

HERDERS INSURGENCY AND FEDERALISM IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *The paper is on Herders Insurgency and Federalism in Nigeria. The North Central of Nigeria has been gripped with Herdsmen insurgency, the problem of insecurity that have almost affected the Federal system of government in Nigeria, were unity in diversity is no longer seen as hallmark for forming a federal state. The main objective of the study is to investigate causes and effects of Herders insurgency and its implication on Federalism in Nigeria. The Study employed secondary sources of data collection, using theoretical framework of conflict theory as an analytical tool. One major finding is that, Herders insurgency is due to the influence of Boko Haram, which has it negative implication for the Co-ordinate existence of Nigeria Federalism. We therefore, recommend restructuring of the Federal System and a transparent conflict resolution means by the state, to encourage trust and confidence among the federating units, for national integration and unity.*

KEYWORDS: headers, insurgency, federalism , Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country; its citizens are perhaps the best educated on the continent. It is the world's sixth largest producer of Oil; Nigeria also has probably the most elaborate system of government in the region. Yet the country transfers perilous close to massive civil upheaval (Suberu, 2001). A nation whose leaders have constantly tinkered with a colonial Federal legacy that sought to balance the country's three major ethnic groups. The paper explores conflicts evolution of Nigeria Federalism. Nigeria as a federal state is besieged with the problem of insecurity in the recent past: there has been an upsurge of criminal activities such as kidnapping reigning cases of broad day light robbers, hired assassination, political sponsored killings, looting of government treasuries by those in the government, fraudulent banking activities, and most recently the Boko Haram and Herdsmen insurgency.

One of the recurrent decision that have eclipsed Nigeria effort at National development and unity in diversity, as a federal state. A country with more than 389 ethnic groups or Nationalities (Otiye, 2000), and has been described as one of the greatest Islamic-Christian countries of the world (Opeloye, 2001). What this meant is that Nigeria is about the only state where one finds a very

large population of Muslims living side by side with a large population of Christian. What we discovered is a situation where one is dominant over the other. The country can be grouped into three in terms of religious affiliation of the citizens, the big north with a large Muslims majority. The south east population mainly by the Christian and the south west with balance Muslim-Christian population. The indigenous African religious practitioners constitute a negligible minority (Opeloye, 2012).

The multi-ethnic and multi-religious configuration of Nigeria largely accounts for the incessant ethno-religious imbroglio experienced in the country for over four decades since independence and the First, Second, Third and Forth republics. The country has hardly survived the ethno-religious crisis when Boko Haram militancy erupted in 2008. The Boko Haram and presently herder's insurgency with all its destabilising propensities is now another renewed dilemma for unity in diversity, as a federal state and national integration, a challenge of serious concern for which the Federal government of Nigeria yet to find solution. The question then arises: who are the herdsman? are they prone to subvert the true Islamic cultural values? What is the motive for Herder attack? Is it to achieve political gains or does the ideology guarantee autonomy or semi-autonomy of the federating units? The study will attempt to deal with these and other related issues. Allen (1998), See Sociology force of ethnicity has been a decisive factor in the politics of Nigerian federalism. It is for this reason that the system has suffered strains in the past and experienced an evolution and fragmentation from regions and groups to state structural federal system.

It has been argued that "Nigerian evidence shows that federalism can either exacerbate or mitigate ethnic and religious conflict such depends on the number of components states in the federal composition. Particularly of importance is the relationship of ethnic group distribution of states (Howowitz 1985). Since federalism itself may not be a design with some air of finality, we shall see in this paper how ethnicity, religious conflict has affected the structure in Nigeria. Nigeria provides an example of a society in need of national integration considering its multi-ethnic nature. It provides a far-reaching test scan as a structural technique to ethnic, religious or Herders insurgency or the negative impact of ethnicity in a country like Nigeria (Horountz,1985).

