

**UNDERSTANDING THE COMPLEXITY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN SMALL HOLDER FARMERS
AND BORORO HERDSMEN IN AGBELE COMMUNITY, IGBETI OYO STATE, SOUTH-WEST NIGERIA**



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Dedication

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List of Abbreviations/Acronyms

AEO	Agricultural Extension Officer
AFAN	All Farmers Association of Nigeria
APP	Agricultural Promotion Policy
CO	Commanding Officer
DAD	District Agriculture Director
DPO	Divisional Police Officer (DPO)
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
DVO	District Veterinary Officer
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
FMARD	Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
HOD	Head of Department
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDI	In-depth Interview
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMC	Interfaith Mediation Centre
JTF	Joint Task Force
KII	Key Informant Interview
MACBAN	Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria
NDMF	National Disaster Management Framework
NEC	National Economic Council
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NLTP	National Livestock Transformation Plan
NPF	Nigeria Police Force
NSCDC	Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps
OLGA	Olorunsogo Local Government Area
OTC	Onile-Oye Traditional Council
OYSG	Oyo State Government
PAR	Pressure and Release Model

Glossary of Terms Used

<i>Ba'ale</i>	Agbele community head-chief
<i>Oko Egan</i>	Farmland remote from the village
<i>Oko Eti'le</i>	Farmland located near the village
<i>Oloye</i>	Traditional chief
<i>Onigbeti</i>	Paramount King of Igbeti Land, Olorunsogo LGA
<i>Seriki</i>	Traditional chief in charge of land matters
<i>Yoruba</i>	Indigenous language spoken in South-West Nigeria and other West African countries

Abstract

Farmers-herdsmen relations and interactions have existed for a long time as both groups complemented and depended on each other for their livelihoods. However, there are now increase in violent conflicts between farmers and herdsmen in many parts of Nigeria. The study area is not an exception as multi-causal factors has soured the relationship between the two groups. Recent conflict escalations in the hitherto peaceful agrarian community has led to loss of life of a farmer and destruction of livelihood assets. This study therefore attempted to understand the complexity of the conflict between sedentary farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Oyo state South-West Nigeria, using Agbele Community in Olorunsogo Local Government Area (OLGA) Igbeji as a case study. A critical understanding of the conflict will allow the researcher to provide recommendations to the problem owner, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), on how to ensure peaceful co-existence and sustainable food security between the two groups. A qualitative research method was employed for data collection and respondents comprised local farmers, herdsmen, community leaders, government officials, NGO as well as farmers' and herdsmen's groups. In addition to semi-structured in-depth (IDI) and key informant interviews (KII), focus group discussions (FGD) were carried out with farmers, herdsmen and other stakeholders. Participatory tools (stakeholder analysis and timeline) were also used to gain a better understanding of the complex issues driving the conflict between the two groups. The data collected were content analysed based on the research objectives.

The study found that farmers-herdsmen conflicts in the study area are complex in nature and are propelled by multi-causal factors and triggers such as crop destruction, killing of cattle, unsafe rural locations, drought and escalating conflict in the North. The study also found that proximate causes such as erosion of traditional authority, exploitation by security forces, absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms, and southwards migration of Bororo herdsmen contribute to the escalating conflict. Structural causes such as poor governance, lack of equal opportunities, lack of political participation, and different ideologies were also identified as other causes of the conflict. The study found that government interventions to ensure relative peace and conflict de-escalation (e.g. military intervention, and formal process) have mainly addressed the triggers of the conflict; while the traditional method of conflict resolution lack legislative power to implement decisions. The study concluded that conflicts between the two groups escalate differently, thus any attempts to find solutions to farmer-herdsmen conflicts need to address the processual causes.

Based on the findings, the study recommends that MARD set up a Peace Architecture Dialogue (PAD) committee comprising of key stakeholders identified during the study. The composition of the committee will help to build confidence and trust, which is a crucial instrument in mediation and conflict resolution process. This will also help solve complaints by Bororo herdsmen that farmers overstate compensation claims which the study uncovered. Secondly, the researcher also recommends to MARD that cattle owners, herdsmen and cattle should be registered and based on that a fodder bank should be established in Agbele enclave with all the needed resources such as water, veterinary officers etc. It must be remote from crop farming activities and measures set to regulate the activities of both farmers and herdsmen to prevent encroachments, allay fears of crop destructions and allow both parties to carry out their activities in peace.

Keywords: Conflict, conflict escalation, complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflict, smallholder farmers, Bororo herdsmen.

1.0 Introduction of the thesis research

This study shows the manifestations of farmers-herdsmen conflict, by specifically examining the complexities of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele Community Oyo State, South-West Nigeria. In the light of the above, Oyo state Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) commissioned this study to understand the complexities of the conflict from the perspective of the actors that are directly involved in the conflict. The voices and perspectives of both small holder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community are very crucial to any plausible policy intervention to be a success, therefore a critical understanding of the complex nature and causes of the conflict is an important pre-requisite to assist MARD in implementing appropriate interventions to manage the conflict among the two groups.

1.1. Contextual background of the study

Agriculture is defined as all forms of activities connected with growing, harvesting and primary processing of all types of crops, with the breeding, raising and caring for animals, and with tending gardens and nurseries (Jager, 2005). According to Oladele and Sakagami (2004: 232), "agriculture supports 63 percent of the population directly by providing about 28 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from the total exports and 70 percent (70%) non-oil export production". As an agrarian country, the production of foods and other raw materials is a necessary ingredient for the take-off of all other sectors of the nation's economy (Adisa, 2012: 207). Ekong (2003) reported that 64% of Nigerians live in rural areas and their primary occupation is farming. The small holder farmers have limited resources therefore they are dependent on traditional implements which in turn limit the output; depend on their efficiency in the utilisation of basic production resources available; and depend on family and hired labour due to the fact that there is extremely low level of mechanisation (Oladele & Oladele, 2011). This was corroborated by Rahji (2002: 111) who argued that "A key feature of the Nigerian Agriculture is the dominance of small holder farms or farm households ...they cultivate less than 5 hectares"

Fulani herdsmen are traditionally pastoralists who rely mostly on the land and water resources to feed their cattle (Dosu, 2011). In the past, they based most of their activities in West Africa without much problems and interference from farmers as the semi-arid conditions in the lands of Sahel discouraged crop farming, thereby minimising possible competition between farmers and herders in the area (Dosu, 2011). During dry seasons, herdsmen would temporarily move to the south as they wait for the situation in the Sahel to improve before they would go back to their usual territory. The mutual understanding between the two parties ensured a peaceful coexistence with the herdsmen staying in the Southern region as long as it was necessary before they would move back to their traditional grazing ground. In situations where pastoralists and farmers co-existed, there was a mutual benefit between the two groups that furthered the sustenance of peace. They exhibited a symbiotic relationship, which included the practice of barter trade of both goods and services, thereby enabling the good living conditions in the semi-arid region (Driel 1999:191). Pastoralists relied on the availability of crop residues, more so during the dry seasons to feed their livestock, while farmers took advantage of the availability of the livestock to enrich their farms using their dung (Shettima & Tar 2008: 163).

Arable crop and cattle producers have not only intensified the use of their respective lands, they have also been exploring other land frontiers for farming and grazing. The high value crops introduced by

The National Fadama Development Project (NFDP)¹ produce almost no crop-residues for livestock feeding (Oladele & Sakagami, 2004). Farm lands that are normally allowed to fallow for natural rejuvenation of the soil are fast disappearing, while lands that traditionally provide dry season grazing to pastoralists are becoming shorter in supply (Gefu & Kolawole, 2002). This has increased mass migration of Fulani herdsman southwards in search of pasture for their herds, thus heightening frequency and intensity of competition among various land users (Okoli et al., 2014; Ajuwon, 2004).

Violent clashes between the two production systems is a phenomenon that has been in existence for decades in Nigeria and different parts of Africa (Mbiri et al., 2018: 789; McIntire, 2014: 145). There have been conflicts over ethnic differences, forage and water resources by local farmers and nomads or among African pastoralists themselves in Tanzania, Sudan, Kenya, Ethiopia (East Africa) (Fratkin, 2001; Nwamfube, 2005:1) and Ghana, Mali, Chad, Burkina Faso (West Africa) and Cameroon with dire consequences for the security of these areas (Adano, et al., 2012; Henku, 2011). Competition-driven conflicts between arable crop farmers and cattle herdsman in many parts of Nigeria has often times turned into serious overt and covert hostilities and social friction (Coser, 2000). In Saki, Oke-Ogun area of Oyo State, the clashes between nomadic Fulanis and arable crop farmers has decimated a lot of lives which resulted in the vacation of some settlements, loss of cattle and destruction of arable crop farms which were essentially the source of income for the victims (Aliyu & Ikedinma, 2018: 119). In addition, Okeke (2014:67) opined that damages frequently done during nomadic activities include overgrazing, destruction of crops, loss of yields, hardening of soils resulting in increased labour in pre-farming activities, destruction of reservoir and source of drinkable water, burning of rangelands, and destruction of irrigational facilities.

The on-going conflict between herdsman and farmers in the study area specifically, and various parts of Nigeria in general, has called for the critical assessment of the complex factors responsible for the escalation of conflicts between the two groups (Moritz, 2010: 138). It also exposed the complexities associated with violent clashes between sedentary agriculturists and cattle breeders in various part of the country (Abugu & Onuba, 2015). Therefore, a well thought out analysis of the complexity of the conflict situation between the two groups will be helpful to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) in its response to sustainably mitigate the conflict. To achieve this, the areas that have witnessed recent escalation in conflicts between the two groups are narrowed down to Agbele community in the South-West region of the country. Agbele was selected due to the large number of herdsman and cattle in the area as a result of the vegetation that ensures grass availability all year round. In addition, Ofiki River (chief tributary of Ogun River) meanders through the study area, ensuring water availability all-year round and attracting herdsman especially during the dry season (Adelakun, et al., 2015).

