**ISSN (E): 2832-8078** Volume 35, April - 2025

# THE FARMER-HERDER CONFLICTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS (MAIANGWAS AND ARDOS)

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#### ABSTRACT

Nigeria's agricultural productivity has been severely hampered by ongoing conflicts between farmers and herders, which has had an adverse economic impact. Nigeria's economy and livelihoods depend heavily on agriculture, but these conflicts have hampered farming, decreased crop yields, and damaged farmlands and animals, worsening food insecurity and driving up food costs. These disturbances discourage investments in agriculture and reduce productivity and revenue generation, posing a further danger to economic stability. As a result, unemployment rises, leading job losses throughout agricultural value chains, farmers and herders to lose their sources of income, and rural-urban migration. By escalating competition for limited resources, rapid population increase and climate change exacerbate these conflicts. Droughts and desertification drive herders southward, creating conflict between farmers growing the same land and herders vying for water and grazing areas. This study's analytical framework is based on the environmental resource scarcity and frustration-aggression theories, and it uses secondary data. By giving them constitutional authority for mediation and reconciliation, the government should empower traditional leaders, especially Ardos and Maiangwas, according to the findings. Furthermore, promoting long-term conflict resolution will require treating farmers and herders fairly through subsidies and other types of aid, as well as including these leaders in the execution of policies.

#### KEYWORDS

Farmer-Herder, Conflicts, Nigerian Economy, Traditional Leaders.

#### Introduction

The search for food and water, exacerbated by global environmental changes, has long driven the movement of herders in search of pasture for their livestock. Traditionally, this mobility facilitated a symbiotic relationship between herders and farmers, where, after the harvest season, farmers leased their lands to herders for grazing on crop residues and stubble. This arrangement provided mutual benefits farmers received payments or other agreed-upon compensation, while herders gained access to grazing land. In return, livestock grazing enriched the soil with nutrients, contributing to soil fertility

Volume 35 April - 2025

and sustainable agricultural practices. Such interdependence has existed for centuries, reinforcing Azarya's (1996) argument that herders and farmers have historically coexisted through mutual benefits and shared economic interests. However, nomadism and pastoral migration present significant challenges for both herders and their livestock. The constant movement across long distances leads to weight loss in animals, ultimately affecting meat and milk production. Moreover, herders and their livestock are exposed to multiple risks, including cattle rustling, lack of access to education, inadequate healthcare for both herders and animals, scarcity of clean water, and poor infrastructure. These hardships highlight the urgent need for a transition to ranching systems, which offer a more sustainable and structured approach to livestock management. Ranching would provide herders with access to modern livestock-rearing methods, government support in terms of security, education, healthcare, and clean water, as well as improved access to markets and value chains.

Additionally, ranching has the potential to stimulate economic growth through job creation, tax revenues, and the development of industries linked to livestock production, such as dairy, meat processing, and leather production. By formalizing livestock management, Nigeria could unlock economic opportunities across multiple sectors, reducing unemployment and enhancing national productivity. Agriculture has historically played a crucial role in reducing unemployment, supplying raw materials to industries, and stimulating consumer and investment spending, all of which contribute to economic growth. However, in recent years, conflicts between farmers and herders have severely disrupted agricultural production, leading to reduced food supply, rising prices of agricultural commodities, job losses, and overall economic downturns. A key driver of these conflicts is rapid population growth among both farmers and herders, coupled with an increasing number of livestock competing for fixed land resources. This struggle over limited grazing routes, farmlands, and forest reserves has fueled violent clashes, leading to destruction and displacement.

This phenomenon aligns with Habu's (2017) assertion that contemporary farmer-herder conflicts are driven by factors such as climate change, population growth, and resource competition. To address these conflicts and restore agricultural productivity, it is crucial to implement policies that promote peaceful coexistence while ensuring sustainable land-use practices. Encouraging ranching, strengthening resource management strategies, and leveraging the role of traditional leaders (such as Ardos and Maiangwas) in conflict mediation could provide long-term solutions to the challenges faced by both herders and farmers.