METHODOLOGY

In this paper, the data for the study is drawn from secondary sources of data such as text books, internet, newspaper, magazines, journals articles, etc. Through a descriptive qualitative content analysis. The scope of the study is on herders' insurgency and federalism in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical thrust adopted in this study is the Group Conflict explanation, made popular by (Anifowose, 198; Bram, 2013). This approach emphasizes the role of power struggle amongst various groups in society in understanding the source of political violence. Proponent of this theory draws attention to the cleavages within a society, especially between ethnic, racial and religious groups. One common strand of the group conflict explanation often used in analysing violence in African politics is the argument that locates the source of conflict or violence in the cultural pluralism of this country.

According to these scholars the major locus of political identification and socialization has been, not the nations, but sub-national communities within substantiality different institutions, cultures and history (Anifowose, 1982). Although the ethnic conflict model of the group explanation has been helpful in understanding political and religious violence in Africa and Nigeria, its emphasis on cleavages between cultural linguistic groups tends to underrate the degree of inter-ethnic co-operation that existed prior and shortly after independence in Nigeria.

The second assumption of the group Conflict approach is that political and religious violence is often a consequence of conflict between different actors within a given political system. Consequently, all politics involve conflict between political actors over the authoritative distribution of values. And every society share the problem of differential distribution of power and authority. Accordingly, the differential distribution of these values invariably become an important determining factor of political conflict or violence.

It is this approach that provides one understanding of how the limited resources in Nigeria contributed to the ardent group struggle for power over the distribution and redistribution of search resources among the various Nigerian politician and ethnic groups. This was manifested in the conflict between the regions and the intra-ethnic conflict within the country. In fact, the culmination of prolonged struggle for power between the dominant political groups within the federation.

Hence, group complex theory explanation is suitable for Herder insurgency and federalism in Nigeria.

Conceptual clarification

The main concept in this paper are:

1. Herders
2. Insurgency
3. Federalism

Herders, Insurgency and Federalism in Nigeria

Herders are person who looks after a hard of livestock or makes a living from keeping livestock's, especially in open country. They are nomadic cattle herders by tradition (<http://en.oxforddictionary.com>). herding is the act of bringing individual animals together into a group (herd), maintaining the group, and moving the group from place to place or any combination of those herding, can refer to the process of animal's man intervention forming herds for some purpose (Dictionary.com).

Insurgency

Hayden (2005) sees an insurgency as a violent rebellion against a constituted authority (for example, an authority as such by the United Nations/ when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligents. When insurgency is used to describe a movement's unlawfulness by virtue of not being authorized by or in accordance with the law of the land, it use is neutral. However, where it is used by state or another authority under threat "insurgency" often also carries an implication that the rebels cause is illegitimate, where as those rising up will see the authority itself being illegitimate. Hence, joint doctrine (2006) defines an insurgency as an organized

movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict (US Department of Defence, 12 July 2007). Insurgency has been defined as a protracted struggle conducted methodically, step by step in order to attain specific, intermediate objectives leading finally to the overthrow of the existing order (Galula, 1963; Nein and Asueni, 2018, in Ibaba, Ogban and Etekpe, (ed) 2018). Nein and Asueni (2018) argued that, in modern times, insurgency cover a full spectrum of conflicts ranging from subversion, to guerilla warfare and the convergence, to guerilla bands into regular units, to fight in a conventional manner. Hence Hayden (2007) identified the difference between insurgency and terrorism in an article titled “insurgency vs terrorism”. He sees insurgency an organized movement of people aimed at the overthrow or destruction of a constituted government through the use of subversion, espionage, terrorism and armed conflict. While he argued that terrorism is not an end in itself.

Hayden further stated that, terrorism can be a subset of an insurgency, or it can be an act of violence by criminal who want to strike out anyone, especially a government (Hayden, 2007). These above emphases exemplify the situation of Herders insurgency in Nigeria, where they undermine state governments, or component parts in a state that terrorism is “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear, intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious or ideological” (Nein and Asueni, 2018). Doctrinally, (DOD) (2006), defined insurgency as “an organized resistances’ movement that uses subversion, sabotage, and armed conflict to achieve its aims. Insurgencies normally seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocation power within the country. They may also seek to (1) overthrow an established government without a follow on social revolution (2) establish an autonomous national territory within the border of a state (3) cause the withdrawal of an occupying power (4) extract political concessions that are unattainable through less violence mean” (US. Iraq war Procon.org. retrieved 9/10/2015).

