Banditry, Herder-Farmers Conflicts and Implications on National Security in Nigeria

¹*Timipa Igoli, Eneyo, ²Lucky Saturday & ³Woko Emmanuel Boma

¹Department of Political Science, University of Africa, Toru Orua, Bayelsa State.
²Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Enugu State.
³Bayelsa State Colege of Health Technology, Otuogidi, Bayelsa State
*Correspondence: timipa.igoli@uat.edu.ng.

Abstract

This paper undertakes a discourse on the crime-conflict "nexus": Banditry, Herder-farmers Conflicts and Implications on National Security in Nigeria, using frustration-aggression and relative deprivation theories as a guide and defines the key concepts for a better understanding of the issues under consideration. It further examines background issues and challenges that factors the causes of banditry, herder-farmers conflicts in Nigeria. The paper observed that, inspite of the scale of violence attack by bandits, herder-farmers clashes and the significant toll of its implications on women and children, is yet to receive sufficient policy response. The lapses of government efficiency in fighting insecurity, armed banditry were highlighted by this article. We therefore, concluded by encouraging government on the need for reforms, to domesticate the relevant laws on security and to adequately fund the relevant agencies. Also, it offer policy recommendations among others, establishment of Peace Corp to enlist, mobilize, train, orientate and provide gainful employment to youths in order to develop them as agent of social order for peace and stability.

Key words: Banditry; herder-farmers conflicts; implication, national security.

Introduction

In recent times, banditry and armed violence such as kidnapping, herder-farmers conflicts has dominated most discourse in Nigeria. It is either people are talking about hostilities arising from banditry, insurgency or power tussle of one form or the other. A review of the security situation in the Nigeria Fourth Republic quickly portrays the nation with uncertainty as many Nigerians are apprehensive of what the future of our country might be. This is a result of series of threats and attacks that have been ravaging the nation with proliferation of arms and ammunitions gaining entrants into the country on daily bases, it become glaringly clear that the country border is porous. This also has resulted in bunkering of Nigeria oil, militancy, armed-robbery kidnapping and rising

trend of ethno-religious conflicts across the country among others (Ahmadu 2019) cited in Abudurasheed A. 2021).

Over the years, emerging forms of human social political organization have stimulated necessity for the protection and safety of the individuals, family, community, and the nation. As threat become incessant and recurrence on daily bases, insecurity emerged as dominant fear of human. Insecurity in the present circumstances arouse out of social and political ethno-religious contradictions such as the crises of legitimacy, authority, and levels of pores borders, insurgent movement, poverty, human, trafficking, official corruption, illegal bunkering with impurity and underdevelopment have resulted in high level insecurity. To this end both internal and external threats are becoming global (Okoli 2018), but the deplorable level of insecurity in our nation now, had gone to a crescendo.

The cost of banditry, herder farmer clash has been enormous, apart from the loss of human material and capital resources there are also social implications in term of humanitarian crises. The increasing data of internally displaced persons (IDPS) and refugees has become a course for concern as victims often flee from hot spots. The phenomenon threatens the consolidation of democracy and security in Nigeria, as of today the greatest security challenge facing this country in the current administration is banditry.

The narrative of President Muhammadu Buhari and the All Progressive Congress (APC) Government has been a blame game, just like the Nazi propaganda that depicted the Jews as the cause of all German woes, that the People's Democratic Party (PDP) government was the cause of Nigeria woes, President Buhari (a retired Nigerian Army General and former Head of States) was presented as the Messiah who will solve all Nigeria problems especially insecurity. He also made a pledge to end insurgency few months after been sworn in as president in May 27th 2015 but the inability to tackle insecurity perpetuated by the predators; bandits, Boko-Haram, herder-farmers conflicts has plunged the country into socio-economic melancholies, maining, kidnapping, militancy, armed-robbery etc.