## 2. Conceptual Theory: Traditional Leadership and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria

Colonization and democracy have significantly diminished the authority of traditional leaders in Nigeria. As a result, traditional institutions have lost influence, leading to decreased respect and recognition from the people. This decline has contributed to increased conflicts, particularly among farmers and herders, due to the absence of effective mediation and arbitration mechanisms. Consequently, this research advocates for the revitalization of traditional institutions, such as the Okpara or Onyeisi (Igbo) in southeastern Nigeria, the Oba (Edo), Odionwere (Urhobo), or Obot (Ijaw) in South-South Nigeria, and the Bale or Mogaji (Yoruba) in southwestern Nigeria. In northern Nigeria, the Ardos and Maiangwas serve as traditional authorities capable of mediating between herders and farmers to prevent conflicts and foster economic growth.

Volume 35 April - 2025

## Herders: Their Role and Way of Life

Herders, predominantly Fulani, are found mainly in Northern Nigeria, North, and Central Africa. They rear animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, and camels and traditionally move in search of pasture and water. Their migratory lifestyle is essential for sustaining their herds, making them skilled resource managers capable of adapting to environmental changes (Moritz, 2012). Herders are categorized into three groups:

- i. Nomadic herders: who migrate seasonally.
- ii. Transhumant herders: who move livestock between fixed grazing areas.
- iii. Agro-pastoralists: who combine farming and herding (Blench, 2001).

Ardos, the traditional leaders of the Fulani people, play a crucial role in guiding their communities. They are often herders themselves and serve as intermediaries in resolving disputes among herders and between herders and farmers, ensuring that conflicts do not escalate.

## **Farmers: Their Role in the Agricultural Sector**

Farmers are agricultural producers responsible for managing land, labor, and resources to cultivate crops and rear livestock. According to Blench (2001), farmers are essential contributors to food security and economic stability. Barrett (2008) describes farmers as entrepreneurs who navigate risks and uncertainties in agricultural markets. Farmers can be classified into three groups:

- i. Subsistence farmers: who produce primarily for household consumption.
- ii. Commercial farmers: who cultivate crops and rear livestock for market sales.
- iii. Agro-pastoralists: who engage in both farming and herding.

Traditional leaders closest to the farmers, such as the Maiangwas in Hausa communities, play a pivotal role in safeguarding farmers' rights and interests. They mediate disputes among farmers and between farmers and herders through arbitration and reconciliation efforts.

## **Conflict and its Implications**

Conflict is an inevitable social phenomenon that arises from competition for scarce resources. Bukhari (2005) defines conflict as a normal occurrence between individuals, families, groups, societies, and nations. Ekong (2003) conceptualizes conflict as a form of social interaction where actors compete for limited resources, often weakening or eliminating their contenders. Stagner (1967), as cited in Onouha (2008), characterizes conflict as a struggle between parties with incompatible goals, each perceiving the other as a barrier to their objectives. Coser (1956) describes conflict as competition over values, power, and scarce resources, often leading to violent confrontations.

## **Herders-Farmers Conflict Causes and Consequences**

Herders' migratory patterns often bring them into contact with settled farming communities, leading to territorial disputes and competition over grazing land and water resources. Olaniyan, Michael, and Okeke-Uzodike (2015) highlight how herders' movement into farmlands fuels tensions, as farmers view herders as encroachers who destroy crops. Odoh and Chilaka (2012) quote a Fulani herder expressing frustration: "When our source of existence is threatened, we have no option but to fight back. Wherever we turn, we find our grazing fields taken over by farmers. Once that happens, the farmers confront us, and conflict becomes inevitable." Hussein, Sumberg, and Seddon (1999) categorize farmer-herder conflicts into ethnic conflicts, political disputes, resource struggles, and acts

Volume 35 April - 2025

of violence, including cattle rustling and evictions. Blench (2001) attributes the conflict to competition over limited land and water, weak institutional structures, environmental degradation, and climate change, all of which have adversely affected Nigeria's agricultural productivity.

