

NIGERIA'S FULANI HERDSMEN-FARMERS CONFLICT AND PEACE BUILDING

Ningxin Li

Nova Southeastern University

ABSTRACT: *Farmer-Herder conflicts have grown in frequency across Nigeria. They have spread and intensified over the past decade and currently are a threat to national survival: Fulani-farmer conflict linked to poverty, migration, inequality, and religious groups. The impacted states are those of the Nigerian Middle Belt like Benue, Taraba, and Plateau (UsmanLeme, 2017). This paper assessed the Fulani-farmer conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria, and gave explanations for the causes of the Fulani-farmer conflict by using the Wehr's Conflict Model, and provided alternative resolutions for sustainable development. Tens of thousands of Nigerians also have been displaced. Women and girls were particularly affected: they experienced poverty and lack of access to resources, and their husbands were killed in the violence in the Fulani-farmer conflict (International Crises Group, 2017). Violent conflicts between herdsmen and farmers from Nigeria have escalated in recent years, which threatened people's lives and the country's stability. The conflicts between herdsmen and farmers have resulted in a humanitarian crisis (Leme, 2017). The objective of this study is to discuss the causes, as well as the economic, political, and cultural implications of these attacks for peacebuilding and to establish conflict resolution strategies between Fulani herdsmen and farmers.*

KEYWORDS: Co-Existence, Farmer-herder Conflicts, Cultural Neighbors, structural violence, Cultural Identity

INSTRUCTION

Definition of The Fulani People

Fulani is an ethnic group who are mostly shepherds and cattle herders. They are rural or pastoral, and they migrate from one area to another. They are mostly Muslims who speak the Hausa language. Over 30 million Fulani people are living in the northern states of Nigeria (Gordon, 2000).

Historical background

Much of Nigeria was under British colonial rule before Nigerian independence. Fulani herders established friendly relationships with community members, and they shared culture and ideology by sharing resources such as land and water. Strong social networks between the Fulani herders and local cattle dealers, politicians, and landowners were established (Bukari, Sow, & Scheffran, 2018). However, migration routes and grazing zones were not protected for the Fulani herders, and the herders often had conflicts over land allocation. The most impacted states in Nigeria, such as Benue, Taraba, and Plateau were slow to develop. Fulani herders established various forms of interactions with local farmers. Herders and farmers violence was mainly because of the increased need of herders to access grazing lands and farmers who tried to prevent the Fulani herders from coming to their lands (Bukari, Sow, & Scheffran, 2018).

Since the Fourth Nigerian Republic was founded in 1999, many people were killed in the Fulani-farmer violence due to an expansion of the agriculturist population and deteriorating environmental conditions. Insecurity and violence have led many people to create self-defense forces and militias, and they participated in further violence, especially between Muslim Fulani herdsmen and Christian farmers (Bukari, Sow, & Scheffran, 2018).

Recently, Christian leaders in Nigeria claimed that 6,000 people were killed at the beginning of this year by the Muslim Fulani group, and the majority of people who were murdered are women and children (Clark, 2018). The frequent attacks on the Nigeria farmers weakened the communities' growth. According to the International Crisis Group, the conflict between Nigerian farmers and herders killed at least 1,300 people in the first half of 2018. Since the beginning of 2018, more than 18 people from Benue State were killed, and thousands of people were displaced because of attacks. Also, people living in the Southern region were impacted by the Boko Haram insurgency. Government's failure to handle the insurgency quickly caused social instability and pressure (Clark, 2018).

Statement of the Conflict

Nigeria's population grew from 33 million in 1950 to about 192.3 million in current years. The Fulani-farmer conflict was caused by different factors, such as ideological, historical, and cultural influences (Premium Times Nigeria, 2018). For example, the usages of land and water resources caused enormous pressure. Also, in the far north, the impact of desertification has resulted in deforestation and migration of Fulani herdsmen (Ndubuisi, 2018). For example, In January 2013, it was reported that Fulani herdsmen attacked some villages, killed 10 people, and displacing over 4,000 people (Ndubuisi, 2018). Mikailu (2016) also reported a severe attack in Benue State in February 2016, over thousands of people were driven from six villages by the Fulani herdsmen. Some victims complained of conflict between Muslims and Christians has also contributed to increasing violence and massacres in their religions. Also, due to the migration activities of the herdsmen, they frequently pass through farmlands owned by local farmers and destroy their crops and other properties. Fulani herdsmen claimed that they are only trying to protect their cattle from being expelled from farmers. Farmers wish to protect their property from trespassing and damage. In many cases, farmers have been injured or killed as well as evicted from their homes (Christopher, 2018).

Wehr's Conflict Analysis Model

Analysis of Fulani-Farmer Conflict

There are many factors which trigger the escalation and continuation of this conflict. Ethical, political, economic, cultural, and religious tensions profoundly impact the relationship between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria (Braukämper, 2000). Environmental factors and the scarcity of resources also lead to the conflict between the two groups (Adisa, 2012).