1.2. The interface between conflict and disaster

Disasters caused by natural hazards and violent conflicts affect many people worldwide (UNDP, 2011:11). There is a growing recognition particularly in affected countries, that disasters and conflicts do not exist in vacuums but are integrally linked to the broader national development context in which they occur (Buchanan-Smith & Christoplos, 2014). Like many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria is exposed to natural hazards which have caused serious disasters across the country (International Crises Group, 2017). In the southeast region, flooding and gully erosion have led to the displacement of communities. In the Niger Delta region, oil exploration has destroyed the mangrove forests as well as the natural habitat for fishes and other aquatic species and flora (Abubakar & Yamusa, 2013). In northern Nigeria, desert encroachment, deforestation, and drought have adversely affected agricultural production, thereby threatening national food security (Daramola, et al., 2016).

¹ The Fadama concept refers to irrigable, low-lying plains underlain by "shallow" aquifers found along major river systems. It is a tradition where flooded land is used for growing a variety of crops and small-scale irrigation. The National Fadama Development Project (NFDP) was established by the government in 1990.

Coupled with the above is the incidence of Boko Haram conflicts in the North-east, as well as farmers-herdsmen conflicting occurring in different regions of the country (Kazaure & Inkani, 2013). Nigeria has taken steps to advance its disaster risk management (DRM) agenda. The federal government, through its agencies, has produced and adopted policies and enacted laws and regulations geared towards containing the disastrous effects of natural and man-made hazards on the environment (Obeta, 2014). However, government efforts have not yielded the desired results due to inter-agency conflicts, corruption, low political will, and lack of manpower capacity for disaster management (Daramola, et al., 2016). In the light of the above, the interrelationship between disaster and conflict needs to be better understood to more effectively reduce disaster risk and to prevent the emergence or recurrence of violent conflict.

1.3. Statement of the problem

One of the strategic objectives of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) is to ensure sustainable food production and accessibility by all Nigerians. To achieve this mandate, the FMARD through its Agricultural Promotion Policy (FMARD, 2017) has been working with key stakeholders to build an agribusiness economy capable of delivering sustainable prosperity by meeting domestic food security goals, generating exports, and supporting sustainable income and job growth. However, the drive for sustainable production and consumption has been hampered by conflict escalation between the two production systems. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG) Report (2017), “escalating conflicts between farmers and herdsmen are among Nigeria’s most pressing security challenges” with Oyo State being “one of the frontline states when it comes to conflict escalation between sedentary farmers and pastoralists”. Despite the obvious consequences of the conflicts on peaceful co-existence between herdsmen and farmers in the state (Akorede, 2018: 22), there is lack of evidence of systematic research on the complexities driving the conflict between the two groups.

Despite many initiatives initiated at national, state and local levels, government efforts to manage farmers-herdsmen conflict have not yielded the desired results (International Crisis Group, 2017). Attempts to provide a policy framework through the National Disaster Management Framework (NEMA, 2011) to manage the conflict between the two production systems was not fruitful as the framework focused only on natural hazards and disasters. The government approach through a Bill sponsored in parliament to establish grazing routes and reserves in the southern part of Nigeria has been met with a gridlock as the 1978 Land Use Act² vested land powers on state governments (Okeke, 2014: 66). Many Nigerians have argued that the response of government is from a narrow range that will further escalate the conflict because this action will require dispossessing some farmers from their lands which will be demarcated for grazing purpose (Okeke, 2014). The Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development recently proposed the Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) projects to settle migrant pastoral families in Federal Government (FG) “gazetted land” in all states of the federation (AgroNigeria, 2019). However, the project was suspended because it is not consistent with the National Economic Council (NEC) and FG-approved National Livestock Transformation Plan (NLTP) (AgroNigeria, 2019). Various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are also responding to this issue though they are more notable for their proximity to amiable donors than for any long-term progress in the field (Blench, 2003). It is for these reasons that the research seeks to examine the nature and complexities of the conflict, as well as the mechanisms currently being used in the management and resolution of the conflict between the two groups.

² The Land Use Act vests the ownership and management powers of land with the State Governors. By virtue of the provisions of the Land Use Act of 1976, it is the responsibility of the State Government to implement policies on grazing and cattle routes. They have the legislative powers to allow or ban open grazing within the boundaries of their state.

1.4. Research objective

The objective of this research is to understand the complexity of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community. Understanding the complexity of the conflict will enable the researcher to recommend to the problem owner, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), effective strategies and interventions to manage and promote sustainable co-existence between the two food production systems.

1.5. Research questions

Following from the objective, one research question along with five sub-questions have been formulated as follows:

1.5.1. Main research question

What are the complexities driving the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community?

1.5.2. Sub-questions

1. What is the nature of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community?
2. What are the triggers and unsafe conditions driving farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?
3. What are the proximate causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?
4. What are the structural causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?
5. What are existing conflict resolution mechanisms available to farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community?

1.6. Structure of the thesis research

The thesis research report is presented in six different chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the study by looking at the contextual background of farmers–herdsman conflict in Nigeria and some African countries, as well as the interface between conflict and disaster. The problem statement, research objective and research questions, which all serve as a guide to undertaking the research were also discussed. Chapter 2 gives a review of relevant key concepts encompassing the conflict between farmers and herdsman. The chapter concludes with a description of the conceptual framework with an illustration of the conceptual debates that they rest upon. Chapter 3 covers the research strategy and design. The methods of sampling data collection are also discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical consideration as applicable to data collection as well as the limitations of the study. While chapter four presents the findings and results, the fifth chapter deals with analysis, discussion of the findings and reflection on role as a researcher. Chapter six consists of the conclusion and recommendations to the problem owner.

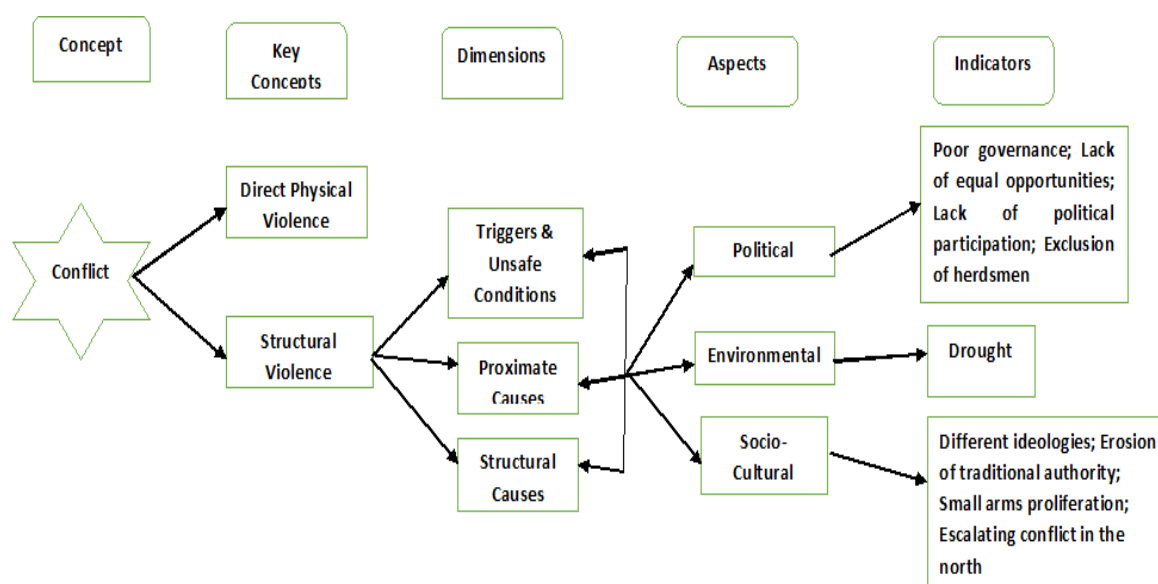
2.0. Introduction

This chapter seeks to update the state of knowledge by using previous studies to demonstrate linkages, illustrates trends and provide an overview of the concept of farmers-herdsmen conflict. It also builds theoretical, methodological, and conceptual framework which provides a foundation for interpretation of findings. The key concepts discussed include conflict and its operationalisation; nature and dimension of farmers-herdsmen conflicts; concepts of smallholder farmers and herdsmen. The chapter also explore the Pressure and Release (PAR) model, as well as its linkage with the research questions.

2.1. Conflict

There are many different terms used to describe contemporary conflicts in the international community (Miall, et al., 2011). Conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralise, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2000). Similarly, conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Defined in broadest terms, conflict denotes the incompatibility of subject positions (Diez et al, 2006: 565). For the purpose of this study, conflict is depicted as competition or struggle between two groups (smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen) due to existence of incompatible needs. Conflicts can manifest as direct physical violence or as structural violence. A distinction is made between direct physical violence (i.e. war, murder, rape and assault) and structural violence (i.e. injustice, discrimination and exploitation) built into a political, economic, social and cultural system (Conroy, 2014). The two types of violence are, however, closely interlinked and direct physical violence is most often caused by structural violence. Farmers-herdsmen conflict focused on in this study is an example of conflict characterised by structural violence.

Figure 1: Operationalising farmers-herdsmen conflict



Source: Author, 2019.

2.2. Dimensions of farmers-herdsmen conflict

This study focused on farmers-herdsmen conflict which is an example of structural conflict. The study explored three dimensions of structural conflict which are triggers and unsafe conditions, proximate causes, and structural causes.

- Triggers are key acts, events, or their anticipation that will set off or escalate violent conflict. Triggers and unsafe conditions occur through fragile processes in which the actors no longer have the capacity to cope any longer.
- Proximate causes are factors contributing to a climate conducive to violent conflict or its further escalation. They are symptomatic of a deeper problem and acts as catalytic factors that trigger a violence-prone conflict situation to turn violent.
- Structural causes are pervasive factors that have become built into the policies, structures and fabric of a society and may create the pre-conditions for violent conflict. Structural causes indicate the most remote influences (Socio-political) that give rise to vulnerability.

2.3. Smallholder farmers and Herdsmen

The concept of “smallholder farmer” can be approached from various perspectives, which are linked to the objective of the analysis (FAO, 2017:7):

- “The term smallholders refers to the limited resource endowment of farmers compared to those of other farmers in the sector” (Dixon, et al., 2003);
- “Farm households which struggle to be competitive, either because their endowments of assets compare unfavourably with those of more efficient producers in the economy or because they confront missing or under-developed markets” (Brooks, et al., 2009);
- “...characterised by marginalisation, in terms of accessibility, resources, information, technology, capital and assets...” (Murphy, 2010);
- “...farms with a low asset base and operating in less than 2 hectares of cropland” (World Bank, 2003).