Kukah (2022) succinctly captured an illuminating scenario:

Against the backdrop of our endless woes, ours has become a nation wrapped in desolation. The prospect of a failed state, stare us in the face:

endless blood-letting, a collapse economy, social anomie, domestic and, community violence kidnapping, armed-robberies etc.

Ours has become a house of horror with fear stalking our homes, highways, cities, hamlets, and entire communities. The middle grounds of optimism have continued to shift and many genuinely asked what have we done to the gods? Does Nigeria have a future? Where can we find hope? Like Psalmist: We ask: from where shall come our help (Kukah: 2022).

The above extract from Kukah Easter message describe the level of hopelessness, to the level of insecurity from banditry.

This paper examines banditry and it twin conflict herder-farmer clashes and it implication on national security. First, it offers a brief clarification of the concept of conflict, secondly it examine the background issues, and challenges of banditry and its twin sister conflict herders-farmers clashes in Nigeria. Thirdly, it tends to assess it implication of these conflicts on national security. Fourthly, it outline what need to be done to address the conflict more effectively.

Conceptual Analysis

Concept of Banditry

In recent times, the concept banditry attracted has a lot of interpretation, some are closely related and some are completely distinct interpretations from scholars, analysts and security experts. The term bandit as introduced in English via Italian around 1590, originate with the early Germanic legal practice of outlawing the criminals termed bananan, now known in English Language as banditry.

Banditry means occurrence or prevalence of armed-robbery or violent crime. It involves the use of force or threat to that effect, to intimidate a person with intent to rob, rape or kill. Banditry is a crime against persons. It has been a common genre of crime, as well as cause of violence in contemporary societies (Nigeria Watch 2011) cited in Ahmed (2018). The concept of banditry has been changing over time, space and circumstances, a bandit in the 19th Century Europe and Americas was a freedom fighter whose aim was partly to ensure the emancipation of the down-trodden from the upper class or colonized over the colonizer (Warto, 1994 in Ahmed 2018. 1).

Furthermore, bandits like Chucho el Roto, Heracho Bernal and Santanon were often celebrated as heroes of Mexican independence. Therefore, Mexicans have warm regard and respect for those "social workers" termed bandits, while on the contrary, the state often considered them as nuisance and outline the need to outlaws, to be eradicated or ostracized, (Michael Watt (1987). According to Roberg: 2007:3), "Crimes against persons, including murder, rape, and robbery has grown in scale and viciousness in Nigeria since 1999".

This has been demonstrated by the pervasive trend of armed robbery in the country, which in effect mirrors the Africa, Nigeria in particular wide experience. In this regards Onimode opines that:

Car snatching, robbery of homes and offices, way-laying of travelers, (highway robbery) are common form of armed-robbery in African countries. Their incidence has been rising since the African crisis started in the 1980s. (Onomode, 2001:3).

Therefore, in some pre-individual societies peasants see bandit differently from the state not as outlaws, hoodlums and miscreants but as avengers and "bread winners". However, as opined by Ahmed (2018) a bandit in traditional African setting is entirely opposite to that of America and Europe, the former specialized in armed-robbery and related crimes. In the word of Rufai, the most common feature of banditry in Africa has been maiming, killing, kidnapping and violent destruction of properties and hence, it has a direct relationship with cattle rustling (Rufai S.A, (2017:8). Since most herdsmen could do anything possible to prevent the nestling of their herds, the bandit also apply force with the aid of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWS) to ensure effective stealing of livestock. (Addo, 2001). Hence, the application on one of the dynamic operation pattern of crime.