#### **Traditional Leaders and Conflict Prevention**

Historically, traditional leaders have played a critical role in conflict prevention by mediating disputes among their followers. Their deep-rooted authority and influence allow them to de-escalate tensions and resolve conflicts within their communities. Olaniyan (2018) asserts that Ardos and Maiangwas possess the cultural knowledge and legitimacy to mediate disputes through traditional mechanisms. Umar (2020) highlights that Maiangwas' expertise in grazing management and conflict resolution is crucial in mitigating herder-farmer conflicts. Adebayo (2013) and Blench (2001) argue that traditional leaders not only resolve disputes but also serve as early warning systems by identifying potential conflicts and alerting authorities to prevent escalation. Given their proximity to local communities, traditional leaders monitor social activities and identify individuals or groups with questionable intentions. Strengthening traditional institutions will enhance conflict prevention mechanisms, ensuring a more peaceful coexistence between herders and farmers.

## The Nigerian Economy and the Impact of Conflicts

Nigeria, with a population of over 300 million people and a GDP exceeding \$441.2 billion (World Bank, 2022), operates a mixed economy. Agriculture remains a crucial sector, contributing approximately 25% to GDP and employing 30% of the workforce. However, conflicts between herders and farmers have significantly hindered economic productivity. Adedeji (2019) states that persistent clashes reduce agricultural output, impacting national food security. The Food and Agriculture Organization (2004) estimates that communal violence costs Nigeria over \$12 billion in lost agricultural production. Okoli and Addo (2018) further note that frequent conflicts lead to farmland abandonment, price hikes, and food shortages, posing a serious threat to economic stability.

## **Existing Policies on Farmers-Herders Conflict Prevention**

To address the conflict, the Nigerian government has implemented various policies, including:

- i.National Livestock Transformation Plan (2018): Focused on livestock management, grazing reserves, and conflict resolution.
- ii. Agricultural Promotion Policy (2016): Encouraging both livestock and crop production.
- iii.National Conflict Resolution Commission (2017) A body dedicated to resolving farmer-herder disputes.
- iv.Ranching Laws: Prohibiting open grazing while promoting sustainable ranching practices.
- v.Grazing Reserves Establishment Laws: Creating designated grazing lands to prevent encroachment.

## **Frustration-Aggression Theory and Conflict Dynamics**

The Frustration-Aggression Theory, developed by Dollard et al. (1939) and refined by Berkowitz (1961), posits that frustration leads to aggression when goal achievement is obstructed. This theory helps explain the violent outbreaks between herders and farmers, as both groups feel their economic livelihoods are under threat. Olu-Adeyemi (2017) emphasizes that socio-political systems perceived as unjust or unresponsive exacerbate conflict. Deprivation, whether real or perceived, fuels aggression,

Volume 35 April - 2025

making violent clashes inevitable in the absence of equitable resource distribution. Shakhnazarov (1978) supports this view, advocating for justice and fairness as essential elements for peaceful coexistence. The decline of traditional leadership has exacerbated conflicts between herders and farmers in Nigeria. Strengthening traditional institutions and leveraging the mediation roles of the Ardos and Maiangwas can mitigate disputes, promote peaceful coexistence, and enhance economic stability. By integrating traditional conflict resolution mechanisms with modern governance structures, Nigeria can create a sustainable framework for managing farmer-herder relations and fostering national development.

## 3. Theoretical Theory

## **Conflict Escalation Theory**

Johan (1969) explains how conflicts escalate due to structural violence, exploitation, and oppression, as well as attitudinal and ideological factors. He further elaborates that conflict intensifies when underlying issues or tensions remain unaddressed. Incompatible or conflicting goals, negative perceptions, and aggressive actions contribute to the escalation of disputes, making resolution more challenging.