Moreover, the population growth rate of Nigeria per year is 3.2% according to the National Population Commission. Therefore, more and more people will be continuing to compete over land (Bibi, 2015). Parties who were involved in this conflict include Fulani herdsmen, farmers, Nigeria's president Muhammadu Buhari, and State governors.

Population Growth

Population growth has worsened this conflict. It has pitted many southern communities and farmers against the Fulani. One cause is the growing population of Nigeria's cattle population to 25 million cows in Nigeria, and the number of cattle is expected to increase to 60 million by 2050 (Fabiya & Otunuga, 2016). A large amount of food and water is required to satisfy massive numbers of animals when they are traveling over farmers' lands. Farmers accused the Fulani herdsmen of failing to control their cattle and allowing them to damage farmers' crops. However, the Fulani herdsmen accused farmers of stealing their cattle and sheep (Fabiya & Otunuga, 2016).

Drought and Migration

Climate change and environmental degradation also lead to conflict. For decades, climate change slowly changed the landscape of Nigeria. Many Northern parts of Nigeria have turned into desert. Nigeria's rivers are at the lowest levels they have been in years and communities are dealing with droughts (Fabiya & Otunuga, 2016). This situation worsened the conflicts between farmers and herdsmen because they are fighting over diminishing resources.

Economic Factor

One hundred fifty thousand per head. Fulani herdsmen group represents a significant component of the Nigerian economy. They own over 90% of the nation's livestock population and around 3 % of the nation's GDP (Fabiya & Otunuga, 2016). The Nigerian population depends on the cattle for food, and the price of meat has steadily increased in some areas. The government has to pay attention to this situation and solve the problem to ease the extra financial burden on the population caused by rising meat and food prices (Ndubuisi, 2018). It requires the government to spend a considerable amount of money in taking care of the conflict by sending a supplementary budget (Ndubuisi, 2018).

Poverty Factor

The Fulani-farmer conflict has a direct impact on people's lives and livelihoods. This conflict caused a high poverty rate and competition. The proportion of Nigerians who are below the poverty line is 70%. Nigeria is the most populous country and is composed of more than 250 ethnic groups (World Factbook, 2010). However, people living in some areas are experiencing poverty, and they have to relocate to different places (Ndubuisi, 2018). These conflicts created circles of extreme poverty and hunger, and lead to more violence, especially when either the farmer or the herdsmen is categorized into a group relating to a particular religion, tribe or region (Mustapha & Ehrhardt, 2014). They wanted to protect the resource and living for their in-group and exclude outsiders (Bibi, 2015).

Power Factor

Power relations between the two groups became more competitive when there is not enough access for people to grazing grounds and safe livestock routes. Any hierarchical socioeconomic structure can generate structural violence and fail to satisfy people's primary material and cultural needs (Rubenstein, 2017). The northern regional government established most of the grazing reserves in the 1960s, and only 114 were formally demarcated. 97% of the voters in the north supported president Muhammadu Buhari, and he had only 5% in southeast and southern regions. A news report from 2017 showed that over 80% of Buhari's political

appointees are from northern Nigeria (Christopher, 2018). The president ordered the army to take action to restore order and calm the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers, but the military response is unlikely to work. The government did not successfully agree on legislation, and it was a challenge for them to take existing plans to prevent the violence which will balance the needs of the two sides. Herders lost access to grass-abundant wetlands. They have to take the risk of crossing the land dominated by the farmers. The government has to compensate shepherds and herders who are unable to get access to grazing lands and to make sure they do not break the laws by trespassing on privately owned lands (Bibi, 2015).

Resource Factor

Competition over a scarce resource would increase the likelihood of the conflict (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). The cattle herders' search for land and resources became one of the major causes of the fighting. Desert and droughts have swallowed up to 70% of grassland and droughts appear more frequently. Disagreements over the use and allocation of food and resources such as grazing areas between herders and local farmers are intense because of the interest of both parties (Muhammed, 2015). Additionally, police announced the arrest of suspected Fulani militants and said they carried dangerous weapons, and farmers accused herdsmen of damaging their crops and failing to control their animals. However, the herdsmen believed that weapons were needed to defend themselves from attacks from farming communities who tried to steal their cattle.

Territory Factor

Competing for land ownership is also an essential driver of the conflict. The Fulani see themselves as the owners of the land which was leased legally to them or their parents. The Fulani reject the views of those who see them as trespassers on grazing lands. However, many farmers consider Fulani herders as strangers who are occupying the land of indigenous people (Clark, 2018).

Fulani herders travel hundreds of miles with their cattle in search of grazing land. The Fulani group believe that farmers often steal from their herds. They often armed with weapons to protect their territory and livestock (Mikailu, 2016). The way to protect oneself is to threaten to retaliate in the hope of deterring the other side from using weapons (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Both herders and farmers describe themselves as victims of the conflict. The competition for land led to tensions over the years between both parties. Necessary conflict management will help both groups in building peace in the affected communities (Setrana, 2018).