For the purpose of this study, smallholder farmers are indigenous members of Agbele community who cultivate the land and gain their livelihoods mainly from crop production, with domestic animals providing supplementary income.

Pastoralism is the branch of agriculture concerned with the raising of livestock. Pastoralism is practised mainly on the grasslands that cover about a quarter of the world’s surface (Follet & Reed, 2010). Although pastoralism is practised in all continents (FAO, 2001), the degree of social and political support for pastoralism is diverse (Nori & Gemini, 2011). Pastoralism in West Africa is strongly associated with the Fulani (Fulbe) who are regarded as a unitary group with a unitary culture (Blench, 2010). According to Odoh and Chigozie (2012), “Nigeria has a restricted inventory of pastoral peoples, the Fulani, the Kanuri-related groups, the Shuwa, the Yedina and the Uled Suleiman”. However, the Fulani are the most numerous and widespread of the pastoralists in Nigeria (Moritz, 2003:1).

For the purpose of this study, herdsmen are people who rear livestock and are mostly of the Fulani extraction. The particular group of herdsmen in this study is the semi-sedentary type locally referred to as “Bororo”. The justification for this is because until recently, this group were not known to be involved in violent conflicts with smallholder farmers in the study area.

2.4. Conceptualising the complexities of farmers-herdsmen using the Pressure and Release (PAR) Model

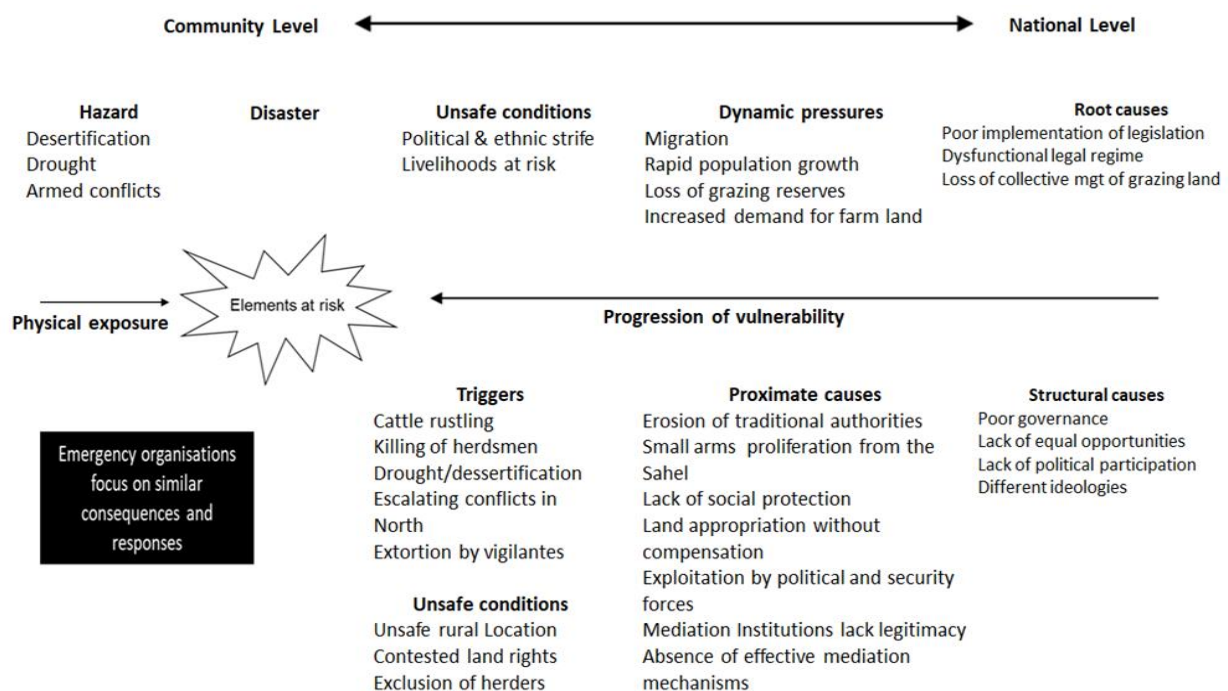
The PAR model describes how disasters occur when hazards (natural, man-made or combination of both) affect vulnerable people (Wisner, et al., 2004). For the purpose of this study, the PAR model was

adapted for farmers-herdsmen conflict (man-induced hazard) in Agbele community. The PAR model was selected for this study due to the following reasons:

- The Pressure and Release (PAR) model is a tool that describes who is likely to be most vulnerable to threats, as well as the resilience of populations.
- The PAR model helps to understand risk in terms of vulnerability analysis in specific hazard situations.
- The model also helps to identify the root causes of vulnerabilities and its consequences.

The PAR framework states that vulnerability and the development of a potential disaster are processes, which involve increasing pressure on the one hand and the opportunities to relieve the pressure on the other (Birkmann, 2006: 7). The basis of the PAR model is recognition that a disaster is the intersection of two opposing forces: the processes generating vulnerability on one side, and the physical exposure to hazard on the other (Wisner, et al., 2004). Increasing pressure can come from either side, but to relieve the pressure, vulnerability (triggers, proximate and structural causes) has to be reduced. The PAR lays out the basic drivers of farmers-herdsmen conflict while providing better understanding of the sequence of events that led to the recent escalation of the conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community.

Figure 2: Pressure and Release model adapted for farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community



Source: Modified from Wisner et al., 2004.

2.5. Link between PAR concepts and the research questions

For the purpose of this study, the researcher focused only on three elements of the PAR model constituting the progression of vulnerability within the study area. These elements (triggers and unsafe conditions; proximate causes; and structural causes) were identified as being relevant to unravelling the research sub-questions. The selected elements allowed the researcher to explore and better understand the complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflict specifically in the study area.

The Progression of vulnerability

Vulnerability can be defined as the conditions determined by physical, social, economic, and environmental factors or processes, which increase the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazards (UNISDR, 2017). The PAR model identifies a progression of vulnerability in which elements at risks (triggers, proximate and structural) contributes to enhancing hazards in a particular group (Wisner, et al., 2004). Analysis of this progression enabled the researcher to explore and identify a number of environmental and socio-political drivers shaping and changing conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community, and thus answer sub-question 1: “What is the nature of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community?”

Triggers and Unsafe conditions

Triggers and unsafe conditions are key acts, events, or their anticipation that will set off or escalate violent conflict. Examples of triggers and unsafe conditions manifesting in the conflicts between farmers and herdsman in Agbele community include crop destruction, killing of cattle, unsafe rural locations, drought and escalating conflict in the North. This element of PAR model allowed the researcher to answer sub-question 2: “What are the triggers and unsafe conditions driving farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?”

Proximate causes

Proximate causes are factors contributing to a climate conducive to violent conflict or its further escalation. Examples of proximate causes influencing farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community include erosion of traditional authority, exploitation by security forces, absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms, and migration. This element of PAR model allowed the researcher to answer sub-question 3: “What are the proximate causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?”

Structural causes

Structural causes are pervasive factors that have become built into the policies, structures and fabric of a society and may create the pre-conditions for violent conflict. Examples of structural causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community include poor governance, lack of equal opportunities, lack of political participation, and different ideologies. This element of PAR model allowed the researcher to answer sub-question 4: “What are the structural causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community?”

3.0. Introduction

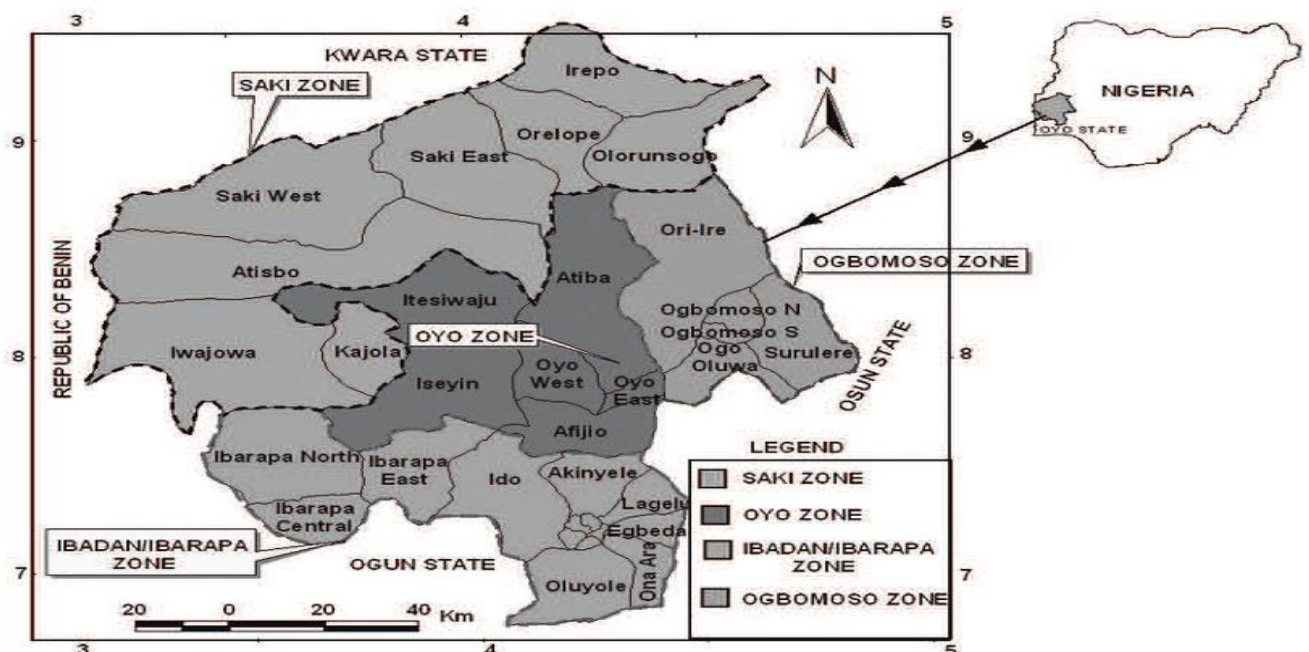
This chapter presents a description of the materials and methods that were utilised for collecting and analysing data. It covers the research design and strategy, sampling procedures and criteria, research instruments, as well as methods and procedures for data collection. The chapter also explores the ethical consideration as well as the limitations encountered during the research process.