## **Ecological Theory**

The ecological theory highlights how environmental factors, such as climate change, exacerbate resource-based conflicts. Droughts and water scarcity have increased competition between herders and farmers for limited resources. Okuneye (2020) found that climate change leads to resource scarcity, intensifying conflicts. Odozi (2019) analyzed the impact of water scarcity on farmer-herder disputes, while Adewumi et al. (2019) revealed that land degradation reduces grazing lands, further fueling tensions.

## **Sociocultural Theory**

Social and cultural factors play a significant role in the disputes between herders and farmers, primarily due to a lack of trust. Oyebanjo (2017) analyzed how social inequality contributes to farmer-herder conflicts, supporting Olaniyan's (2018) assertion that cultural differences lead to misunderstandings and disputes. Religious and ethnic differences also exacerbate conflicts, as Umar (2020) observed in his findings.

## **Institutional Theory**

Political instability, weak governance, and ineffective policy enforcement have aggravated conflicts between herders and farmers. Adamu (2019) asserts that the absence of strong institutions and policy implementation exacerbates these disputes, preventing long-term resolution.

## **Demographic Theory**

Population growth, migration, and unemployment contribute to competition for scarce resources such as land and water. Ojo et al. (2020) found that population growth intensifies resource competition, further escalating tensions between herders and farmers.

Volume 35 April - 2025

## Ways Traditional Leaders (Ardos and Maiangwas) Can Prevent Herders-Farmers Conflict Sustainable Peace Theory

JohnPaul (2018) emphasizes the importance of community engagement, dialogue, and reconciliation in achieving lasting peace. His approach advocates for empowering communities to actively engage in peace processes, fostering trust, addressing past harms, and promoting forgiveness. When communities feel included in peace-building and policy implementation, they are less likely to sabotage reconciliation efforts.

## **Environmental Justice Theory**

Schlosberg (2013) highlights the intersection of social justice and environmental degradation. Ojo (2018) argues that African environmentalism should prioritize social justice and human well-being. This theory underscores the need for collective action, equitable distribution of environmental benefits and burdens, community-based peace approaches, and human rights protections all of which can help mitigate conflict escalation.

## **Conflict Transformation Theory**

Miall (2013) proposes a comprehensive framework for understanding and addressing conflicts. He argues that conflicts are multifaceted and require a transformative approach, which includes improving relationships, promoting community-led initiatives, and addressing the root causes of disputes. Traditional leaders such as Ardos and Maiangwas play a crucial role in conflict transformation by mediating and fostering community engagement.

## **Traditional Leaders as Policy Instruments**

Traditional leaders, especially Ardos and Maiangwas, can be instrumental in implementing and testing policies, such as ranching initiatives, aimed at preventing herders-farmers conflicts. By involving traditional leaders in pilot projects, they can foster trust in the process, serve as intermediaries between communities and policymakers, and enhance acceptance of new policies. Their involvement ensures that the community views the policy implementation as legitimate, thereby facilitating smooth and conflict-free execution.

## **Empirical Findings on Farmer-Herder Conflicts in Nigeria**

Ardos and Maiangwas, particularly in northern and central Nigeria, possess vast knowledge of diverse cultural dynamics and have played a crucial role in preventing conflicts. Studies indicate that 80% of respondents attributed conflict prevention to Ardos' involvement, while 85% credited Maiangwas with preventing conflict escalation (Idris, 2020). According to Ogunrotifa (2018), Maiangwas' knowledge of local dynamics reduced conflict-related deaths by 30%, while Ardos' legitimacy and authority reduced conflict intensity by 40%. Mohammed (2019) found that Ardos' mediation resolved 75% of conflicts in Kaduna State, while Maiangwas' community engagement prevented 90% of conflicts in Taraba State.

Several empirical studies have analyzed the causes, consequences, and solutions to the farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria:

i.Lenshie et al. (2020) examined how desertification-induced migration and inadequate security governance exacerbate herder-farmer disputes in Nigeria.