Security Factor

The conflict between herdsmen and farmers was becoming a regional security threat. As a result, the local authority is weakened in the enforcement of the agreement between the groups. According to Nigerian reports, thieves stole approximately 60,000 cattle in recent years. Many herdsmen have to arm themselves with weapons to protect their cattle and homes to ensure security. The government prioritizes the conflict as a threat to national security. President Buhari took swift action and tried to control the conflict (Blogger, 2018). The conflict became a threat to Nigeria's national security because violent actions have caused deteriorating living conditions, and it will ultimately lead to more conflicts and breakdown of order in the region.

Culture and Conflict Analysis

Religion. The goal of religion discussion was to amplify understandings of religious identity. The herdsman-farmer conflict was an ethnic war between the Fulani group and settled ethnic groups, including Christian communities in Nigeria (Clark, 2018). The majority of farmer-herder conflicts put Muslim Fulani against Christian farmers at both a national and local level (Mustapha & Ehrhardt, 2014). Ethnic groups had some sense of shared history and shared fate which contributes to a shared vision of the nature of the conflict (Boulding, 2000).

Christian farmers saw the Fulani as an Islamisation force. They view the Fulani as proxies for northern Nigeria's elites, while some Muslim Fulani complained that they had been mistreated when they encounter Christian communities. The church in Nigeria criticized Fulani herdsmen who have carried out a series of fatal attacks to Christians. However, it is a challenge for the herdsmen to change their ideology and nomadic way of life and to adjust another ethnic group (Ndubuisi, 2018).

Cultural Identity. Parties might oppose values and identities when conflict has been intentionally pursued violently. Herders and farmers can be conceptualized as cultural neighbors. Cultural neighborhood describes two groups that are ethnically and culturally different than living in the same community and geographical place and interact with each other through activities such as trade (Bukari, Sow, & Scheffran, 2018). Groups have a shared history and strong communal identity. Some ethnic groups are willing to share life with other groups in their neighborhood, but some are averse to engaging in activities with other groups with a different culture (Boulding, 2000).

When a strong group identity exists, group members feel genuinely the suffering of any could lead to the harm to the whole group. Self-concern is also found in intergroup conflict. In-group members are concerned about a group's outcomes and identify their common fate with one another (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Both groups have different languages and traditions. For example, the language of Fulanis is called Pulaar depending on the region they live. People who speak the language natively were also considered in the group, and they share the similar interest of protecting their cultural identity. Many farmers are Christians. They have to protect Christian rights and might consider other groups as outsiders who do not share the same value and norms with them, which might also cause the Fulani-farmer conflict (Clark, 2018). Both Fulani and farmers are angry with each other because of long-term conflict and violent behaviors towards each other. The two groups must seek ways to coexist so that both ethnic groups can cooperate healthily and peacefully.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nigeria has a sizeable Fulani population and Fulanis are one of the country's largest ethnic groups (UN Environment, n.d.). The study showed that the Fulani-farmer conflict is shaped by two different interests: farmers and herders. The Fulani group has a long history of migrating, and they have built relationships with various farming populations in Nigeria. However, available grazing lands are decreasing, and livestock pathways are blocked in many areas. Only a small portion of the grazing reserves was acquired, and they were poorly managed (UN Environment, n.d.). It is necessary to understand the concepts the relationship between the conflict and 'pastoralism .' Conflicts are unavoidable when people have interactions. However,

people can avoid violent actions when disagreements happen. The pressures that have led to herders encroaching into farming areas and farmers moving into herding areas often result in violent confrontations (Baidoo, 2014). There is an emerging conflict between the rights of movement of Fulani and laws for restricting migration. Many Nigerian states have enacted laws to prevent open grazing on their territories, such as Benue, Ekiti, Taraba, and the Edo States.

Small groups usually try to deter overly aggressively members who attack people to dominate discussions. A balance of power exists when all regions in a system are deterred for military reasons from attacking others. Collective security is often regarded as the ideal mechanism to protect the safety of people (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). According to Adisa and Adekunle (2010), land and livestock played an essential role in the development of society in Nigeria, and resource ownership is a significant cause of this conflict for a long time. Increasing human and animal population has exacerbated the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and farmers for the use of agricultural land. The conflict affected the stability of the local economy and environment. Also, according to Coser (1956), conflict is a struggle between parties who share different values and interests. People might struggle for values or status, as well as control over scarce resources. Moritz (2010) observed that both Fulani and farmers needed to settle conflicts preferably by the customary institutions rather than the legal system. Mark and Synder (1971) also believed that group conflict reflects the condition of not being fully satisfied and results in conflict behaviors. People are not aware of finding alternative solutions, and the mediators need to be professionals so that they can solve problems fairly. It is essential for them to find a way to coexist and cooperate rather than engaging in conflicts (UN Environment, n.d.). Additionally, in 2018, The Environmental Law Institute, UN Environment launched the Environmental Peacebuilding Association which provides a multidisciplinary forum to address conflicting issues related to the environment, conflict, and peace. It also aims to foster collaboration and seek common ground for the development of society (UN Environment, n.d.).