Another form of banditry is the cattle nestling which appears to be increasing day by day because of several interconnected issue involving tension between farmer and pastoralists exploited by criminals masquerading as herdsmen rustling and other animal theft has a different significance in the context of perennial conflict between pastoralists and crop farmers Augustine (2015 in Rufai (2019). Okoro (2018) averred that herdsmen-farmers or harder-farmer conflicts are conflict occurring between peasant farmers or subsistence cultivators and nomadic or transhumant livestock keepers, according to Hogman (2003) cited in Okoro (2018), there exist differences

between "herders-herders" conflict and farmers herders conflicts. He maintained that herderherders conflicts are usually conflicts between nomadic or transhumant livestock keepers that arise between receiving groups over their territory's resources and incoming groups searching for water and pastures, and cattle raiding. Herder-herder conflict is a conflict animals among the Fulani herdsmen. The violence cattle raids among pastoralist in some part of middle belt are example of herders-herders conflicts (Hussein, Sumberg and Seddon (1999) cited in Okoro (2018) see farmers-herders conflicts as comprising different types of conflicts, including ethnic conflict, interest conflicts, resources disputes, political actions, evictions, killings, cattle raiding and cattle rustling.

The concept of security

The current security situation and other political situation in our country have given many Nigerian sleepless nights both at home and abroad, and has been a source of concern to start reflecting on the issues of banditry and national security in Nigeria. Gbanite (2001) cited in Agalamanyi 2008 opined, that as ugly, beautiful, interesting or uninterestingly the issue of security may appear, it is hoped that it should arouse some interest in the right quarters. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language defines "Security" as "safety, confidence, anything that gives or assures safety-secure, free from danger, free from fear-or doubt, not likely to fail or give way, stable, assured, and certain".

National security in abroad sense implies the absence of threat to life, property and socio-economic wellbeing of the people. According to Nnoh (2001) national security is a cherished valve associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups or nation-states, together with a similar safety for their other most cherished value. It therefore implies freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. In other words, it is a value associated with confidence in physical safety and other most cherished values. Nnoh went further to posit that security can be measured in objective and subjective sense. In objective sense it can be measured by absence of threat, anxiety or danger. This in subjective, security can be measured by the absence of fear and threat, anxiety of danger will materialize.

Security therefore, is said to be a state of mind not necessarily an objective state of being. It describe how people feel, not whether they are justified in feeling that way. It depends on the

perception that people have of their environment not necessarily an objective view of that environment. National Security is indeed a multi-faceted issue. It has economic, social and even political dimensions. However, scholars are yet to agree on the definition of the term "national security", Imoigbe (1981) refers to it as the defense and survival of the state. The danger of looking at national security from this narrow angle according to Nweke (1988:2) is three-fold:

First is the tendency to equate defense with security "and to bestow undue responsibilities to the military as if the armed forces alone are the guardians of national security". This tendency in turns creates in the mind of the armed forces that it is only through them that security, stability and progress can be achieved. Second, national security has been used by civilian statesmen as political rhetoric or slogan for rallying the citizen in the face of perceived internal or external threats to the government in power and for bolstering their local influence and political base (Adebayo 1986).

Consequently upon, the above in the definition of the concept of national security, there is a contention between national security and individual freedom. Therefore the problem of national security, its definition or analysis is fundamentally, about, how much of individual freedom should be sacrificed for national security and how much power is required to maintain the proper balance between order and fundamental human rights and civil liberty (Eme Okechukwu and Okeke M. I. 2008). In general, Braith Waite (1988) quoting the encyclopedia of the social sciences define national security as "ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats".

The security situation in Nigeria now is very deplorable, from thinking about what to eat, how to pay medical bills, how to travel from rural areas to urban areas, to fear of the menace of kidnappers.

One of the mantra and development thirst of the preferred administration is encapsulated in their agenda, with security and fighting corruption as her priority. It is an inbuilt severe card to guide the performance of the present administration headed by President Muhammadu Buhari. It is equally a chart for an objective assessment of the government by the public because it is the task government has set for itself. This paper make bold to say that never in the history of this country had the national security be so threatened like the present administration in term of security. The issue of banditry has degenerated into a security threat, and need solution.