In summation therefore, the key difference is that an insurgency is a movement of a political effort with a specific aim. This sets it apart from both guerilla warfare and terrorism, as they are both methods available to pursue the goals of the political environment. Another difference is the intent of component activities and operations of insurgencies versus terrorism. There is nothing inherent in either insurgency or guerilla warfare that desires and requires the use of terror. While some of the more successful insurgencies and guerilla campaigns employed terrorisms and terror tactics, and some developed into conflicts where terror tactics and terrorism become predominant. There have being others that effectively renounce the use of terrorism.

The deliberate choice to use terrorism consider US effectiveness in inspiring further resistance, destroying government efficiency, and mobilizing support. Although, there are places where terrorism guerilla warfare, and criminal behavior at overlap, groups that are exclusively terrorist, or subordinate “wings” of insurgency formed to specially employ terror tactics demonstrate clear differences in their objectives and operations (Nein and Asueni, 2018). As a result, insurgency connote uprising. It is a means of the sprang of Arabs, which spread across north Africa, by the violence conflicts that characterized most “most democratic societies on sub-Saharan Africa, and by the emergence of radicalism of militia and terrorist group (Aghedo & Osumah, 2012).

The Herders insurgency is a sect of Boko Haram, militant driven by the ideology of a fanatical Islamic practice. The sect is currently rampaging attacks against the Nigeria states in middle belt

with threat of extending its nomadic attacks against the east and southern Nigeria. It is an Islamic agenda of intimidating and dominating the infidels, notwithstanding the country's security repudiates democracy and freedom of movement of members in Nigeria Federalism in component states.

Federalism

The study of federalism is about the allocation of political power between the levels of government - the federal and the state governments. Thus, federalism is defined as the functional arrangement communities who want to live together nationally and preserve the identity. According to one-time Secretary-General of the commonwealth, it is a method of using limited means to produce limited unity. Federalism therefore is a government system normally adopted when communities want to co-operate in certain areas of life and at the same time preserve the authority over other sphere. Federalism in Nigeria has been evolutionally with emphasis on territories and not nationalities. This perhaps negates the method of emergence of classical federalism in the United States of America. The concept of federalism is normally seen "as a form of government and institutional structure designed by political architects" to cope with the twin but difficult task of maintaining Unity while also preserving adversity. (Allen, 1993). Perhaps the most celebrated exponent of federalism is Kenneth Wheare. According to him, "by the federal principle, I mean the method of dividing power so that general and regional government are each within a share of coordinate and independent (Wheare, 1963).

Carl Friedrich's position is however clear; he sees federalism as a process rather than design. He argues that federalism operates both in the direction of integration and in the direction of differentiation. The value in his argument is that of federalism as a function of sociological factors as against some legal criteria (Jinadu, 1999 in Allen 1998).

William Livingstone's idea of federalism places him more on the cap of the process view of federalism. In response to the legalistic approach he wrote: "the essence of federalism is not in the institutional structure but in the society itself. Federal Government is a device by which the qualities of the society are articulated and protected.

Williams sees the territorial boundaries of diversities in society as defining elements of federalism. Such territorially demarcated societies amount to federal societies that necessitate federal governments. His argument is that federalism is a reflection of social diversities and where also agrees with this.

Federalism in Nigeria

The Nigeria federal system came because of British need for administrative efficiency and government. It was not a design to take on the problem of national diversity of the people and to ensure unity but an approach for divided and rule. The operational deficiency of the Nigeria system of federal practice has been glaring. There are in the areas of unequal and fair share of revenue among the levels of government and between the states and the federal government in view of their contribution to the federal account.

Again, is the seeming domination of political offices in the country by one particular ethnic group or cleavages of ethnic groups, religion and denial of equal opportunities to individual for self-actualization (Olatokubo, 1994). This above and many more have been the reasons for cries of domination, marginalization and consequent separatist moves. The results have been the call for restructuring of the federation.