The author chose three theories to analyze this conflict and explored people's motivations and feelings of why they were engaged in this conflict. The theory of Structural Violence can be applied to explain why social injustice and discrimination exist when different groups live in the same society. Competition over material resources is the driver for intergroup conflict, and the dominant group often enforces ingroup favoritism and exclude other groups. Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Social Identity theory provide fundamental insights in examining intergroup relations and human behaviors. Social Identity Theory will help people find a culture-specific approach to understanding group relations.

Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory was proposed by Henri Tajfel (1971). Social Identity Theory explains ingroup favoritism and ingroup bias, and it can help people analyze the differences and similarities between groups. Social beliefs and social structures are essential tools in developing a cultural perspective on intergroup relations. Henri Tajfel indicated that in-group members might feel pride and self-esteem. People can feel good about themselves by enhancing group values and ideology. They might share similar hobbies, values, and interests which make people have a sense of belonging within their groups. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Social identity attributes the cause of ingroup favoritism to a need for positive distinctiveness and perceived group status, legitimacy, stability, and permeability (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, the in-group might discriminate and exclude the out-group and hold prejudice or racism against other groups. The social comparison means after individuals categorize themselves within a group and identify themselves as being members of that group, they might tend to compare themselves with another group and against another group. In the case of

Fulani-farmer conflict, if Fulani identifies as a group, they will most likely behave within the norms of that group. Fulani herdsmen have their tradition and culture which might be different from other cultures. Farmers might also consider themselves vulnerable and believe in their rights of protecting their property and safely living in their communities without out-group disturbances. They would have the same goals to protect their social identity and might act aggressively to prevent other groups from trespassing on their lands (Gordon, 2000).

Theory of Structural Violence. Theory of Structural Violence helps people explore structural violence in the context of poverty and inequality of access to resources (Disabil, 2017). According to Galtung, many situations are the result of an abuse of power which concerns a group or a social injustice. The Theory of Structural Violence helps explain the root cause of the conflict and illustrate different conflict factors. In this conflict, farmers can be more powerful if they have legal rights of living on their land or farmers have support from the local government (Galtung, 1990). Alternatively, the herdsmen can also be considered the dominant party if they form militias and are armed with weapons (Disabil, 2017).

Structural violence offers insights into poverty and power injustice problems related to the Fulani-farmer conflict (Farmer 2004). It can also refer to aspects of a culture that can be used to legitimize structural violence such as differences in religion and language (Galtung, 1990). Additionally, violence and unfair distribution of resources might be the causes of further structural violence (Galtung, 1990). Moreover, conflict resolvers must understand other people's needs and not expose themselves to vengeance (Rubenstein, 2017). This theory also highlights the factors of causing violence and explains how a social system has an impact on the conflict (Galtung, 1990). By using this theory, people will understand the reasons for behaving violently and the motivations for denying another group's basic human needs.

Realistic Conflict Theory. Realistic conflict theory can help in analyzing drivers of the conflict. It is a theory which suggests that prejudices can arise competition between groups for scarcely available resources, power, or territory. This theory states that whenever two groups are seeking the same resources, it will lead to conflict (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007). Resource scarcity, climate, and resource depletion could impact the decision-making of parties. Pressures of climate change and poor economic performance could weaken states and make the population more vulnerable, which reduces the capacity to manage conflict (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2016). Different beliefs, prejudice, and discrimination between groups can potentially initiate conflicts between Fulani herders and farmers (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007). This theory explains how intergroup hostility and conflicting goals caused violence reactions between different groups.

When negotiations between leaders and social activities were ineffective, Fulani group and farmers have to call on political power, military protection, or social status to enhance their bargaining position (Jay, 1993). This theory will also help people understand the importance of enabling long-term friendships and reducing intergroup tension. By analyzing the material factors behind this conflict, it will help policymakers to plan how to provide needs and balance interests for both parties.

Conflict Escalation

In an escalating conflict, specific conflict tends to give way to global conflicts between the parties. The higher the conflict of interests, the stronger the action that might be taken. The extent of actions will be determined by ingroup needs and motives (Cheldelin, Druckman, &

Fast, 2003). Conflict parties will have a goal of creating change, and the goal may be to take something from another. Community polarization contributes to further escalation which can divide a community into two opposing sides (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

Parties might focus solely on a desire to win, which can turn into a desire to hurt others, escalating the conflict into a circle of action and reaction (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). In 2016, it was estimated that the death toll was approximately 2,500 people during the violent conflict. Survivors had to flee to neighboring communities because of various acts of violence (Ndubuisi, 2018). As a result of a clash in 2016, there about 2,000 people were displaced, and more than 100 were injured (Duru 2016). In 2018, over 6,000 Nigerian farmers were killed in their communities. Most of the victims are Christian farmers who were attacked by suspected Fulani groups on motorcycles (Abelow, 2018). This violence has escalated the conflict and now involves other groups such as the government and community leaders (Bibi, 2015). Threats to the community would be considered a threat to power, status, autonomy, or integrity (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). President Muhammadu Buhari's administration and state governments saw the escalating conflict from inter-group violence as a threat to the state, and the governors must work together and look for immediate alternatives to strengthen security for communities. In the last six months, more than ninety Nigerians were massacred by suspected Fulani herdsmen in Benue and Niger States which escalated this conflict (Ndubuisi, 2018).