Theoretical Framework

Theories generally provide the latitude with which any empirical or analytical study can be done, this paper is therefore anchored on two theoretical constructs as a tool of our analysis; namely: The frustration-Aggression theory as described by Onuoha (2004) assumes that individuals and groups have goals of sort that much of their behavior is purposive in the sense of goal-seeking and that if this behavior is not prevented in some way, the group or the individual is likely to behave quite peaceably. Since this condition is unlikely to be regularly or at least always fulfilled, in the human condition of scarcity, the theory predicts that the result is likely to be aggressive behavior. Ad Dowse and Holghes (1972) cited in Nnamani R. 2008.270), argued that the frustrated individual or group is likely to attack the believed source which is not necessarily the real source of frustration, the aggression is likely to re-occur.

Basically, a person thwarted in the attempt to reach a goal is made angry and likely to strike of the imputed source of frustration. As Dowse and Hughes observed, in social life, men come to value many things; wealth, status, power, security, equality, freedom, the nation and so on, when they cannot achieve these value, or when achieving one value means losing another, dissatisfaction, anger, and often aggression occur. Mayor (1976) in Nnamani (2008) argues that normal tendency towards violence aggression is increased by frustration of desires. According to him, when a goal presumably attractive to two or more individuals is made available in such a way that it can be obtained by only one of them, the end result in frustration for the looser. These factors in the political system can become kidnappers, militant, and the like. Davis (1976) observed that frustration may lead to building up of ionized particles in the brain which when released, lead to violent behavior either individual or collectively.

Davies (1993) further observes that aggressive actions requires four main steps namely; activation of demand, frustration of demand, mental processes of deciding how to overcome the frustration and action. It is important to note that the bandits aim of satisfaction of frustration, which they believe has been derived. The denial of those desires lead to frustration which the bandits feel may be overcome by violence. Most bandits hope to alter a power hierarchy in which they perceive a ruling elites satisfying its own desires at the expense of other members of the society.

From this theoretical standpoint, it is clear that violence conflicts by bandits, like other types of violent aggression, serves certain purposes for its perpetrators and often aims to make the condition of its proponents better.

While the Relative Deprivation Theory credited to Samuel Stouffer, a sociologist in 1949, which initially used to describe unexpected relationship that emerged from survived American Soldiers in World War II as poled by Stouffer, find out that soldiers of the era measured their individual success not necessarily with the standard set out by the military, but by their individual experiences they had within their respective units. Despite their similarities in education and experiences. Some officers still feel deprived from rapid promotion, due to them while others enjoy the privilege (Smith, Rettigrew, Pippin & Bialosiewics (2015): Teasley, 2020). Cited in Daniel Igbini.

This theory is widely discussed field of contemporary sociology which emphasized the reason why some people or groups who are deprived of social necessities take to aggressive behaviour. In other words, an individual or group of individuals' under-privilege in material or immaterial way are likely to behave in a manner that is unacceptable to the larger society (Michalos, 2014). For Longler (2020) relative deprivation is an actual or perceived lack of resources required to maintain quality of life such as diet, activities and material possessions. It is a feeling that one is worse-off than the people he or she associate with and compare self with. Such is the care in Nigeria which made some individual take to crime because of poverty which they attribute to insensitivity of government. The Niger Delta insurgency, the Boko Haram insurgency, banditry are pertinent examples of groups who feel deprived of their rights.

Background issues and challenges of banditry in nigeria

Empirical evidence and scholarly account have it that the phenomenon predated Nigeria emergence as political entity. In this regards, Jarfar 2018:3) opines that there were recorded instances of banditry in the colonial Nigeria as far back as the 1930s. Banditry is the code name in the region-organized crime like kidnapping, cattle rustling, mass, abduction, arson and armedrobbery.

In different parts of the country bandit have groups for an intolerable carnage but the federal government doesn't appear helpless. Banditry is used to describe different variants of outlaws. In reality, the usage define two underlying problems; ineffective law enforcement in Southern Nigeria

and the crises of ungoverned spaces in Northern Nigeria. Since independence, successive government have had to confront variants of these trends, the evidence overtime suggests a link between governance, its failure and banditry. (https://blogs.Ise.ac.uk).