One of the unresolved problems of Nigeria federalism today is the minority problems, Nigeria like many other federal states with several ethnic groups offer unequal in size has been disturbing by the issue of how to allow the fears of the minorities. Unfortunately, the minorities problem is Nigeria has been shaped by development, as well as recent attacks by Herdsmen in the country's recent past. The minority are people who by reason of the physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others, and who, therefore, see themselves as objects of collective discrimination, a major problem of federalism in Nigeria. There is a deliberate and conscious application of differentiate treatment of the minority group on the part of the dominant majority group.

In a country like Nigeria therefore the minorities would refer to such groups as the Tiv, Idoma, Nupe, Angas, Kanuri, Gwari, Jukun and others in the North. The Ibibio, Effik, Annang, Kalabari, Izon, Ogoni and others in the east: and the Bini, Esan, Itsekiri, Urhobo, Isoko, Ika and others in the west. Aware of this position minorities have constantly complained of marginalization and neglect in the political and socio-economic development of the country.

An Overview of Some Incidence of Herdsmen Insurgency in Nigeria From 2012 Till Date.

According to Gbaradi January 31, 2018 an attack by Fulani herdsmen on villages in Benue State on the second day of the year 2018 left 73 people dead, hundreds injured, 40 displaced. Unfortunately, the threat of violence herdsmen is not new. In 2016 pastured conflict account for more death in Nigeria than Boko Haram, and the rate at which the herdsmen ommit these crimes has increased exponentially (Gabaredi 2018).

In fact, according to the 2015 global terrorism index, Fulani herdsmen are the fourth deadliest militant group in the world with a record killing of 1229 people in 2014. Below is a timeline of herdsmen attack across Nigeria from 2012 fill date.

September 20, 2013, a Fulani herdsmen murdered on Benjamin Cheque on his farm. The victim was the Director of Personnel Management in the Isoko North Local Government Council in Delta State.

February 29, 2013, many lives were lost after Fulani herdsmen attacked Agatu burning Iroli, Ologba, Olegeje, Olegogboche, Olegede, Adona, Inminy and Abugbe communities in Benue State.

April 23, 2013; ten (10) farmers killed in attack on Mbasenje community in Gumo Local Government Area by suspected herdsmen in Benue State.

May 7, 2013: 47 people were gunned down in Agoi, Benue State while burning two policemen killed earlier in the week by Fulani herdsmen in Nassarawa.

May 14, 2013: forty (40) people were kill3ed after over 200 herdsmen invaded Ekurokpancheni, Agatu L.G.A of Benue State.

July 5, 2013: About 20 people were killed in a "conflict" between Tiv farmers & Fulani herdsmen at Nzorov, Guma L.G.A, Benue State.

July 31, 2013: herdsmen invaded two (2) villages in Agatu L.G.A in Benue, Benue State killing 8 villagers allegedly in retaliation for the killing of 112 cows.

November 7, 2013: Fulani herdsmen invaded Ikpede & Okpopolo communities in Benue State killing 7 and displaced over 6,000 inhabitants.

November 9, 2013: 36 locals were killed and 7 villages overrun in an attack by herdsmen on locals in Agadu L.G.A in Benue State, killing 22 local and destroying properties worth millions of naira.

January 20, 2014: Fulani herdsmen invaded a community in Agatu L.G.A., Benue State, killing 5 soldiers and 7 civilians.

20-21 February, 2014: Fulani herdsmen attacked Gwer West L.G.A. 35 person killed, 80, displaced, 6 council wards sacked.

February 24, 2014: Fulani herdsmen attacked a Tiv community along Naka road, Makurdi, killing 8 people.

March 6, 2014: Fulani herdsmen killed about 30 people in Kwande, Kat-

Sini-Ala and Logo LGAs in Benue state March 12, 2014: 28 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen after they raided ukpam village of Mbabau in Guma LGA of Benue State.

March 10, 2014: Fulani herdsmen attacked former governor suswan's convey at Umenger, Benue State. He and convoy manage an escape.

March 12, 2014: 22 people were killed after Fulani herdsmen attacked former governor suswan's village in Logo LGA.

March 23, 2014: Fulani herdsmen killed 25 people and injured 50 people in Gbajumba, Gumo LGA Benue state.