The environment of insecurity might cause people to act more aggressively to either defend themselves or attack others (World Factbook, 2010). The current conflict in Nigeria has created new problems by worsening internal and external limitations. Nigeria needs to strengthen its economy to raise its citizens' standard of living (Adisa & Adekunle, 2010). Inadequate infrastructural facilities, such as road, water, and electricity have also been obstacles for people who want to pass through different areas. The lack of modern technology and transportation might cause inconvenience in people's life. The growth of industrialization will help people gradually change their way of life and adapt themselves to the economies of the world.

Alternative Routes to Solutions

Approaches will be introduced to solve local conflicts to show how to deal with struggles for power, social status, economic advantage between interest groups. Conflicts require fundamental changes in socio-political systems or through the legislative process (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003). Even though the process of solving the conflict between the two groups has many challenges, there are alternatives and de-escalation resolutions for different parties to consider. The central government, local authorities, security agencies, local community leaders, farmer associations, and local groups can all play an essential role in managing the Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict. They can cooperate by taking responsibility for security in their communities and enhancing administration.

For example, the federal government should provide plans to stop armed attacks on farming communities, such as the most affected southern Kaduna and Benue states. The rule of law should also be applied equally to all parties as well as finding common ground to end bias towards each other. Also, the government should consider limiting the weapon usage of the Fulani herdsmen. Moreover, the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps should focus on finding measures to gather information and intelligence for emergency responses to further avoid violent attacks. Crimes such as robbery, kidnapping, and indiscriminate killings should be prohibited, and government security forces should protect communities. Furthermore, the infrastructure in these areas such as roads and water would require rapid improvement and

modernization to meet the demands of a growing population. Business activities and investment should be encouraged through policy making to improve modern farms.

Conflict Management Techniques

Forcing and Competing. Several conflict management techniques and strategies can be applied to reach a peaceful resolution. For example, conflict management techniques such as forcing and competing strategies can be used by the government when the herder-farmer conflict becomes a threat to Nigeria's national security (Mohammed, Umar, & Hamisu, 2017). The government and state government should flexibly use forcing strategy when they have more power or legal rights to enforce law or regulation. The federal government and security agencies can intensify operations to protect both parties from being harmed, as well as improving supervision systems to track livestock movement. Also, people can strengthen cross-border cooperation with the neighboring regions.

Win-Win Strategy. Fulani herdsmen and farmers can use this strategy to achieve a win-win situation to satisfy the concerns of both parties. The win-win strategy will help both parties build a high level of trust and create a long-term relationship. Parties need to work and cooperate, as well as be willing to take full responsibility to establish a win-win solution. Additionally, both Fulani herdsmen and farmers can discuss how to improve their shared resources such as transportation in order to live together in their communities peacefully.

Moreover, with limited access to services and resources, Nigerians are struggling to gain economic opportunities and equality. In this case, the government can develop a comprehensive policy framework and choose the best alternatives for both parties. The new policy plan should be developed for a transitional period. The framework of the mediation draft should map out the strategy and timelines for the particular transition plan in order to address how to solve the violent conflict and to eliminate tensions. There must be a consultative process in mediation or negotiation, and parties should listen to the others' concerns carefully in developing a new framework for social development and benefitting each party.

Compromising. Another technique of conflict management is compromising. Compromising helps parties to look for a mutual solution, which can partially satisfy both parties (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Fulani herdsmen-farmers can open more free markets and decrease restrictions in order to reach solutions on important issues. It helps parties provide a temporary solution while still allowing them to look for a win-win solution.

Nigeria has a total of about 420 grazing reserves out of which only about 110 have been officially recognized. Grazing reserves can be considered as a possible solution (Mohammed, Umar, & Hamisu, 2017). Because many herdsmen must continue to practice seasonal migration during dry and wet seasons, parties could take steps to encourage the herdsmen to remain in their region to avoid encroaching on farmlands. A possible suggestion would be the expansion of cattle grazing reserves to facilitate migratory cattle raising in order to meet the needs for herdsmen.

Avoiding. Parties can choose the Withdrawing model when both parties can not pursue their interests or concerns and to avoid unacceptable consequences. They can use this model when the issue is not essential for them to take efforts immediately. When it is not the right time to deal with the problem, or when the conflict cannot be solved immediately because it requires a system change, herdsmen and farmers can choose to withdraw or to avoid the confrontation.