3.1. The study area

The study was conducted in Agbele community Oyo state, South-West Nigeria. Agbele community is one of the wards located in Olorunsogo local government area (OLGA), Oyo state. OLGA shares boundaries with Irepo LGA to the north, Oriire LGA to the south, Orelope LGA to the west and Kwara State to the east (Amobichukwu & Egbinola, 2013). OLGA has a total population of 81,339 (41,795 males and 39,544 females) (NPC, 2006), with 85% of the population working in the agricultural sector (OYSG, 2012).

The study area has an equatorial climate with wet (April-October) and dry (November-March) seasons and relatively high humidity (Odjugo, 2005: 139). Ofiki River (a major tributary of Ogun River) flows through the study area, making water available all year. The Bororo herdsmen usually arrive at the study area at the on-set of the dry season. Their arrival usually coincides with planting season of the sedentary farmers. However, in the last decade, the relationship between the two groups has deteriorated (Adelakun, et al., 2015). In consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), Agbele community was purposively selected because the community has witnessed recent violent clashes between local farmers and Bororo herdsmen. Furthermore, due to the large presence of herdsmen in the LGA, Agbele community represents the dynamic complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflicts in the region.

Figure 3: Map of Oyo state showing the location of Olorunsogo Local Government Area (OLGA)



Source: Author's Construct, 2019.

3.2. Research strategy and design

Research must follow a systematic method for its results to be valid (Bender, et al., 2002). Case study design was adopted for the purpose of this study since it focuses on complexity of farmers-herdsmen conflict between two units (smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen) in a specific community (Agbele) within Olorunsogo LGA. Case study design enabled the researcher to use multiple sources of evidence to establish the quality of findings. In addition, qualitative research strategy was adopted to understand the nature of the conflict, its causes (underlying, proximate and structural), as well as methods used in managing and resolving the conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in the study area. Qualitative research is defined by as a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data (Earl, 2014: 303).

As qualitative research is based on subjective, interpretive and contextual data (Auberbach & Silverstein, 2003), the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality. The quality of a qualitative study can be strengthened by triangulating. Triangulation is broadly defined by Denzin (1978: 291) as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon." Patton (2001) believes the use of triangulation by stating "triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. This can mean using several kinds of methods or data, including using both quantitative and qualitative approaches". The use of multiple data qualitative methods in this research ensured reliability and validity of the findings on the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community.

Figure 4: Qualitative research strategy and design



Source: Author's construct, 2019

3.3. Sampling methods and study population

The study adopted a combination of purposive and snowball sampling methods. The sample population included both male and female adults, young and old people, literate and illiterates that are either smallholder farmers or Bororo herdsmen, community leaders, government, political and security officials in Agbele community. Agbele community was selected as case study for this research while purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select six (6) informants for key informant interviews and ten (10) respondents for semi-structured in depth interviews. In addition, two focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted to complement the findings from the interviews. Ten (10) to twelve (12) participants were selected for the FGD using multi stage and purposive sampling.

3.4. Data sources

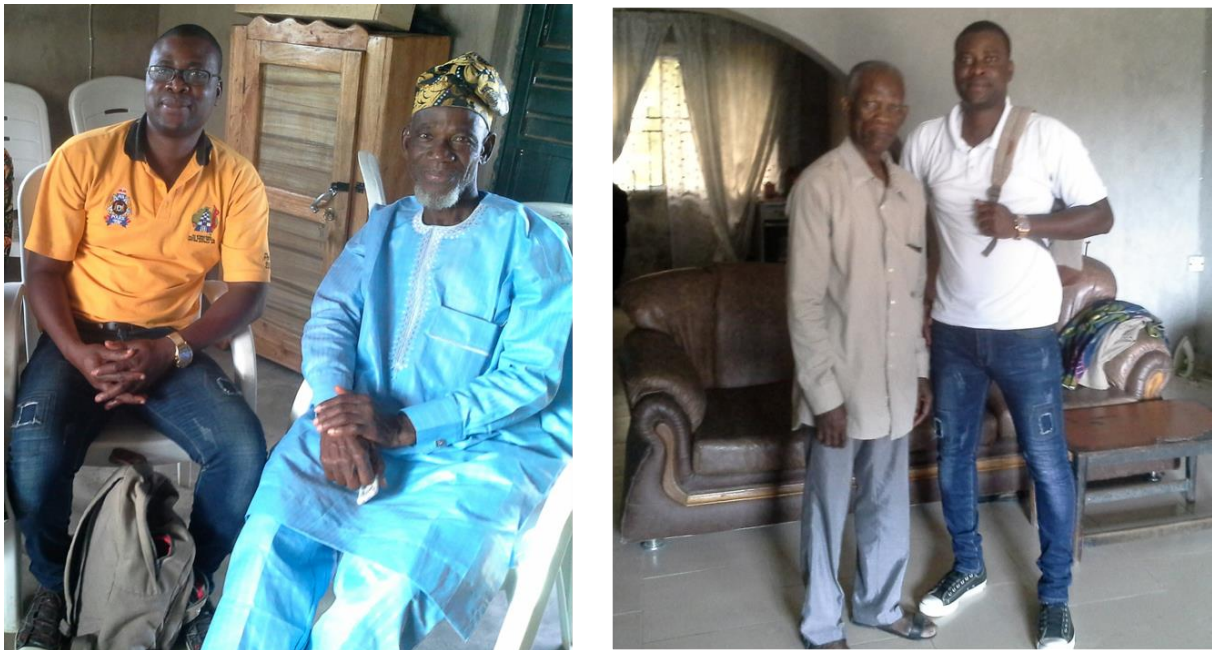
Data was collected through primary and secondary sources. Primary data about complexity of the conflict between small holder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews (IDI), key informant interviews (KII), focus group discussions (FGD) and participatory observation (timeline and stakeholder analysis). The adoption of these multiple sources of primary data (triangulation) increased confidence in the results. The secondary data source included published books, journal articles policy documents such as APP, and the report from international organisations. Data collected from secondary sources were used for the background of the research and to elaborate problem statement. The secondary data were also used to define and operationalise the key concepts used in this study. Lastly, it was used during discussion of results to corroborate findings from primary data.

3.5. Research instruments for primary data collection

3.5.1. Key informant interviews (KII)

Key Informant Interview (KII) comprising of structured and unstructured questions were conducted mainly with government officials at the district level. KII was used to explore the nature of the conflict as well as existing mechanisms available for conflict resolution and management within the community. Six (6) key informants were purposively selected based on their knowledge and expertise about the conflict between the two groups under study. Using a suitable topic checklist (see Appendix I), each interview lasted between 40-60 minutes and were conducted in the offices of the respondents. A tape recorder was used to record the interviews as well as field notes for onward transcription and empirical analysis. The Divisional Police Officer (DPO) and Commanding Officer of the Joint Task Force (JTF) declined the use of tape recorder and also declined to have their photographs taken, citing security code of conduct as the reason.

Figure 5: Field photograph with key informants



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

3.5.2. Semi-structured In-depth interviews (IDI)

In order to gain more understanding of the nature and complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflict, in-depth interviews (IDI) were conducted with community leaders, smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele Community. The village Agriculture Extension Officer (AEO) connected the researcher to an elderly farmer in Agbele. At the end of the interview session, the elderly farmer referred the researcher to another farmer familiar with the conflict. The aim of using referrals was because not all farmers/herdsmen in the community were involved in the conflict. A Bororo herdsman was purposively selected for in-depth interview who referred the researcher to other Bororo herdsmen involved in the conflict. Referral (snowballing) was necessary because due to dispersed nature of the Bororo herdsmen, they could only be contacted based on referrals from a person well-known by them. Using a suitable topic checklist (see Appendix II), the interview which lasted between 40-60 minutes were conducted in farms, kraal, Bororo camps and homes. The IDI with a female farmer was conducted under the tree outside her home with two of her kinsmen seated in front of her home. It should also be noted here that the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with the sampled farmers and Bororo herdsmen several times during the course of the fieldwork to fully explore the complexity of the conflict between the two groups. The researcher was assisted by an interpreter and a note taker while the interviews were recorded using a tape recorder for transcription and empirical analysis.

Figure 6: Field photograph with respondents for semi-structure in-depth interview



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

3.5.3. Focus group discussions (FGD)

In addition to key informant and in-depth interviews, two focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted.

The first FGD involved ten male smallholder farmers from Agbele and members of All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN). A list with all members of this organisation was provided by AFAN coordinator upon the request from the Agriculture Extension Officer (AEO). From this list a selection was made based on the following criteria: male or female smallholder farmers, familiar with the conflict, residing in Agbele. From this selection ten men and two women were purposively selected and sent an invitation to participate in the FGD. All ten men accepted the invitation, one woman declined and the other woman did not reply to the invitation. Since ten participants would be sufficient for a FGD, no new attempt was made to invite more participants.

The second FGD involved twelve male participants, all Bororo herdsmen from OLGA and members of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN). A list with all members of this organisation was provided by MACBAN president upon the request from the District Veterinary Officer (DVO). From this list a selection was made based on the following criteria: Bororo herdsmen, familiar with the conflict, living around Agbele. From this selection twelve (12) Bororo herdsmen were purposively selected and an invitation to participate in the FGD was sent to them. All twelve men accepted the invitation.

The FGD with selected farmers and their leaders was held on Saturday 27th July in the Community Hall, immediately after the AFAN monthly meeting. The one with selected Bororo herdsmen was held on Friday 2nd August at Igbe Central Mosque after the Jumaah prayers. The researcher was assisted by an interpreter and a note taker during the duration of the FGDs. Using a suitable discussion guide (see Appendix III) the FGDs which lasted between 60-90 minutes were conducted to gather qualitative robust data that could buttress information from the key informant interviews (KII) and in-depth interviews (IDI). Data from the FGD were recorded with a tape recorder and documented using the field note.