March 25, 2014: police recovered 7 corpses following an attack on Aganda village in Agatu LGA. 19 people killed 15 others abducted.

March 29, 2014, 15 people were killed after Fulani herdsmen made use of chemical weapons on senger community in Geer west LGA, Benue state.

March 30, 2014: 19 people were killed and 15 abducted in Agatu LGA by Fulani herdsmen

April 5, 2014: Fulani herdsmen opened fire on community leaders and residents that were meeting in Galadima village. At least 200 people were killed and an unknown number were injured in the attack.

April 10, 2014: 6 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen after they attacked 4 villages in Ukem berago Tswarer ward of Logo LGA.

April 15, 2014: Fulani herdsmen attacked Obagai, headquarters of Agatu LGA and killed 12 youths.

September 10, 2014: 20 people were killed at Fulani herdsmen attacked five villages in Ogbadibo LGA.

January 27, 2015: 17 people were killed in attacks on Abugbe, Okoklo, Oqwule & Ocholoyan in Agatu LGA by Fulani Herdsmen.

January 30, 2015: over 100 attackers stormed 5 villages in LGA, killing 9 persons in the attack.

March 15, 2015: Fulani herdsmen invaded Agba village in Agatu LGA and over 90 locals, including women and children, were killed.

April 27, 2015: 28 people were killed by herdsmen in an attack on 3 villages at Mbadwen, Gumo LGA Benue State.

May 11, 2015: 12 people were killed, 25 others injured in Buruku LGA following an attack by suspected herdsmen, Benue state.

Feb 8, 2016: 10 people were killed and over 300 displaced in a clash between herdsmen and farmers at Tor-Anyin and Tor-Ataan in Buruku LGA Benue State.

February 18th, 2016: Five people were killed by Fulani herds at Okokolo Village in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State.

Feb 21-24, 2016: over 500 people were killed and 7000 displaced in an attack on Agatu LGA by Fulani herdsmen.

March 5, 2016: about 500 people were killed by rampaging Fulani herdsmen after an attack on Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State.

March 9, 2016: 8 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in attacks on Ngorukgan Tse dua, Deghkia and Nhumbe in Logo LGA Benue state.

March 13, 2016, 6 people were killed by herdsmen in an attack on Tarkaa LGA.

February 29, 2016: 11 people were killed in Edugbeho Agatu, Benue State.

March 10, 2016: 2 people were killed after Fulani herdsmen attacked a community in Agatu.

April 12, 2016: Fulani herdsmen attacked two villages in Gashaka Local Government Area of Taraba state and killed 15 people.

April 19, 2016: Fulani herdsmen allegedly killed over 23 people in Delta State.

April 25th, 2016: about 40 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen after they attacked 7 villages in Nimbo in Uzo-Uwarri Local Government Area of Enugu State.

June 16th, 2016: a 45 years old renowned former was shot by Fulani herdsmen in Ossissa community in Ndokwa west Local Government Area of Delta State.

June 20th, 2016: at least 59 people were killed following an attack in Benue state.

January 24, 2017: 15 people were killed by rampaging Fulani herdsmen, who attacked farmers in Piga village in Ohimini Local Government Area of Benue State.

March 11, 2017: 7 people were killed when Fulani herdsmen attacked a TW community, Mkgavur village in Burutu Locale.

May 8, 2017: Three people were confirmed killed by herdsmen in Tse-Akaa village, Ugando Mbamar District of Logo Local Government Area of Benue state.

May 13, 2017: Less than one week after many people were killed by herdsmen in three communities of Logo Local Government Area of Benue State, armed herders struck again on May 13 killing eight more people.

December 31, 2017: and January 2, 2018: 73 persons including seven members of Benue state livestock guards have been killed in fresh attacks on Benue communities by suspected Fulani herdsmen after they invaded Agambe-teir, Ayilamo and Turan all in Logo LGA as well as Umenger, Tse-Akor and Tamata near Tse- Abi in nongor District of Guman LGA.

January 14, 2018: 10 people were killed as Fulani herdsmen attacked two villages in the Birnm-Gwar, Local Government Area of Kaduan state.

