refuge in IDPs camp or had resorted to new settlements as observed in Gashits community of Barkin Ladi L.G.A. in Plateau State and other parts of Irigwe ethnic group of Miango district of Bassa LGA.

Under-age/ Child Herder and Farm Trespass

Farmers expressed concern on perpetual and use of child-herder which kept farmlands vulnerable to trespass as most of the children found it difficult controlling the cattle or being carried away by events during grazing and sleeping on duties. Thus, frequent use of children and even Girl-Child Assistant Herder (GCAH) between 13-16 age barrack were observed by the researcher and confirmed during KIIs and FGDs sessions. In this case some key informants among the pastoralists’ respondents succinctly said:

“There is diminishing interest in pastoral duties among our youths. We have no option than to use the younger ones. Our youths are feeling too big to take out cattle. For grazing, most times even if they managed to, they end up in reckless grazing and threaten to cause harm at any resistance from the farmer and if the farmer is a woman, there are reports of physical assaults and sometimes rape. On the other side, they prefer socializing and indulging in anti-social activities such as alcoholism, drug abuse, local drug trafficking, rap banditry among others. ... You would observed in the evening, our youths would confidently walk into a beer parlor, take alcohol, openly womanized, perceived grazing as old fashion thus, too big to do it. Thus, in the absences of cash to maintain the standard they set for themselves they resort to cattle theft, armed robbery and kidnapping (FGD July 1st, 2019)

Both farmers and grazers agreed that, poor parenting exacerbated the worsening social conflicts and rural banditry (farm trespass and reprisal attacks) in the study area. There are cases of parents covering bad behaviors of their children and frustrating/undermining legal actions against their children/wards, this is manifested in the form of night grazing, taking advantage of worship days, hours and market days to trespass farmland, coupled with strong conspiracy of silence by community leaders because every community knows their criminals.

Given the above scenarios, one of the respondents in the study area, submits that;

Large parentage of civil and criminal offenders in police stations and prisons in the central Nigeria are Fulani Youths (KII July 20, 2019).

Although this study has not validated or proved this assertion, there is need for further investigation to authenticate the submission.

Similarly, during the FGD conducted on 22nd October, 2019 in Riyom LGA, during the community engagement with stakeholders, the respondents among the farming communities lamented the issues of cattle grazing on graveyards.

“Even our cemeteries are not exempted from being trespassed with cattle. We found it very offensive for anyone to trespass or graze on the graves of our loved ones. These acts continue to generate tension and subsequent conflicts especially when there is resistance from the herders to apologized or claim responsibility of damages” (FGD and SCs, October 22, 2019)

Effects of Profiling and Stereotype on Security Management

One of the major challenges in Security Management in the study areas is the challenge of breaking down walls of stereotypes in building mutual trust and promoting inter-communal co-existence for sustainable peace and development. Some respondents in a FGD said:

There is a “we against them” syndrome at play. Even accident has a tribe and religion here. “He is a Catholic, ECWA, Birom, Irigwe, Fulani, Muslim, Christian, Indigene or settler. Mutual distrust is a norm and every incidence or situation is view with the lenses of stereotypes (KII June 1st, 2019)

It is noticed that profiling non-natives with pejorative terms such as alien minorities, settlers, and immigrants weakens security management, raises suspicions, fear and mutual distrust among farmers and herders in the study areas.

Stereotype has the identity of the criminal elements, and such elements successfully linked or attached their sins with their religion, political and ethnic affiliations. The resultant effects of this situation is that, bandits, cattle rustlers, rapists, armed robbers and other criminal elements took advantage of the stereotyping and profiling situation to perpetuate all manners of criminality while the long time friends, neighbors (farmer-herder) kept killing one another in ignorance, mutual distrust and suspicion.

Discussion of Findings

1. There is an increasing rate of diminishing interest in pastoral duties among the Fulani pastoral youths, without alternative western education, entrepreneurial skills. Their idealness and lack of skills acquisitions contributed to the high rate of criminality such as rape, banditry, cattle theft, kidnapping among others.
2. There are increasing cases of underage/child herder which aid frequent farmland trespass in the study area. It was discovered that, more often than not, child-herder whom are sometimes assisted by Girl-Child mostly found wanting in pastoral duties which resulted to conflicts.

3. Due to high level of profiling, hate speeches and stereotypes, the identities of the farmer and herders is hijacked by criminal elements in the study area aid them a fertile ground to commit all manner of criminality. Similarly, Stereotype and profiling identities of offenders deepen insecurity and undermines peace building process in central Nigeria. Many of the key informants made a lot of revelation in the new trend of cattle rustling and raid.
4. There is increasing rates of drug peddler abuse among the youths in the study area. This led to excessive violation of law and order and subsequently undermines peace building process in the study area. It is also discovered that, most of the criminalities to perpetuated wider the influence of hard drugs and alcohol.
5. High rate of rape against women in the farming communities discourages women from going to farms leading to diminishing interest in agricultural activities among the affected gender. Both FGDs and KIIs confirm that such anti-social behaviors are perpetuated under the influence of alcohol and drugs. The phenomenon has a long term effect on the local economy.
6. It was discovered that, trespassing and grazing of cattle on grave yards continue to exacerbate tension and conflicts among the rural communities under study.

Conclusion

This study emphasized the fact that farmers and herders conflict has emerged as one of the critical security issues in central Nigeria. This consisted insecurity in the region to a large extent and shows elements of struggle for survival. Due to the dynamic nature of the issues, past government efforts have not been sufficient enough to tackle the complex challenges between farmers and herders.