Volume 35 April - 2025

- ii. Aniche & Ngwu (2019) analyzed the underlying causes of the conflict and its implications for social work practices.
- iii.Chukwuemeka et al. (2019) assessed the impact of conflicts on sustainable rural livelihoods and proposed measures such as improved governance and community participation.
- iv.Emmanuel & Ojo (2021) reviewed the conflict's underlying causes and policy implications, offering in-depth analysis and policy recommendations.
- v.Chinwe, Okoyeuzu, and Eze (2021) investigated the socio-economic implications of the farmer-herder conflict and provided strategies for peaceful coexistence.
- vi.Ofuoku (2010) studied the causes, effects, and resolution strategies for farmers-nomadic cattle herders' conflicts in Delta State, Nigeria.
- vii.Dickson (2020) assessed herder-farmer conflicts from 2000-2017, examining its threat to societal progress.
- viii.Turner et al. (2006) analyzed farmer-herder relations and conflict management strategies in the agropastoral zones of Niger.
  - Additional studies highlight the food security impact of these conflicts:
  - i.Solomon (2021) found that escalating farmer-herder conflicts in Taraba State have resulted in low productivity, unstable food supplies, and food insecurity.
  - ii. Yakubu et al. (2021) investigated rural households in Gombe State, revealing that 59.3% of farmers and 31.3% of herders experienced moderate food insecurity, while 43.7% of farmers and 66.1% of herders faced severe hunger.
- iii.Nnaji et al. (2022) used survey data from 401 rural households in Nigeria, concluding that farmerherder disputes significantly worsen food insecurity.
- iv.Olanrewaju & Balana (2023) examined conflict-related shocks and household food security in Nigeria, identifying economic disparities, competition for resources, and ethnic tensions as primary conflict drivers. They recommend policy interventions addressing property rights, livestock management, and region-specific conflicts.

These empirical studies provide valuable insights into the complex nature of farmer-herder conflicts and the need for targeted interventions to mitigate their effects and promote peaceful coexistence.

#### **Conclusion**

Government measures to prevent herders-farmers conflicts, such as banning open grazing, have had limited effectiveness due to cultural resistance. Engaging Ardos and Maiangwas as traditional leaders closely connected to herders and farmers is crucial for policy implementation and conflict prevention. Strengthening these leaders and involving them in policy decisions can improve economic growth and promote fair treatment of both herders and farmers. Changing such long-standing cultural norms requires a gradual and inclusive approach that involves all stakeholders. Failure to do so often results in resistance and ineffective policy implementation. Okeke (2020) highlights the importance of inclusive, community-led peace-building initiatives that address the root causes of these conflicts. Engaging traditional leaders, such as Ardos and Maiangwas, who are closely connected to herders and farmers, is crucial in this process. These leaders can serve as effective mediators and facilitators, helping to implement policies aimed at preventing conflicts and fostering peaceful coexistence. Their involvement can ensure that the unique needs and perspectives of both herders and farmers are considered, leading to more sustainable and effective solutions. By leveraging the influence and local

Volume 35 April - 2025

knowledge of Ardos and Maiangwas, the government can develop policies that are better aligned with the cultural and practical realities of the communities involved. This approach not only helps in resolving immediate conflicts but also contributes to long-term economic stability and growth. It promotes a more collaborative and inclusive environment where both herders and farmers can thrive, ultimately benefiting the broader economy.

#### Recommendations

This research recommend among others that:

- i.Government should strengthen traditional leaders, Ardos and Maiangwas, by granting them constitutional powers for mediation and reconciliation.
- ii.Ardos and Maiangwas should be used as policy tools in implementing ranching and sensitizing communities.
- iii.Government should provide security, water, and health services for herders and their livestock, similar to the incentives given to farmers.

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Volume 35 April - 2025

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Volume 35 April - 2025

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