Figure 7: Field photograph with participants for focus group discussion with a). Small holder farmers (FGD-1) and b). Bororo herdsmen (FGD-2)



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

3.5.4. Participant observation

Participant observation was integral during the field study as it allowed the researcher to be immersed in the culture of the study area and participate in its day-to-day activities. It was done during data collection in parallel with the semi-structured in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Both structured and unstructured methods of participatory observations were adopted. The focus of the observation was to document behaviour of actors in the conflict, as well as the socio-cultural aspects of the community. Participatory observation was very important in that it helped the researcher to understand and see issues that the respondents would normally not divulge; these were then probed later with the respondents. It also helped to fill in information “gaps” that cannot be filled through other research tools. Key observations were photographed and further documented in field notes.

Figure 8: Field photograph observing the conflict resolution process



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

The researcher lived in the study area for four weeks and went with farmers to their farm lands to observe the devastation of some farm land. The researcher attended community meetings concerning issues of compensation payments, and also went with some aggrieved farmers to lodge complaints for adjudication with the Land and Conflicts Matters.

In addition, to ascertain the manner in which cattle were taken to graze on the field, the researcher obtained the permission of Bororo herdsmen and cattle owners to visit some Bororo settlements/camps. The researcher experienced some of the hotspots for resource-use clashes during the dry season. The researcher also observed the tedious processes involved in making sure that the animals did not stray into people's farms. This observation gave me first-hand experience of the kind of difficulties the Bororo herdsmen encountered when they take the animals to graze at locations situated near farms.

Figure 9: Field photograph observing the herding process



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

Table 1: Summary of approaches and methods used in data collection

	Sub-question	Strategy and Research Instrument	Source of information
i	Nature of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community	Interviews (KII and IDI), discussion guide, participatory observation (timeline and stakeholder analysis)	Key informants, local chiefs, farmers, herdsman, conflict mediator
ii.	Unsafe conditions triggering farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community	Interviews (KII and IDI), participatory observations, field notes.	Key informants, local chiefs farmers, herdsman, cattle owners, conflict mediator, APP policy document
iii.	Proximate causes driving farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community	Interviews (KII and IDI), participatory observations, field notes	Key informants, local chiefs farmers, herdsman, cattle owners, conflict mediator, APP policy document
iv.	Structural (root) causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community	Interviews (KII and IDI), participatory observations, field notes	Key informants, local chiefs farmers, herdsman, cattle owners, conflict mediator, APP policy document
v.	Existing conflict resolution mechanisms available to smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community	Interviews (KII and IDI), discussion guide, participatory observations (timeline and stakeholder analysis)	Key informants, local chiefs, farmers, herdsman, conflict mediator

Source: Author, 2019

3.6. Validity and reliability tests for research instruments

In order to ensure the quality of the findings, the research instruments used in this study were subjected to content validity, construct validity and face validity. During the week of familiarisation visit to the study area, drafts of the topic checklists, discussion guides and stakeholder mapping had to be modified to accommodate the actual nature of the conflicts and situation on ground. The research unit of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) and the Institute of Conflict Studies (ICS) of the University of Ibadan assisted in inspection of the drafts in order to establish its face validity. Also, the theories and conceptual framework of the study were thoroughly examined and linked with the research questions to ensure its construct validity. To establish room for triangulation and a deep probing into the study, IDI, KII, FGD and participatory observation were employed in the process of gathering qualitative data from community members, farmers and herdsman, security officials, political and government officials.

3.7. Method for data analysis

Data analysis commenced while the field work was on-going. Electronic recordings of interviews were listened to at the end of each day. Their contents were transcribed and compared with the field notes and other interview notes written during the interviews. The transcribed data were then sorted according to the sub-questions.

At the completion of the field work, the coded qualitative data were analysed using content analysis method. The researcher first conducted a preliminary analysed of the data collected from KII, followed by IDI and then the FGDS. The results were then compared with each other to identify any areas of conformity. These were then arranged based on the frequency of occurrence.

Finally, the results were presented using narratives and visual tools. The narratives were backed up with quotes to offer some evidence without sounding too anecdotal.

3.8. Ethical considerations

Before commencement of the data collection process, the researcher introduced himself and explained what the study was all about. The researcher assured all respondents that participation was voluntary and they were free to accept or reject the invitation to be part of the study. Two women who were invited for the FGD with small holder farmers refused to be part of the study; while three Bororo herdsmen referred for the semi-structured IDI also refused to participate. The study was eventually conducted with respondents who indicated their willingness to participate in the study.

To ensure safety of all respondents and participants, the researcher ensured that the interviews and FGDs were conducted at places where the respondents felt comfortable enough to speak without any feeling of intimidation and reprisal attacks.

Finally, the findings were presented anonymously without attaching names to the results. This was done to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. In some cases, the title/designation and photos of certain respondents were used to buttress the findings. This was done at the full consent of such individuals.

3.9. Limitations of the study

This study focused sampling on representative of specific interest groups. Although the design aimed for a representative sample, the researcher acknowledges that the study sample is not representative for the entire population. Based on strength of sample size, this study has a weaker basis for generalisation than a study with a statistically representative number.

Second, the researcher discovered that there were many sects of Fulani herdsmen within the study area. The roles of these other groups in the conflicts were not explored. The findings of this research is thus only valid for conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen as they were the only group the researcher focused on.

Third, the researcher was only able to speak with the top echelon of the security force (JTF and NPF). The researcher was not granted permission to interview the field officers due to “classified” nature of their duties. Inability to interact with those officers directly involved in on-field conflict management in the study area could impact on the validity of the result.

Fourth, the researcher was not able to obtain the views of youths, female farmers, as well as Bororo women. The perspectives as well as the impacts of the conflicts on this group is paramount to a designing a sustainable intervention. Not involving them in the study could therefore impact on the validity of the findings.

Finally, it was difficult for the researcher to establish trust with the Bororo herdsmen within the timeframe of the fieldwork. This was a limitation as the Bororo herdsmen would not reveal key information about their stories, which was deemed by the researcher as being vital to the ensuring the quality of the results.

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings to the main research question “Understanding the complexity of the conflict between smallholder farmers and herdsman in Agbele Community Oyo State, South-West Nigeria”, using the sub-questions as a guide. Section 4.1 presents profiles of the three groups of respondents (KII, IDI and FGD). Section 4.2 describes the nature of conflict between small holder farmers and Bororo herdsman in Agbele community. Section 4.3 presents findings on the triggers and unsafe conditions causing farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community. Section 4.4 proximate causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community. Section 4.5 presents findings on the structural causes of farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community while Section 4.6 presents findings on the existing mechanisms for managing and resolving farmers and herdsman conflict in Agbele community. This chapter concludes with a report reflecting on the role of the researcher.

4.1. Profile of respondents and participants

This section presents characteristics of the respondents involved in interviews (KII and IDI), focus group discussions, and participatory observation.

As shown in table 2, 16 respondents were sampled for the study 6 of whom were key informants while 10 were respondents for semi-structured in-depth interviews.

Table 2: Profile of respondents involved in a). Key informant interviews (KII) and b). Semi-structured in-depth interviews (IDI)

a). Key informant interview (KII)						b). Semi-structured in-depth interviews (IDI)					
Code	Respondent	Organisation	Portfolio	Gender		Code	Respondent	Organisation	Portfolio	Gender	
				Male	Female					Male	Female
K.1	District Agriculture Director (DAD)	MARD	Director	1		ID.1	Community land chief	Onile-Oye Traditional Council (OTC)	Oloye	1	
K.2	Agriculture Extension Officer (AEO)	MARD	Extension Officer		1	ID.2	Conflict Mediator	Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC)	Mediator	1	
K.3	District Veterinary Officer (DVO)	MARD	Veterinary Officer	1		ID.3	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Chairman	1	
K.4	HOD: Land & Conflicts Matters	Olorunsogo Local Government (OLGA)	Deputy Director	1		ID.4	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1	
K.5	Divisional Police Officer (DPO)	The Nigerian Police, Igbeti	District Police Commander, Igbeti	1		ID.5	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member		1
K.6	CO: Joint Task Force (JTF)	The Nigerian Army, 2 nd Division, Ibadan	Commander	1		ID.6	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member		1
						ID.7	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	President	1	
						ID.8	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
						ID.9	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
						ID.10	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	

Source: Field work, 2019

In addition to the interviews, 2 focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted. The first FGD was conducted with 10 small holder farmers while the second FGD was conducted with Bororo herdsman only as shown in table 3 below:

Table 3: Profile of participants involved in focus group discussion (FGD) with a). Small holder farmers and b). Bororo herdsmen

a). FGD with small holder farmers						b). FGD with Bororo herdsmen					
Code	Participant	Organisation	Portfolio	Gender		Code	Participant	Organisation	Portfolio	Gender	
				Male	Female					Male	Female
FF.1	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Vice Chairman	1		FH.1	Leader of herdsmen's group	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Vice President	1	
FF.2	Elderly farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.2	Leader of herdsmen's group	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.3	Elderly Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.3	Elderly Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.4	Elderly Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.4	Elderly Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.5	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.5	Elderly Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.6	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.6	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.7	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.7	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.8	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.8	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.9	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.9	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
FF.10	Farmer	AFAN (Agbe'koya)	Member	1		FH.10	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
						FH.11	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	
						FH.12	Bororo herdsman	MACBAN (Miyetti Allah)	Member	1	