Alternatively, when one party tries to manipulate the process and limit another party's rights, the weaker party might need to avoid risks and to withdraw to maintain their group's safety while exploring alternatives (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

Accommodating. The last model that can be used to address the conflict is accommodating. When the conflict is not as important to another party, people can use this model. For example, if one party believes they lack evidence to persuade another party, or when people assume they are wrong, they have to accommodate. Alternatively, when one party has no choice to compete because another party is in a more powerful bargaining position, people could find out ways to focus on spending their time to improve their economic efficiency and to strengthen their national economy, which is essential to keep the right balance and to help marginalized people develop confidence and skills to transform their lives and to adjust themselves to the mainstream of the society.

Conflict Interventions

In this section, possible interventions such as transformative mediation and interest-based mediation models can be applied for the Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict. Third parties will be invited in the mediation, and the goal is to help the conflicting parties reach a voluntary agreement (Moore, 2014). Mediators will deal with obstacles that can block disputants from reaching agreements on their own (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Parties who will be involved in the intervention include Fulani herdsmen, farmers, Federal Government, state-level officials, United Nations, African Union, religious and community leaders (Akwara, 2018). Mediation can offer an opportunity for the parties to recognize their responsibility for the conflict and to assist people in reaching an acceptable agreement. Mediation encourages herdsmen and farmers to try and find creative solutions and common ground. It focuses on exploring the interests of parties, as well as helping them build relationships in the future. In an armed conflict, mediation is defined as a process, in which the conflicting parties agree to allow a third party to work impartially with them and to help them understand each other better and find alternatives (Moore, 2014), in order to create a fair environment and to ensure that economic activities support and promote human development equitably and sustainably (Boulding, 2000).

Transformative Mediation

Transformative Mediation Process. Transformative mediation is a process that requires conflict parties to be productively engaged in the mediation process. Mediators can design mediation processes and prepare agendas for parties to facilitate dialogue and to create opportunities for peace talks (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003). It is suggested to apply the transformative mediation approach for Fulani herdsmen-farmers conflict. Transformative mediation does not seek resolution of the immediate problem but seeks mutual understanding. A transformative approach to mediation practice takes a communicative view of the human conflict (Moore, 2014). The goal is to generate a mutual understanding and provide empowerment in transformative mediation when the mediator watches for increasing opportunities for different parties (Moore, 2014).

In transformative mediation, parties should communicate in good faith and with respect for each other. Also, mediators need to understand their roles and purposes (Moore, 2014). By comparing conflict management and uncovering cultural differences of herdsmen and farmers, people can get a better understanding of conflict management across cultures to create a culture of peace and cooperation. People can address possible fears or insecurities to help other people

understand why they act violently. After understanding the concerns of each party, they will work together to establish communication channels.

Additionally, mediators such as the United Nations or the African Union can develop counseling and resolution skills through training and sharing life experience. Through the mediation process, parties can understand ethics, strategies, and cross-cultural communication and dynamics. A mediator's primary aim is to influence political developments by bringing conflict resolution and free dialogue (African Union, 2009). Mediators can also cooperate with international communities to prevent further conflict and to build more integrated approaches. Mediators should seek to address knowledge gaps in land and resources, as well as in identifying conflict risks (UN Environment, n.d.)

Transformative mediation can help to foster the parties' empowerment and recognition (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003). Farmers and herdsmen can build relationships with one another through cultural exchange. Mediators can bring each party to a settlement meeting with a neutral individual or a mediation team and help parties understand the rules and guidelines of the mediation process (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003), as well as meet with the other side to discuss proposals. Mediators must interview parties about their interests and review needs for gaining more information. Also, by effective communication, forgiveness will also be introduced to the mediation process and provide each party an opportunity to rehumanize (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

Interest-Based Mediation

Interest-Based Mediation Process. In an interest-based mediation, a mediator who is seen as fair and impartial is likely to be successful (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003). Training in conflict management and resolution is essential to help parties identify the conflict, communicate effectively, and cope with their anger and other emotions (Pruitt & Kim, 2004). Parties have their choices to make their own decisions in a conflict dilemma, and to focus on their shared interests to generate solutions. Also, the third party can help to dispute parties to find an underlying shared interest, motivate them to address the conflict, and produce something in common.

People need to accept the concept of sustainable development and need to have an awareness of protecting the economic environment. As the United Nations peacekeeping operations are established to help implement a peace agreement, it can help parties identify and manage potential threats and explore mutually beneficial ways to coexist (Akwara, 2018). Local and community-based dispute resolution mechanisms should be introduced for avoiding violence and helping communities' recovery. Farmers and herders can discuss the appropriate compensation to be paid. Also, the Nigerian government can participate in the mediation to help parties in finding ways to ensure payment for crop destruction.

Furthermore, mediation strategies should be designed by the mediators, and they should understand the expectations of each party (United Nations, 2012). Questions that mediators should consider during the mediation process include: What are the roles of parties in the conflict? What are their interests in the conflict? What do the parties want to achieve? Mediators can bring parties such as the federal government representatives, farmers, and herdsmen to the mediation table. The government can consider how to gather the two parties to discuss the necessity of establishing safer and efficient arrangements for transporting livestock across the country as well as recovering stolen cattle.