It appeared that each succeeding government, saw intensified rural and urban outlaws, organized crime, political violence and organized, insurgency, even before the civil war. According to Stephen Ellis 2017) is trace to post civil war, when government broke down in some part of South West Region as a result of the Gowon regime failed to manage demonization. The demobilize combatant from the war returned home to do nothing, to carryout organized crime became appealing. The case of Lawrence Anini in the 80's in South South Nigeria, precisely the then Bendel State, during the era of Ibrahim Babanosi Babangida (IBB) a former head of States. Anini armed bandits gang was later dislodge and Anini arrested with two of his notorious gang members. In a chat the then Inspector General of Police Etim Inyang IBB asked how his men were able to track Anini, he responded that it was through effective policing.

1990-96 witnessed the Shina Rambo, Otokoto in South East, Owerri in Imo State, armed bandit, and ritual killings, while by 2000 commercial kidnapping political violence and assassination emerged in dominant form. The best known exponents includes Osisikwankwu (Obioma Nwankwo) in Abia State. Government broke down and security was taken by bandits, vigilante Group known as Bakasi Boys took the stage. During Babangida transition to civil rule a mutual support network between political, and cult hetened political violence in South South. In 2008, Alhaji Myahid Asari Dakubo was asked how armed Youths who traded in violence acquired their weapons, he answered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission presided over by former Supreme Court Justice, Kayode Eso that the gun were purchased with money purchased by politician. This answer was a result of the militancy in the Niger-Delta, as another twist of banditry.

The act of kidnapping of foreign experts of multi-nationals started in 2006, when the Niger Delta militias took total hostage to protest the inequality in the region which serve as the cash cow for the whole country. In recent time, it was observed that the level of insecurity has increased to a crescendo since the return to democratic governance in May 1999. These insecurities are caused by communal clashes, ethnic tribal conflict, religion riots, militancy, ritual killing, cultism and ethno-militias attacks, the inter-play of harder-farmer relation, (the famers-herders conflicts particularly in the middle belt (Akinola 2006).

These further increased with the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East Nigeria from 2009, the Farmer's- Herdsmen clashes and cattle rustling from 2011. In some state in the North this forms of insecurity further changed to not only banditry and cattle rustling but also include kidnapping for ransom, (Ahmed A. M. 2018). The situation has become more worrisome, especially in eight frontier local government areas in Katsina State, namely; Jibia, Batsari, Satana, Danmusa, Karikara, Faskari, Danduma and Sabua. The home state of President Mohammadu Buhari has become a hot sport for banditry. The Governor of the state, lamented that the state is under siege by bandits and kidnapers, even me as a governor am not safe. (Aminu, (2019).

It must be recalled, that there are certain issues our leaders did not take care of earlier since 1999. Crises in our neighboring country- Chad was sometime in crises in the early 1999 and later on the .Arab spring came up, it affected Libya and Gaddafi was ousted. This incident resulted to the proliferation of light arms and they unfortunate spread to other countries including Nigeria. . Because of poor borders control and records, agencies and authorities cannot effectively police our borders.

Another issue that factor banditry and insecurity is governance are certain global issues that are affecting governance, like climate which is affecting rainfall distribution and agricultural innovation, COVID-19 Pandemic and International oil policies that is affecting mono-economic like Nigeria.

Furthermore, crises even in the security circle, image how security officer interrogating a suspect but the chip are found circulating on social media. This scenario, reveal vital security information to the bandits. The state governors are mere chief security officers of their state as they don't have the full control of the security apparatus in their domain. Security issues or intelligence flows from the federal being the controller of the Arm forces, the police and other security apparatus. Hence Governor had no firm security control and power to enforce security.