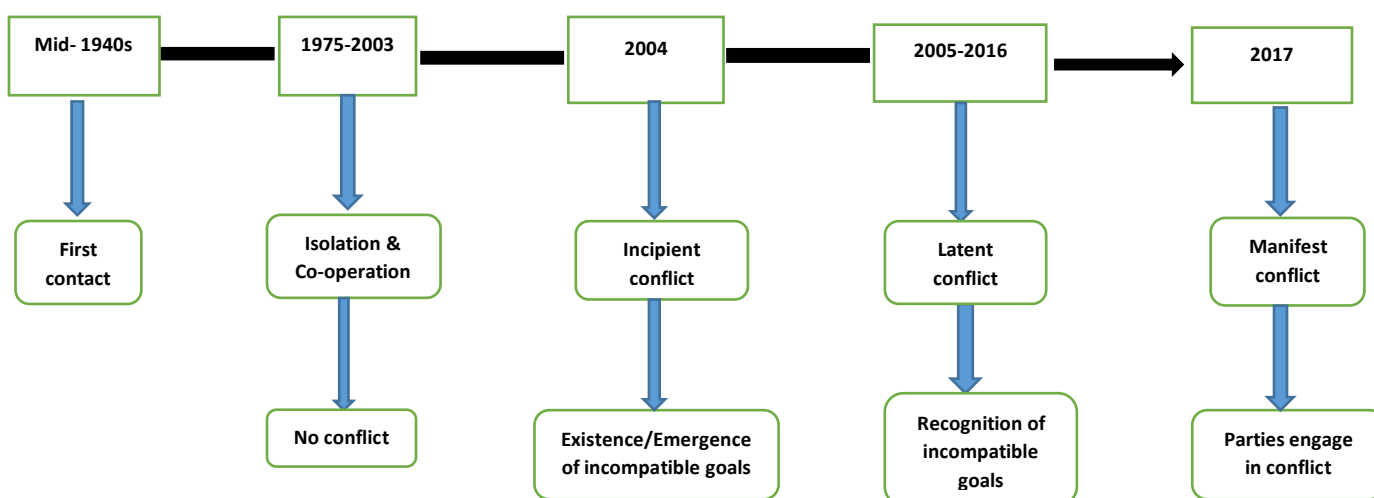
Source: Field work, 2019

In summary, the profiles indicate that there is unequal involvement of men and women in the research. First, this shows power dynamics in a patriarchal society, a norm in the community which was beyond the control of the researcher. Second, it shows that major actors in the conflict are men (male farmer and herdsmen). Third, it indicates the presence of farmer group (AFAN) and herdsman group (MACBAN) operating without interacting with each other. This shows that even though both conflicting groups are organised into groups, there is no existing co-operation among them. Furthermore, it shows the influence held by the groups in the community, which can be explored during designing of interventions for managing the conflict between the two conflicting parties.

4.2. Sub-question 1: Assessing the nature of conflict between small holder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community

To answer sub-question 1, the researcher explored the relationship that existed between farmers and herdsmen in the study area when the herdsmen first settled in the community and there was no conflict, compared with the current relationship that has manifested into violent conflict. The researcher also explored the events that led to violent conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community, as well as the actors involved.

Figure 10: Timeline of farmers-herdsmen conflict escalation in Agbele community



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

4.2.1. Relationship that existed between farmers and herdsmen when the herdsmen first settled in Agbele community

The findings showed that the members of Agbele community first came in contact with herdsmen after the Second World War. The herdsmen who grazed cattle in those days were middle aged and very respectful. The herdsmen would send some of their members ahead to ask for permission to graze their animals at the outskirts of the community. They would camp for few months in the bush near the hills and leave few months later. However, the findings showed that in the mid-1970s, Fulani herdsmen came to settle in the study area with their cattle. They were few and established their homesteads in the outskirts of the communities, where there were no farm activities. This was mainly because there were vast unused family and communal lands due to the sparse population. According to the community land chief, the Fulani herdsmen approached the paramount ruler of Igbetiland (*Onigbeti*) in 1975³ seeking permission settlement. The original group who approached *Onigbeti* were granted communal land to settle and graze their animals. The two settlements were called Gaa Dogo located near Igbeti town, while Gaa Baale is in near proximity to Agbele village. Their herd size was very small compared to what we have in the community today.

The above narrative on the relationship that existed between farmers and herdsmen when the herdsmen first settled in the study area was corroborated by an elderly herdsman during FGD with Bororo herdsmen:

[...] We (Bororo herdsmen) would approach farmers before harvest and ask for permission to graze our animals on the leftover from the harvest. It was a relationship that benefitted both of us. We grazed their animals on the crop residues in the farms after the harvest when feed was scarce, while the cattle deposited dung on the land. By the time the rains started, farmers would have a rich farm land that supported high yield [...] (Elderly herdsman (FH.5), FGD-2).

4.2.2. Relationship that exists currently between small holder farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community

From the findings on relationship that exists currently between small holder farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community showed that the warm and peaceful relationship has transformed into distrust and

³ Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) was a national agricultural extension and mobilisation program instituted in 1976 by the Military Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo. OFN was launched as a measure to achieve self-sufficiency in food crop production and inspire a new generation to return to farming.

conflict. The findings showed that in 2004, there was a large movement of Bororo herdsmen and their cattle to Gaa Baale without having been granted permission to access communal and family lands for grazing their animals. The subsequent competition between the two groups over arable land and water has resulted in frequent and fierce conflict, in which farmers accuse Bororo herdsmen of destroying their crops on the field. Herdsmen also accuse the farmers of killing their animals by poisoning them with chemicals they spray on their crops. In the worse cases, the conflict leads to loss of life and injuries to both parties.

All the 10 respondents for the in-depth interview agreed that conflict escalation occurred more frequently in the dry season. Farmers claimed that Bororo herdsmen go around with arms and heavy ammunitions and damage crops without any remorse. If they encounter you in your farms they intimidate you that if you dare poison their cattle with your pesticides, they would find you. Bororo herdsmen claimed that farmers have cultivated and barricaded land situated near water sources where they used to graze their animals so they sometimes drive their cattle through farm lands to get to the water sources. The statement was also supported by the conflict mediator for Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC). According to him:

[...] In the past we used to mitigate more of communal conflicts and never had to deal with conflicts between our farmers and herdsmen. Unfortunately the trend has changed drastically. In the past three years alone, we have had to mitigate over 160 cases from Agbele involving the farmers and Bororo herdsmen. Majority of the cases between the two groups were reported during the dry season. Taking the population size of the community into consideration, this is one conflict too many [...] (IMC conflict mediator (ID.2), IDI).

On the events that led to the current violent conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community, findings showed that it escalated as a result of the murder of an Agbele farmer. In 2017, two young Bororo herdsmen were grazing cattle on the farmland left to fallow before the next planting season. The farmer demanded that they leave his farmland since they were there without his permission. It was indicated that the herdsmen became very agitated, and assaulted the farmer to the point of death. The two herdsmen fled while the community members went on a rampage and slaughtered all their cattle.

During an interview with the community land chief (who is also a farmer), it was stated that farmlands had been taken over by Bororo herdsmen for grazing. These are mostly farm lands remote from the village (*Oko Egan*) and those left for fallowing:

[...] We have always been co-existing peacefully with Fulani herdsmen because they have been integrated into our communities, speak our language and are aware of our norms and values. This is not the case with the Bororo herdsmen whose actions are wild. Their harassment become extreme especially during the dry season: they would forage on farmland left to fallow, stump the soil with their cattle, pollute the communal water bodies and drive their herds through people's farms destroying crops. When asked to pay compensations for the damages cause, they become very aggressive and threaten people with guns [...] (Community leader (ID.1), IDI).

In an interview with an informant, it was specified that there was no policy supporting open grazing in Oyo state, therefore precautionary measures were taken by all communities in OLGA. MACBAN president in OLGA was informed that Bororo herdsmen who are not resident in the kraals (Gaa Dogo and Gaa Baale) should be restricted to their allocated kraal in Saki⁴. Ever since then, every farmer in Agbele has restricted the Bororo herdsmen from having access to their land. This does not augur well

⁴ Saki is one of the towns situated at the border with Benin republic. MARD established a large kraal and cattle market there in 2017 to accommodate nomadic herdsmen and their cattle.

with the herdsmen especially during the dry season. There has been increased accusation and counter-accusation between Bororo herdsmen and the local farmers since then.

4.2.3. Actors involved in farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

A stakeholder analysis conducted with farmers (FGD-1) and Bororo herdsmen (FGD-2) during the focus group discussions identified multiple stakeholders/actors involved in the conflict between the two groups. These actors play different roles in conflict escalation and/or de-escalation. Table 4 identifies the stakeholders based on the findings from the focus group discussions.

Table 4: Stakeholder analysis of actors involved in farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

Actors	Composition	Level of influence/Role
Farmers Associations	All Farmers Association of Nigeria (AFAN); Agbekoya Farmers' Cooperative Society; Farmers	They are primary stakeholders who are engaged in conflicts with Bororo herdsmen and are directly affected when their crops are destroyed; their consent is important in the settlement of conflicts without which no negotiation is possible.
Herdsmen Associations	Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN); Bororo herdsmen; Bororo cattle owners;	They are primary stakeholders who are engaged in conflicts with farmers and are directly affected when their cattle are killed; they exert influence over Fulani pastoralists and herders; their consent is important in the settlement of conflicts without which no negotiation is possible.
Traditional authorities	Paramount chief; community chiefs; Elders of the council-in-chief	They are custodians of resources; they serve as a link between the conflicting parties; they exert influence over local groups and are key in negotiating the settlement of conflicts
Politicians	Local/Regional/State/National politicians; Members Of Parliament (MPs); District Chief Executives (DCEs); Party officials.	They have the ability to influence their supporters and incite conflicts; they have an interest to win the support of the people by supporting them; most of their support is hidden; they also initiate mediation.
Security Agencies	The Nigerian Police Force (NPF); The Nigerian Army; National Security Civil and Defence Corps (NSCDC); The Joint Task Force (JTF)	They have state power to enforce laws and therefore keep peace in communities; cases of conflict are made known to them and they enforce laws.
Government Officials	Agriculture Extension Officers; Veterinary Services Officials; Land and Conflict Matters Officers; District Assembly Officials.	They deal directly with farmers and herdsmen in terms of animal health and plant diseases; they contribute to peace through the advice they offer the conflicting parties; they are part of peace plans initiated by the state.

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

In summary, the two groups have had a good relationship before, co-existing without problems until the arrival of more herdsmen which has increased the quantity of feed required for these herds. The erstwhile warm and peaceful relationship has transformed into distrust and conflict, because of competition between the two groups over arable land and water. This has resulted in increased tension

and frequent conflict characterised by the loss of life of a farmer and injuries to other actors. The two groups now live in constant fear of each other as violence can erupt between them at any time.