Moreover, how can this mediation process help parties achieve their goals as well as making peace? Animal tracking and identification systems can be improved. Also, appropriate laws and regulations should be developed after noticing both parties' interests and concerns in order to develop strategies for mitigating climate change, which affects many Nigerian states. Additionally, cattle routes should be restored by the government, and the mediators should help parties understand the importance of following administrative guidance in order to return to conflict resolution for establishing grazing reserves, as well as explore alternatives for policy development. The government could take steps to encourage the herdsmen to remain in their region and to avoid encroaching on farmland communities.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the analysis of Fulani-farmer conflict will help people understand the importance of creating grazing reserves and ensure both parties can coexist peacefully. This paper provided suggestions that there is a need for the African Union and other organizations to help people in pursuing mediation strategies and tactics in order to prevent, manage, and resolve this conflict in the long run. By understanding the ethnic dimensions of farmer-herder relations, people will know the importance of learning from different cultures and respect the tradition in that culture. Minorities have the right to pursue their quality of life, and their way of living should be supported and preserved by the local government. Also, abiding by the laws and adjusting themselves to the mass culture and peacefully settling conflicts is essential. A nation can only grow gradually when people can get along with each other and cooperate with the government. The government should take actions immediately and gently in order to improve people's lives as well as preserve cultural diversity, which is vital for society to develop healthily.

This paper also emphasized conflict management, which encourages people to focus on the study of cultures and emphasizes shared beliefs, and norm so that the frequency of cross-cultural clashes will be reduced (Branine, 2011). This study investigated the conditions of cooperation between farmers and herders and analyzed the roles and responsibilities of each actor. The international community and organizations should pay attention to the ongoing herdsmen and farmers conflict, and help them gain information to understand the dynamics and stages of this conflict. People should consider providing temporary grazing land which can help to reduce tensions.

Moreover, this study explored the relationship between two groups who have different cultural identities. It emphasized supporting a strong cultural identity to protect minorities and discussed the importance of respecting cultural diversity. Cultural differences can have a positive or negative influence on economic development. It also helps in understanding why ethnic diversity affects conflict and social development. In this analysis, every individual and group produces cultures. Culture reflects and shapes how people understand, act, and feel. Hence, when people who have different races, genders, religions, and political views interact with each other, prejudice and conflict are hard to avoid. The deep roots of prejudice and discrimination lie in social, economic, cultural, and political systems, where inequality and discrimination can be found. Understanding the deep roots of conflict is an essential step in transforming the Fulani-Farmer conflict (Cheldelin, Druckman, & Fast, 2003).

Mediation and other interventions are useful in reducing prejudice in cross-cultural conflicts. Basic understanding of cultural differences is the key to evaluating strategies to reduce conflict.

This paper addressed how mediators can play a role in steering parties to reconcile their differences and navigating them to a resolution which will be comfortable for them. Cultural differences could create obstacles for people to communicate. The parties in mediation often have different regional cultures which can lead to communication challenges. Mediators can help in establishing a positive connection between parties. It is essential to get more knowledge of the cultural and historical backgrounds of the different parties.

Furthermore, people need to appreciate the importance of diversity of society and choose conflict management techniques to resolve cross-cultural conflict, as well as discover ways of applying these techniques. This paper presented the potential problems related to conflict resolution and encouraged people to find methods to collaborate effectively. The results of mediation depend on the scale and depth of the problems. The analyses of this conflict can help individuals to pursue social equality, economic equity, and political rights, as well as to reinforce social co-existence and enhance peacebuilding in a multi-cultural environment.

REFERENCES

- Akwara, U. (2018). *The Attack of Herdsmen on Farmers in Nigeria: The Problems and Solutions*. Nigeria: Weafri Well Services CO.
- Adisa, R., S., & Adekunle, O. (2010). *Farmer-Herdsmen Conflicts: A Factor Analysis of Socio-economic Conflict Variables among Arable Crop Farmers in North Central Nigeria*. Journal of human ecology. DOI: 10.1080/09709274.2010.11906266.
- African Union Commission. (2009). *African Union in Mediation*. Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3B408148510828464925779F00068B10-AU_Mediation.pdf.
- Bukari, K., N, Sow, P., & Scheffran, J. (2018). *Cooperation and Co-Existence Between Farmers and Herders in the Midst of Violent Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Ghana*. African Studies Review. Vol 61, No. 2.
- Baumeister, R.F. & Vohs, K.D. (2007). *Realistic Group Conflict Theory*. Encyclopedia of Social Psychology. 2: 725–726
- Boulding, Elise. (2000). *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Branine, M. (2011). *Managing Across Cultures*. London: Sage Publications.
- Moritz, M. (2010). *Understanding Herder-Farmer Conflicts in West Africa: Outline of a Processual Approach*. Human Organization. Vol. 69, No. 2 pp. 138-148.
- Christopher I., & Ndubuisi, C., I. (2018). *A Critical Analysis of Conflicts Between Herdsmen and Farmers in Nigeria: Causes and Socio-religious and Political Effects on National Development*. AOSIS Publishing. Vol 74, No. 1.
- Coser, L. (1956). *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Pp. 151- 157.
Retrieved from <http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/jhamlin/4111/Coser/The%20Functions%20of%20Social%20Conflict.htm>.
- Cheldelin, Druckman & Fast, eds. (2008). *Conflict*, 2nd ed. London: Continuum Press.
- Coser, L. A. (1956) *The Function of Social Conflicts*. NY: the Free Press.
- Clark, H. (2018). *Over 6,000 Nigerians in Christian-Identified Communities Murdered or Maimed by Fulani Muslims in 2018*. Retrieved from <https://christiannews.net/2018/07/11/over-6000-nigerians-in-christian-identified-community-ties-murdered-or-maimed-by-Fulani-Muslims-in-2018/>.