According to Mohammed Bellow Tukur, Secretary of Myetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), there is week state capacity to regulate and establish governance which accounts for the high level of illegal activities perpetrated by criminal gangs and networks. Most empirically in the Birnin Gwari area of Kaduna State, which is a death trap where cattle rustling and other related criminals activities have become concentrated. (Gadzama et al. 2018). Kaduna,

Katsina and Zamfara has become an epicenter were armed gangs and bandits routinely raid cattle ranches owned by traditional pastorals.

Implications

Insecurity in Nigeria has gone full circle in recent years, due to nationwide actions of various nonstate armed groups with differing rationales, objectives and modus operandi. These actors includes criminal gangs, separatist groups, fundamentalist and amorphous kidnappers dubbed unknown gunmen in Nigerian media. Banditry is the order of the day in which modus operandi includes armed robbery, kidnapping, murder, rape, and illegal possession of fire arms.

The activities of bandit directly affected the seven state of North Western Nigeria, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. The action of banditry has led to destruction of lives and properties displacement of people from their communities, growing number of widows and widowers, and orphan children mostly in camps were Internally Displaced persons (IDPs) resides following armed bandits continued attacks on both farming and pastoral communities across different areas.

Inspite of the scale of violent attack by banditry, the significant toll of impact on women and children is yet to receive sufficient attention in policy response. This is despite escalating attacks often targeting vulnerable women and children jeopardizing right to education. For instance more school children are still in captivity after mass abduction for ransom by bandits of more than 780 children in 2021, while many schools were shot down indefinitely. According to recent report by Amnesty International. (John U. 2021) the United Nation Children Fund (UNICEF) says, at least one million children will likely stay away from school because of the threat of violence following the targeting on pupils in 2021 alone. This trajectory, portends serious implication, a country blighted by endemic poverty, especially in the Northwest, reported to house the highest number of out of school children in sub-Saharan Africa.

Amid these attacks, women and girls bears the most significant burden of banditry. Sexual violence has skyrocketed with women frequently raped. Kidnapped or conditioned families are sometimes forced to exchange their daughters for protection for instance at least thirty women and girls were raped indiscriminately across give communities in Sihoro Local Government Area of Niger State

(Musa Bello 2021). A similar act was carried out in Zamfara State, Tsafe Local Government Area in response to communities refusing to pay a N3 million levy. (Anka, 2021).

Additionally, the humanitarian tools of banditry extend to livelihoods relied on women with market and farms often raided, victims highlights the effect of rape and hunger in the midst of rising insecurity and the desperate needs of food protection, shelter and clothes. Access to water has become increasingly difficult in congested camps of displaced persons. Another worrisome situation is the scale of violence from the herder-farmers clashes. According to Okoro, (2018) deadly conflicts between herder and farmers become a major insecurity problem in Nigeria only second to banditry. The violent conflict between the two groups have been manifested in form of blood clashes (attack and counter attacks). It has created social economic and relational implications and adverse effect such as loss of humans lives in the word of Okoro, in a report compiled by SBM intelligence, a Lagos-based intelligence consulting firm; shows that pastoral conflict accounted for more deaths than Boko Haram in 2016, SBM data covers incidents and casually counts for Nigeria biggest security challenges 2016, the Boko haram insurgency, pastoral conflict involving Fulani herdsmen and cattle rustling as well as militancy in the oil rich Niger Delta.

Displacement of persons; reports of internally displacement of persons abound. This occurs when herder-farmers clash. Host farmer, vulnerable women and children who stayed behind for fear of further attack by nomads in the bush. Corroborating thus Ofemi and Inyang (2014) in Okoro 2018 observed that herders-farmers conflicts has not only result to displacement of herdsmen and farmers in Yakur, Cross Rivers State especially; but also lead to reduction in food security, income, and savings and crop output. The fear of attacks, force farmers predominantly women and girls out of farm even at season of cultivation. The Benue State Emergency Management Agency SEMA (as published in Premium Times news online on January, 2018) cited in Okoro (2018) say it has registered about 80,000 internally Displaced Person IDPS.