January 17, 2018: at least 4 people were killed in an attack on Uhime and Angyo communities at Doka in Doma Local Government Areas on Wednesday in Benue state.

January 25, 2018: 6 people were killed in two separate attacks by Fulani herdsmen on two communities in Plateau state.

January 26, 2018: Fulani herdsmen attacked a community in Delta state and killed a couple.

February 28, 2018: 20 people were killed in Adamawa after Fulani herdsmen attacked farmers.

March 5, 2018: 10 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in Benue's Omosu village.

March 7, 2018: 26 people were killed as herdsmen sack Bernie village in a fresh attack.

In order to buttress facts above the senate president of Nigeria Bukola Saraki on the 15th May, 2018 released list of killing in Nigeria as follows.

Some Herdsmen attacks, killing and location, 2018

S/N	MONTH	NO OF PERSONS KILLED	PLACE OF INCIDENCE
1.	January 1	73 killed	Logo and Guman LGA's Benue
2.	January 1	2 killed	Awe LGA Nasarawa
3.	January 1	35 killed	Kegria LGA, Nasarawa
4.	January 3	3 killed	Makurdi, Benue state
5.	January 4	6 killed	Wulkari in Taraba
6.	January 4	1 killed	Gassol LGA, Taraba
7.	January 5	4 killed	Lau LGA, Taraba State
8.	January 5	15 killed	Tse Akonba, Tse Vii and Tse Agule Villages in Benue
9.	January 6	55 killed	Lau LGA, Taraba State
10.	January 8	3 killed	Sardoura LGA, Taraba State
11.	January 8	2 policemen killed	Logo, Benue State
12.	January 13	10 killed	Birnin Gwari LGA, Benue
13.	January 13	1 killed	Makurdi LGA, Benue
14.	January 14	1 killed	Bassa LGA, Plateau
15.	January 14	1 killed	Ibi LGA, Taraba
16.	January 16	5 killed	Madogali LGA, Adamawa
17.	January 16	5 killed	Guma, Logo & Okpokuvu LGA Benue
18.	January 18	11 killed	Madogali LGA, Adamawa
19.	January 21	1 killed	Barkun Ladi LGA, Plateau
20.	January 21	6 killed	Juman LGA, Adamawa
21.	January 23	9 killed	Ardo Kolo, Adamawa
22.	January 24	4 killed	Kaiama, Kwara
23.	January 25	15 killed	Bassa LGA, Plateau
24.	January 26	3 killed	Bassa LGA, Plateau
25.	January 26	2 killed	Ukum Benue State
26.	January 29	1 killed	Guma, Benue State
27.	January 31	1 killed	Jema'a LGA, Kaduna
28.	January 31	9 killed	Brunin Gwari, Kaduna
29.	February 1	4 killed	Gassol, Taraba
30.	February 2	10 killed	Song, Adamawa
31.	February 5	2 killed	Guma, Benue State
32.	February 6	8 killed	Obi, Nassarawa State
33.	February 8	6 killed	Shellne, Adamawa
34.	February 10	2 killed	Benue
35.	February 10	3 killed	Bassa, Plateau
36.	February 11	4 killed	Jema'a Kaduna