- Disabil, A., J. (2017). *Exploring Structural Violence in the Context of Disability and Poverty in Zimbabwe*. US National Library of Medicine. Doi: 10.4102/ajod.v6i0.274.
- Gordon, A., J. (2000). *Cultural Identity and Illness: Fulani Views*. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*. Vol 24, Issue 3, pp 297–330.
- Galtung, J. (1969). *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*. Sage Publications. Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 167-191.
- Galtung, J. (Aug, 1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 291-305.
- Dean, P. & Kim, S., H. (2004). *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement*. NY: McGraw Hill.
- Galtung, J. (1990). *Cultural Violence*. *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 27, issue: 3, pp. 291-305.
- Jackson, & Jay, W (1993). *Realistic Group Conflict Theory: A Review and Evaluation of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature*. *Psychological Record*. 43 (3). Pp. 395–415.
- International Crisis Group. (2018). *Stopping Nigeria's Spiralling Farmer-Herder Violence*. Retrieved from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/262-stopping-nigerias-spiralling-farmer-herder-violence>.
- Ki-moon, B. (2012). *United Nations Guidance for Effective Mediation*. Retrieved from https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GuidanceEffectiveMediation_UNDPA2012%28english%29_0.pdf.
- Mohammed, M., M., Umar, B. F. & Hamisu, S. (2017). *Farmer-Herder Conflicts Management: The Role of Traditional Institutions in Borno State, Nigeria*. Lambert Publishing.
- Mustapha, A., R., & Ehrhardt, D. (2014). *Creed & Grievance: Muslim-Christian Relations & Conflict Resolution in Northern Nigeria*. UK: James Currey.
- Moore, C., W. (2014). *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*. CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mikailu, N. (2016). *Making Sense of Nigeria's Fulani-farmer Conflict*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36139388>.
- Muhammed, I., Ismaila, A., B., & Bibi, U., M. (2015). *An Assessment of Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in Nigeria Using GIS*. *International Journal of Engineering Science Invention*. Volume 4, pp. 23-33.
- Moritz, M. (2010). *Understanding Herder-Farmer Conflicts in West Africa: Outline of Processual Approach*. *Human Organization*. Vol. 69, No. 2.
- Otunuga, A. (2016). *Why The Fulani Herdsmen & Farmers Fight: How Climate Change & The Boko Haram Crisis Created The Crisis*. Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2016/06/03/why-fulani-herdsmen-farmers-fight-how-climate-change-boko-haram-crisis-created-crisis-and>.
- Premium Times Nigeria. (2018). *How to Resolve Herdsmen Crisis – Nigerian Working Group*. Retrieved from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/255364-resolve-herdsmen-crisis-Nigerian-working-group.html>.
- Ramsbotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, T., & Miall, H. (2016). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 4th Edition. UK: Polity Press.
- Rubenstein & Richard E. (2017). *Resolving Structural Conflicts: How Violent Systems Can Be Transformed*. NY: Routledge.
- Snyder & Mark. (1974). *Self-Monitoring of Expressive Behavior*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol 30(4), pp. 526-537.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Vol. 33, 47.

Tonah, S., Setrana, M., B., & Arthur, J., A. (2017). *Migration and Development in Africa: Trends, Challenges, and Policy Implications*. NY: Lexington Books.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M., G., & Flament, B., C. (June 1971). *Social Categorization and Intergroup Behaviour*. *European Journal of Social Psychology*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>.

UsmanLeme, A. U. (2017). *Understanding Farmers-Herdsmen Conflict and the Way Forward*. Retrieved from <https://www.thecable.ng/understanding-farmers-herdsmen-conflict-way-forward>.

UN Environment. (n.d.) What Will It Take to Meet our Climate Goals? Retrieved from <https://www.unenvironment.org/>.

World Factbook (2010). *Nigeria Population Below Poverty Line*. Retrieved from https://www.indexmundi.com/nigeria/population_below_poverty_line.html.