4.3. Sub-question 2: Assessing the triggers and unsafe conditions causing farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

This section presents the unsafe conditions and triggers of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community. To answer sub-question 2, the researcher focused only on sub-elements of triggers and unsafe conditions of the PAR framework that are being manifested in the study area. Six triggers of conflict are manifested in the study area as follows: poisoning of cattle with chemicals, crop destruction, drought, escalating conflict in the north, unsafe rural locations and exclusion of herdsmen.

4.3.1. Poisoning of cattle with chemicals

Conflicts between Bororo herdsmen and local farmers are influenced by negative externalities arising from their livelihood activities. The poisoning of cattle was identified as one of the triggers of conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community. 2 out of 10 respondents of IDI alleged that farmers intentionally use pesticides to poison the water sources where cattle drink from. According to one of the herdsmen⁵ who claims to have lost 21 cattle in 2018, poisoning of his livestock has led to conflict between the two groups. His statement was affirmed by another herdsman⁶ who reiterated that he would physically attack anyone who attempts to disrupt his source of livelihood.

Figure 11: Photograph showing cattle allegedly poisoned by indigenous farmers



Source: MARD Igbeti District, 2019

The above narrative was contested by farmers who claimed that the chemicals they pesticides are used to protect their crops. A farmer⁷ interviewed claimed that spraying of farms is an integral part of farming activities. According to the farmer:

⁵ Interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.10), July 2019

⁶ Interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.8), July 2019

⁷ Interview with Farmer (ID.4), July 2019.

[...] Because labour is expensive, some farmers use weedicides to clear unwanted plants and pesticides to prevent or kill pests on the farm with the aim of increasing yields [...] (Farmer (ID.4), IDI)

4.3.2. Crop destruction

Destruction of crops by cattle is the most dominant cause of conflict, with 9 out of 10 respondents of IDIs affirming it. Most of the cases of crop destruction were traced to wandering Bororo herdsmen who are usually armed with guns. In a Focus Group Discussion (FGD-2)⁸ with Bororo herdsmen, it was indicated that farmers encroach on grazing route. This Bororo herdsmen eventually drive their herds through farms to gain access to those resources, thus causing damage to the crops. Therefore, without any proper dialogue and investigations, these destructions lead to violent conflicts between local farmers and Bororo herdsmen in the area. An informant affirmed that the primary triggers of conflict and continuous tension between farmers and herdsmen is the destruction of crops on farmlands:

[...] Majority of farmers in this community practise rain-fed agriculture. This means they have only one major cropping season in the year. Thus, they will not tolerate any herds to destroy their farm products when grazing. In essence, the major cause for this crisis is destruction of farmlands and crops by cattle [...] (District Agriculture Director (K.1), KII).

Figure 12: Photograph showing cassava farm destroyed by cattle



Source: MARD Igbeti District, 2019.

The refusal of Bororo herdsmen to pay compensation by Bororo herdsmen to affected farmer have tended to escalate conflicts between the two groups. In a Focus Group Discussion with small holder farmers, it was indicated that it was always difficult to get the Bororo herdsmen to pay compensation for crops that their cattle destroy, even if such verdict was backed up by the courts. During a subsequent Focus Group Discussion with Bororo herdsmen and their leaders, one of the Bororo herdsmen insinuated that when their animals gets poisoned by farmers' chemicals no one pays them any compensation. Fadama⁹ and Agric (MARD) only comes and take photographs. He also insinuated that farmers overstate compensation therefore they feel it is unfair compensation.

⁸ Focus Group Discussion with Bororo herdsmen (FGD-2), August 2019.

⁹ The Fadama concept refers to irrigable, low-lying plains underlain by shallow aquifers found along major river systems. It is a tradition where flooded land is used for growing a variety of crops and small-scale irrigation. The National Fadama Development Project (NFDP) was established by the government in 1990.

4.3.3. Drought

From the findings on triggers and unsafe conditions driving the conflict, 4 out of 10 respondents for IDI affirmed that migration pattern has been changed as a result of drought and uncertain rainfall pattern. From the interaction with an elderly Bororo herdsman, years back they usually stayed for few months in the South before going back to our grazing area in the North. These days the rains are unpredictable as they no longer come at the expected time. This is why many herders stay longer here due to the available water and feed for our animals.

In an attempt to corroborate the statement on the relationship between drought and occurrence of farmers-herdsmen conflict, the researcher interviewed the District Agricultural Director (DAD)¹⁰ who maintained that climate change-driven drought and irregular rainfall pattern definitely contributes to conflict escalation between farmers and Bororo herdsman in the study area. He stated that herdsman depend on available pasture and water for their animals, and such resources are in decline as a result of drought and desertification especially in their traditional grazing areas in the North.

4.3.4. Escalating conflict in the North

Based on the findings, 6 out of 10 respondents of IDI indicated that escalating conflict in the North has forced many herdsman Southwards in search of water and pasture. Mass migration by Bororo herdsman to the study area was due to the availability of pasture and water, as well as relative peace in the South-West region. This exponential population increase thus increased pressure on available resources and frequency of conflict occurrence between the two resource users. From the findings of the interview with a respondent, it was indicated that:

[...] We are staying longer in the South now because when you go to the North where we used to graze our herds, there are too many problems. Boko Haram are stealing our cattle to sell across the border in Niger Republic. Cattle rustlers are also stealing our animals in the North-West to sell in Benin Republic. But in this community our animals are safe from being stolen. Here there is abundant pasture and water for our cattle [...] (Bororo herdsman (ID. 7), IDI).

4.3.5. Unsafe rural locations

During in-depth interview sessions, 9 out of 10 respondents asserted that since the violent escalation in 2017, there has been an atmosphere of tension and insecurity in the community. In an interview with a female farmer¹¹, the respondent claimed that they no longer go to the farm alone. She also claimed that neither do they sleep overnight at their farms as they used to do years back due to fear of reprisal attacks. On what led to increased feeling of being unsafe in the community, farmers indicated that boys who are not matured enough are given herds of 100-120 cows to graze.

[...] It is always difficult for the young herdsman to control the large herds of animals during grazing. Thus, while they are behind, they would not see what the animals are grazing on in the front and while they are in front, it is always impossible for them to know what is going on behind. If the animals encroach on your farm and you take decisive actions, the Bororo would be there the next day to threaten and intimidate you on your farm [...] (Farmer (ID. 6), IDI).

When the researcher probed this with a Bororo herdsman¹², he indicated that these days more young boys are now herding. He stated that in all cases, an adult is always attached to train the young boys the skills needed to properly protect the cattle. When asked whether the mentors were usually armed

¹⁰ Key informant interview with District Agricultural Director (DAD), July 2019.

¹¹ In-depth interview with female farmer, July 2019.

¹² In-depth interview Bororo herdsman (ID.8), July 2019

or not, he indicated that due to the relentless dislike for the Bororo herdsmen, there is need to protect themselves and their cattle by “all means”.

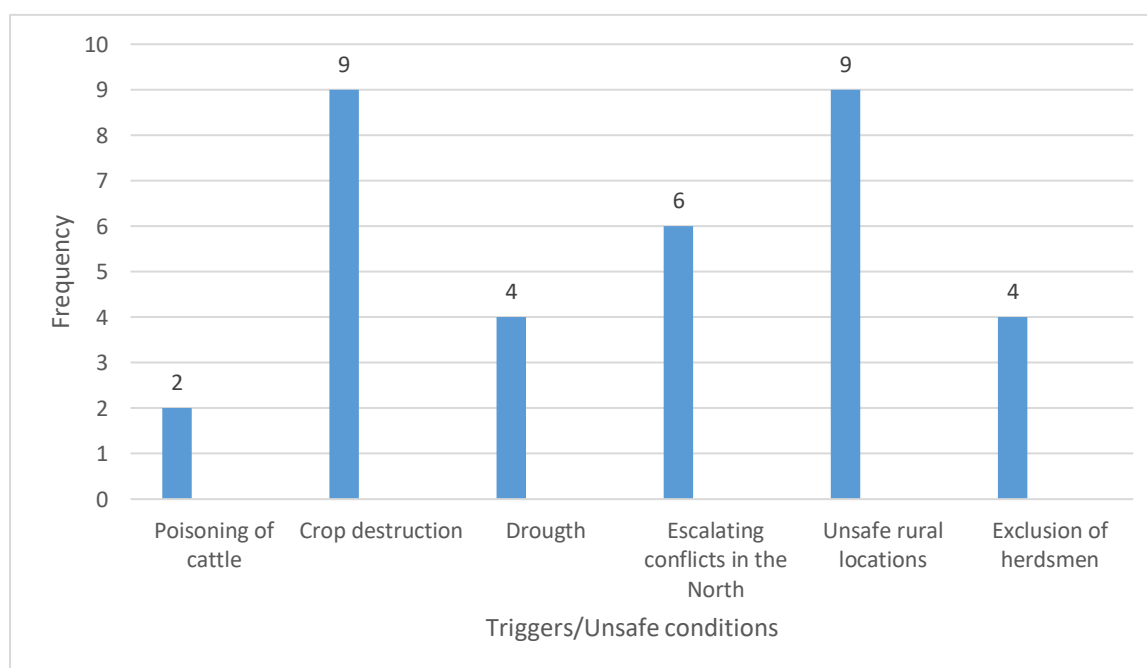
4.3.6. Exclusion of herdsmen

The study found that, while farmers accuse the herdsmen of grazing on farm crops, the herdsmen also argued that their movements are restricted. In an interview with an informant¹³, it was indicated that there is no policy supporting open grazing in Oyo state, therefore precautionary measures were taken by all communities in OLGA after the murder of a farmer in 2017. MACBAN president in OLGA was informed that Bororo herdsmen who were not resident in the kraals (Gaa Dogo and Gaa Baale) should be restricted to their allocated kraal in Saki¹⁴.

The above was corroborated by the District Veterinary Officer during a key informant interview:

[...] Ever since the implementation of precautionary measures by the communities in the district, every farmer in Agbele has restricted the Bororo herdsmen from having access to their land. This does not augur well with the Bororo herdsmen especially during the dry season. There has been increased accusation and counter-accusation between Bororo herdsmen and the local farmers since then [...] (District Veterinary Officer (K.3), KII).