The study argued that resolving farmer-herder crisis in Central Nigeria requires a holistic and comprehensive approach that will recognize the interest and peculiarities of every locality in the study areas and the prospects of achieving that, also rests with the sincerity of purpose, genuine political will and ingenuity of relevant stakeholders in the areas of conflict/security management and farmer-herder clashes.

The research did not lose sight of the fact that, the nature and manifestation of farmer-herder clashes in central Nigeria is largely economic in what was described as survival of the fittest due to stiff ecological scarcity and fierce competition for land space.

Recommendations

1. There is need for bye-laws to support and strengthen the works of local peace structures such CSAD, LPC in an attempt to encourage farmers and herders to settle their disputes by themselves through genuine dialogue, mutual trust and respect.
2. Federal and State Governments should enact laws through the legislatives Houses against child-herder, night grazing and institute Local Task-Force to oversee the implementation of the law.
3. The vigilante groups, community Security Architecture Dialogue Representatives, local peace committee in be incorporated into the stream of State Security Architecture for the purpose of quick response to early warning signals and other related security threats in the rural areas.
4. There is need for government in collaboration with relevant CSOs, NGOs to make widespread sensitization and awareness campaign against jungle justices or taking laws into their hands at slightest provocation. Both parties need to be thought habit of reporting issues to local constituted structures responsible for handling disputes relating to farmland destruction, land grabbing and cattle related issues.
5. Stiffer punishment on rapist will reduce the incessant cases of rape on women farmers. Government at all levels should device structure of protecting local farmers against rapists and kidnappers. This is because fear of the unknown has ripple negative impact on increase agricultural production and government food sufficiency policy.

6. Pastoralists should be sensitized and thought to accord respect for scared sites of their host communities.
7. State government in collaboration with local authorities should constitute a balance committee to look into the wide spread issue of land grabbing with a view of reclaiming back land assets to genuine owners.

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Appendix A: List of LGAs/Communities Targeted for KIIs and FGDs

S/No.	Name of LGA where field work was conducted	Targeted communities	Targeted population
1.	Barkin Ladi	Gashish, Heipang, Fan	Farmers, Pastoralist, Youth leaders, Religious and Traditional rulers
2.	Riyom	Ganawuri, Bachid, Shonong	Farmers, Pastoralists, Youth leaders, Religious and Traditional rulers
3.	Bassa	Dundu, Jengre, Miango	Farmers, Pastoralist, Youth leaders, Religious and Traditional rulers

**APPENDIX B:
FIELD WORK TEMPLATE**

It is important to note that, this template is in line with the programmes and activities of Plateau Peace Building Agencies (PPBA), Search for Common Ground (SFCG) an NGO and Community Security Architecture Dialogue (CSAD) a Community Based Organization (CBO) form and supervised by SFCG across the three LGAs. The aforementioned organizations served as gate-keepers for this study.

S/N	Activities	Name of LGA	No. of KIIs & SCs	No. of FGD	Date
1.	Community stakeholders Engagement in Barkin Ladi L.G.A. Theme: Building Mutual Trust and Promoting Inter-religious cooperation for sustainable peace	Barkin Ladi	3	1	30 th July, 2019
2.	Community stakeholders engagement. Theme: Breaking down walls of stereotypes, building mutual trust and promoting intercommunal cooperation for sustainable peace	Barkin Ladi	3	1	31 st July, 2019
3.	Peace Architecture Dialogue Theme: Consolidating the Mechanisms for Sustainable Cooperation and Transformation on the Farmer-herder conflict in Plateau State	Riyom	4	2	1 st July, 2019
4.	Peace Architecture Dialogue Theme: Consolidating the Mechanisms for Sustainable Cooperation and Transformation on the Farmer-herder conflict in Plateau State	Bassa	5	2	22 nd Oct, 2019
5.	Monthly peace architecture Dialogue Theme: National Livestock	Barkin Ladi, Riyom and Bassa	6	2	1 st June, 2019

	Transformation Plan; Insight and Prospects				
6.	Peace Architecture Dialogue Theme: Consolidating the Mechanisms for Sustainable Cooperation and Transformation on the Farmer-herder conflict in Plateau State	Barkin Ladi, Riyom and Bassa	4	2	22 nd Oct., 2019
		TOTAL	25	10	

Appendix C

Coordinated Military style attacks ravaged 15 communities in Barkin Ladi and Riyom L.G.A of Plateau State from 23rd-24th June, 2018

S/No	DISTRICT	COMMUNITY	No. Killed
A	Gashish:		
1		Nhyer	80
2		Exland (Gindin Akwat)	40
3		Ruku	34
4		Kakuruk	6
5		Kuzen	5
Total			165
B	Ropp:		
1		Ganaropp	34
2		Razat	1
3		Kwang Jot, Near General Hospital (Takwok)	1
4		Rakwok	2
Total			38
C	Bachi:		
1		Shonong	8
Total			8
D	Riyom:		
1		Kwi	1
Total			1
E	Heipang:		
1		Chit	2
Total			2
F	Vwang:		
1		K-Vom, Jos South	1
Total			1
G	Zawan:		
1		Auguldi	3
Total			3
H	Dorowa Babuji		
1		Mararraban Kontoma	6
		Dorowa Babuji	9
Total			15
		Total No. of People killed	233

Source: Stefanos Foundation Fact Finding Report on Barkin Ladi Attacks, 2018