37.	February 12	2 killed	Guma, Benue
38.	February 26	12 killed	Kaduna, Kaduna
39.	February 27	20 killed	Demsa, Adamawa
40.	March 1	15 killed	Saradauna, Taraba
41.	March 4	20 Killed	Suadauna, Taraba state
42.	March 5	25 Killed	Okpokwi Benue
43.	March 7	2 Killed	Takum, Taraba
44.	March 8	11 Killed	Bassa, Plateau State
45.	March 9	9 Killed	Bokkos, Plateau
46.	March 12	26 Killed	Bassa, Plateau
47.	March 13	7 Killed	Guma, benue
48.	March 13	1 Killed	Lokoja, Kogi
49.	March 14	32 Killed	Douma/Omala Kogi State
50.	March 14	6 Killed	Bassa, Plateau State
51.	March 15	5 Killed	Takum, Taraba
52.	March 19	10 Killed	Omala, Kogi
53.	March 20	11 Killed	Birimn Gwarri, Kaduna
54.	March 22	3 Killed	Jos South, Plateau
55.	March 24	5 Killed	Makurdi, Benue
56.	March 30	6 Killed	Jema's Kaduna
57.	April 4	6 Killed	Chikun, Kaduna
58.	April 4	4 Killed	Takum, Taraba
59.	April 4	10 Killed	Gwer West, Benue
60.	April 5	5 Killed	Dogba, Taraba
61.	April 5	30 Killed	Gwer West, benue
62.	April 5	50 Killed	Offa, Kwara
63.	April 7	4 Killed	Balli, Tereaba
64.	April 7	2 Killed	Agatu, Benue
65.	April 8	5 Killed	Birkin Ladi, Plateau State
66.	April 8	5 Killed	Obi, Nasarawa
67.	April 8	4 Killed	Keana, Nasarawa
68.	April 9	1 Killed	Gumoh, Benue
69.	April 10	10 Murdered	Benue
70.	April 10	51 Killed	Wukari, taraba
71.	April 12	2 Killed	Makurdi, Benue State
72.	April 12	2 Murdered	Birnin Gwari, Kaduna
73.	April 13	5 Killed	Bassa, Kogi
74.	April 14	4 Killed	Logo, Benue
75.	April 14	78 Killed	Obi, Nasarawa
76.	April 17	1 Killed	Logo, Benue
77.	April 18	4 Killed	Bassa, pleatue
78.	April 19	1 Killed	Kutigi, Nigeria
79.	April 19	1 Killed	Gwer west, Benue state

80.	April 20	31 Killed	Guma, benue
81.	April 25	19 Killed	Gwer East, benue
82.	April 25	38 Killed	Guma, Benue
83.	April 25	7 Killed	Awe, Nasarawa
84.	April 28	14 Killed	Birin Cowari, Kaduna
85.	April 29	5 Killed	Gwer West, Benue

Source: Saraki, 2018.

Herders' insurgency and the implementation on Nigeria federation

The issues that are confronting Nigeria are common to us. Insecurity is all over Nigeria. The killing that are thought were localized to the middle belt are now affecting people in Zamfara, kebbi and other states in the federation, making it a national disaster (Suleiman, 2018). Attacks by herdsmen without doubt have become the most potent threat to national security in the last couple of years. What makes the attacks by herdsmen very disturbing are, the frequency, the level of destruction and sheer brutality. The development in almost all cases is characterized by high causality rate and massive displacement of communities. One can say with certainty that never has the country experienced.

This level destruction and social dislocation, what however is so disturbing with the development is how the attacks in eyes of security agencies. The by Herbs man are without doubt comparable to the insurgency in the North East. This is the reason why fears are being expressed that the nation may be trading on a very dangerous ground. As at date, there has being wanting killings by herdsmen and Plateau state that have resulted in massive displacement of people and loss of lives. The attacks are unprecedented when assessed on the buses of the frequency, the casualty and sheer brutality. The fallout naturally is huge humanitarian crisis in almost all the states affected.

As we can see, there is wanton killing by the armed herdsmen which is contained as the threat capable of snowballing into a serious threat that could set the country federalism ablaze. There is occasion by the fact that the threats have gone beyond the borders of the Northern states. It should be pointed out that, the dangers the activities of the criminal herdsmen have serious implication to the corporate existence of this country. The country at the moment is facing myriads of challenges that have implications for its corporate existence. These challenges include, calls for restricting and separatist threats to pull out at the union. Other security challenges of career include, economic down turn and harsh conditions of living as well as, the lack of employment (Daily trust, Thursday, November 1, 2018).

Nigeria is in dire need of sustainable development that needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future, generations to meet their own needs. Human beings (all Nigerians) are at the centre of concerns for such sustainable development, but with the frequent herdsmen attack, development efforts are bleak.