Recent studies have also shown that over 3.2 million people are displaced, including 2.9 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in North East Nigeria and the causes stem from armed banditry, farmers-herders conflict, internal communal war and bounder disputes according to https://reliefweb.intreport,Nigeria (2021) while these attacks pose threat to food security in rural areas, failures to bring killers to justice also fuel feelings of impurity.

Social Economic Implication

One of the immediate impact of violence of this nature is this drop in number of children who are able to go to school, comparing what is happening in this middle belt now to provide an indicator of the impact of this kind of recurring violence on the education of children. Again, loss of agricultural production, the Worth West geopolitical zone, part of which engulfed in a different violence is the home of Nigeria's grain production centre for roots, tubers, fruits, vegetables and various prices. Much of these have not been farmed since the crises began escalating in 2013, same to cattle which are lost to retaliatory attacks.

Conclusion and policy recommendation

Deriving from the foregoing analysis, the nexus between banditry, herder-farmer conflicts and national security. The paper discovered that the Nigeria is fast being characterized by armed banditry of all kinds, the concomitant consequence or implications of these conflicts are much more serious and humanly unimaginable than ever. It implication ranges from socio-economic like food crises, humanitarian crises- more on women and children, threat to national integration, unity and cohesion. The paper noted with nostalgia, the dominant explanation about the causative factors of conflict in Africa is internal and external factors. Internal causative factors include; unaccountable government, intolerance of the ruling elites, ethno-linguistic fractionalization, personalization and privatization of the state and its powers, state violence against targeted groups and distributional inequities arising from extreme patrimonialism. (Skidmore, 1999, Coller and Hoeffler 1998; Ibeanu, 2003; Igwe 2002. Nnoli 2006; Beswick and Jackson, 2011). External causative factor encapsulate unequal global system, active sponsorship of belligerency by the super powers as a handy foreign policy tool and the quest of big business to control natural resources. The prevailing security challenges in Nigeria can be viewed from the prism of an accumulated anger and frustration by the citizenship, particularly from the youth who feel their own generation is wasted, perhaps as a result of poverty and bad governance. Again, the imbalances of opportunities between tribal groupings, remain a stubborn fact of life in Nigeria that induce crises.

It is true that conflicts cannot be eradicated totally from social interaction system but can be managed or be guarded against escalation and disrupting the entire gamut of the country.

In a work of this nature, it is practically expected to conclude with a few recommendation that would enhance the application of the thrust of the study. This paper therefore recommends that:

- 1) Government should adopt community oriented policing model, and or regional police outfits to forestall peace and prevent crime.
- 2) Federal government should engage peace and conflict resolution experts in dealing with the rising cases of herdsmen, farmers crisis, this will enable dialogue, negotiation and of course a win-win resolution.
- 3) State government should derivate some areas as gracing fields for the nomadic herdsmen and make them pay tax to the state with a stern warning and severe penalties for offenders. This will provide the opportunity for practicing limited pastoralism and is therefore a pathway toward a more settled form of annual husbandry
- 4) Government at all level should promulgate legislation outlawing open gracing.
- 5) The federal government, should as a matter of urgency review Nigeria's border security architecture and provide all technical and human capital enhancement. All herdsmen must be encouraged to obtain the international transhumance certificate as provided by the EOCWAS protocol in transhumant, of which Nigeria is a legendary.
- 6) Federal government need to review land use acts to give room for both farmers and herders an enabling environment to conduct their activities free from conflicts and supplement the National Economy.
- 7) The organized private sector can collaborate with the state government to set up ranches under a public partnerships models, such collaboration which exist in other agricultural value chains should be extended to animal husbandry. The government involvement in such scheme could help assuage the herder fears about private investment.
- 8) Establishing, community architecture for peace and security will help in the early detection and resolution of potential conflicts. For example, local vigilante groups should work with the herders and farmers to deliver mutual protection.

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