Nigeria as a federal state, we are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature. The clashes are driven by a range of factors from the environmental to political but at their core is the problem of land scarcity. Climate change and the desertification of Nigeria's North have forced the nomadic cattle herdsmen farther south to feed and sell their cattle, encroaching on the territory

of sedimentary farmers. Rapid population growth has moved Nigeria population to 180 million people today and is set to become the third largest in the world by 2050 has worsened the competition for land. Why has there been a surge in attacks? For decades, herders and farmers mainly lived in peace (Fiki, & Lee, 2005, Yayinka, 2004, Fabusoro, 2007).

Herdsman/farmer crises is the threat to democratic governance as the level of intolerance among the herdsman and their farmer in Nigeria has deteriorated to unimaginable level as arms struggle resulting in countless reduction in the population of the peasant farmers (Ingawa, and Erhabor, 1999, Akin Kuolie, 2018, Ayayi and Allegenji, 2001). Hence, it is important to note that these violent clashes have direct impact on the lives and livelihoods at those involved and lead to the displacement of economic productive population of the community. In most cases, these incessant violent clashes lead to reduction in output and income of the destruction of crops farmers as a result of the destruction of crop by cattle. Most farmers have been forced to flee their farm for fear of being killed by well-armed herdsman and loss at part or the whole of the crops which translated into low income on the part of the farmer who take farming as a major occupation. This tends to negatively affect their saving, credit replacement ability as well the food security and economic welfare of urban dwellers that depend on these farmers for food supply. Hence discourages the farmers and still the rural agricultural development (Adakunle and Adisa, 2010).

The herdsman and farmers' crises disrupt and threaten the sustainability of pastoral farming and crop production in West (Ifidon & Ahiauzu, 2005). These crises reinforce circles of extreme poverty and hunger, and destroy social status, food scarcity and affect mostly the most marginalized group that includes women and children of a teeming population like Nigeria. National integration is key and covers all activities and arrangements put in the place to ensure free movement, moving and interacting of a people at a country with other people of the same nation state without any form of gender, racial, tribal or religious dissemination (Orikepe, 2013).

Herdsman insurgency has adverse consequences on national integration, socio-economic growth and sustainable development.

The insecurity problem facing Nigeria who were highlighted in the proceeding sections make the country venerable in terms of human wellbeing. The problems, individually and collectively constitute threats to the peace, security and development of the country.

Steward (2001) argue that their types of correction will be differentiated between seeing and development in any country or community as

- (a) The immediate effect of insecurity/insecurity on well-being and consequently development achievement (or the ways which security forms part of the definition of development).
- (b) The ways insecurity affects elements of devolvement and economic growth or the security instrument role.
- (c) The way development affects security, or developmental instrument roles.

Steward (2001) argued that to the extent that these three-way connections become one of development policy because in so far that they enhance security, they will contribute to development also policy towards development may become part of security policies because enhanced development increases security.

CONCLUSION

The problem if Nigeria federalism is the problem of national integration in Nigeria. In broad terms, the issues involved fact into two categories: structures integration and cultural integration, but with the present on- slaughter by herdsmen in Nigeria, all effort at future national integration and nation-build in Nigeria as a federation, were federalism becomes an institutional dense for compromising the demand for unity in diversity, remain a mirage, if the current situation, in the North-cast and middle belt state od Benin, plateau, Kaduna, Nassarawa, Kogi, Taraba continues in herder insurgency, as it has a multiplying effects on the Nigeria state and entire economy.

Nigeria and her people in their multi- ethnic heterogeneity, that has affected interrelation. Nigeria re-newed dilemma is Herdsmen insurgency, is bane to unity in diversity, a major reason for federalism. Without doubt, the Herdsmen menace requires a systematic, concerted well-coordinated seemly strategy to overcome the problem. The Nigeria federalism is endangered, and deserves a change in policy. The following recommendation can achieve this.

We should entrench true federalism as means of fostering peaceful coexistence and ensure national unity. Hence we suggest a restructuring of Nigeria foe the good of the north and the South. Government must begin the campaign to reduce ethnic consciousness of them differential ethnic differences and reduce primordial ties as engrained various group. This will ameliorable irredeemable ethnic bitterness, better rivalry, rancor, destruct suspicion, invidious hatred, ethnic prejudice, disharmonious co-existence and bad blood, as well as reduce ethnic intolerance embedded in religion intolerance (Batch, 2010:70).

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