Figure 13: Triggers/Unsafe conditions driving farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

4.4. Sub-question 3: Assessing the proximate causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

This section presents findings on the proximate causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community. To answer sub-question 3, the researcher focused only on sub-elements of proximate causes of the PAR framework that are being manifested in the study area. Four proximate causes of

¹³ Key informant interview with District Agriculture Director (K.1), July 2019.

¹⁴ Saki is one of the towns situated at the border with Benin republic. MARD established a large kraal and cattle market there in 2017 to accommodate nomadic herdsmen and their cattle.

conflict are manifested in the study area as follows: erosion of traditional authority, small arms proliferation, exploitation by political and security forces, and absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms.

4.4.1. Erosion of traditional authority

Loss of traditional authority was identified by 7 out of 10 respondents in the IDI as one of the proximate causes of the conflict escalation between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community. In times past, communal assets are controlled by the traditional leader and the chiefs-in-council. Before any outsider comes in to utilise any resources from the community, permission had to be granted by the community head (*Ba'ale*). This is no longer the case as politicians have dominated the management of natural resources in the district and state at large. The absence of sustained mediation at community level has encouraged aggrieved parties to turn to violence to seek redress or revenge. This narrative was corroborated by an elderly farmer who indicated that the erstwhile traditional authority and community-based mediators crumbled at the advent of democracy in 1999.

However, the Bororo herdsmen¹⁵ alleged that the communal conflict resolution mechanism favours the farmers. The farmers hike the real value of crops destroyed by Bororo cattle. This was why the Bororo herdsmen no longer respond to any decision to pay compensation for crop destruction or follow any judgement of the traditional authority.

4.4.2. Small arms proliferation from across the border

On the proximate cause contributing to increase feeling of violence and being unsafe in the community, 6 out of 10 respondents of in-depth interviews maintained that arms, machetes and ammunitions were carried by the herdsmen when grazing their cattle. In a focus group discussion (FGD-2) with Bororo herdsmen, a participant indicated that when herdsmen are alone in the bush they become very exposed to danger. We carry guns, bows and arrows to protect ourselves and our animals from attacks. We carry machetes to cut down leaves from top of trees to feed our cattle. However, farmers were adamant that the statement above was not true. During a focus group discussion with farmers (FGD-1), a farmer indicated that farmers perceived carrying of sophisticated weapons by Bororo herdsmen as a sign of aggression and intimidation. The Bororos are seen as being too wild, and they can misuse the weapons at any time just like in the assault and murder of Musiliu¹⁶.

The statement on possession of arms and ammunitions by Bororo herdsmen was corroborated by key informants. During key informant interviews with Divisional Police Officer and Commanding Officer: Joint Task Force (JTF), it was indicated that:

[...] OLGA is a transit area. We have smugglers illegally bringing cars, food items and weapons through the border at Kosu-Kosu¹⁷. Our investigation revealed that Bororo herdsmen are able to obtain these weapons from smugglers at the right price. In 2018 during a joint operation (by the police, army and civil defence corps) at the kraals and Bororo camps, we were able to obtain about 12 double barrel guns and pump action rifles with no registration and permit to carry them. The case of unlawful possession of firearms against the suspected herdsmen is currently in court [...] (Divisional Police Officer (K.5) and Commanding Officer JTF (K.6), KII).

¹⁵ Focus Group Discussion (FGD-2) with the Bororo herdsmen, August 2019.

¹⁶ Musiliu (not real name) was a farmer assaulted and murdered in his farm in 2017 by two Bororo herdsmen.

¹⁷ Kosu-Kosu is a border community at the outskirts of Kisi town. It separates Nigeria from Benin Republic and is a major hub for smuggling of contraband across the porous border.

Figure 14: Photograph of Bororo herdsmen suspects arrested with arms and ammunition



Source: Nigeria Police Force (Divisional Headquarter Igbeti), 2019

4.4.3. Exploitation by political and security forces

4 out of 10 respondents in IDI indicated exploitation of Bororo herdsmen as one of the proximate factors that influence conflict between the two groups. In an interview with one of the Bororo herdsmen, it was indicated that some chiefs collect bribes from herdsmen and offer them access to land. Some of the land are owned and cultivated by the indigenous farmers and when offered without consultation with the owners, it creates confusion and consequently lead to conflicts between such Bororo herdsmen and the indigenous farmers¹⁸. Findings from FGD with Bororo herdsmen revealed that local farmers and police subject the Bororo herdsmen to economic exploitation in terms of compensation payment for crop damages. According to the HOD: Land and Conflict Matters,

[...] Bororo herdsmen usually complain to us that local farmers are engineering the conflict by economically exploiting Bororo herdsmen under the guise of demanding for compensation for their crop losses. When cases are reported to the Police, the affected farmers collude with the investigating officers to exploit the suspected herdsman whose animals caused the destruction [...] (HOD: Land and Conflict Matters (K.4), KII)

A narration by one of the farmers during a focus group discussion explains that there is lack of trust in the police citing high level of corruption as a major factor. He further stated that some security officers collect money from Bororo herdsmen to bury reported cases. He elucidated further that:

[...] Whenever we apprehend Bororo herdsmen that destroyed people's farms, we have always protected them from the fury of the community and handed them over to the police at Igbeti since we have no legal power to administer justice to them by ourselves. You will be surprised that on all the occasions when we make follow up on the cases, no one has been charged or brought to court. The police force are incompetent and very corrupt! [...] (Community land chief (ID.1), IDI).

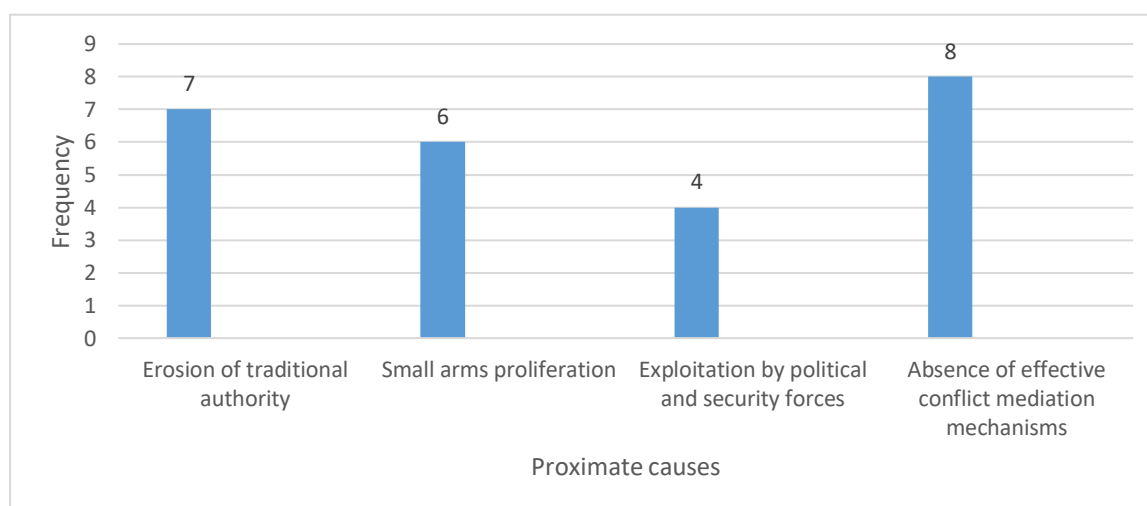
¹⁸ Interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.10), July 2019.

4.4.4. Absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms

Absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms was identified by 8 out of 10 respondents for IDI as a major proximate cause of farmers-herdsmen conflict. Respondents expressed a feeling of hopelessness and frustration¹⁹. Aggrieved farmers and/or Bororo herdsmen usually ended up in reprisal attacks as a form of revenge²⁰.

In addition, Bororo herdsmen alleged that corrupt police and NSCDC at times extracted fines and bribes from them (guilty or not) whenever cases are reported against them by the farmers²¹. They also insinuated that protracted court processes immobilised their herds and affect their livelihood. In addition, local political leaders tends to favour sedentary farmers over Bororo herdsmen. When probed on this statement, he said that Bororos were never involved in any political and/or decision-making process because they do not reside permanently in the community. So politicians do not want to lose favour with the sedentary farmers who can vote for them during elections.

Figure 15: Proximate causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

4.5. Sub-question 4: Assessing the structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

To answer sub-question 4, the researcher focused only on sub-elements of structural causes of the PAR framework that are being manifested in the study area. Four structural causes of conflict are manifested in Agbele community include poor governance, lack of equal opportunities, lack of political participation, and different ideologies.

4.5.1. Poor governance

Poor governance constitutes one of the structural causes behind the violence between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in the study area as indicated by 6 out of 10 of the respondents of the IDI. One of the interviewed respondents was of the view that preferential treatments are given to those perceived as indigenes while marginalising and frustrating those viewed as settler groups, including the nomadic Bororo herdsmen²². National laws in some instances are manipulated by politicians to protect

¹⁹ Key informant interview with HOD: Lands and Conflict Matters, July 2019.

²⁰ In-depth interview with IMC conflict mediator, July 2019.

²¹ Focus Group Discussion with Bororo herdsmen, August 2019.

²² Interviews with Bororo herdsman (ID.7), July 2019

indigenous farmers leading to resentment among Bororo herdsmen²³. Lack of co-ordination between national, state and local arms of government also makes implementation of policies extremely difficult²⁴. In an interview with a community land chief²⁵, it was indicated that before the fatal violence in 2017, the land chief and Agbele community head (*Baale*) reported to NSCDC and NPF about the unusually large numbers of Bororo herdsmen flocking to Agbele and its environs due to the availability of water and pasture for grazing. Their observations, concerns and all efforts to have security officers patrol the community went unheeded.

Furthermore, in a personal interview with the widow of the murdered farmer, she reiterated the absence of the police force and civil defence corps in Agbele. Apart from the police and soldiers who are called upon to restore peace anytime the conflict erupts, there is no police station or complaint post in Agbele community and other villages located far from Igbe. Community members have to travel over 20 km to open a case at the Divisional Police Headquarters in Igbe. She also indicated that residents do not feel safe anymore because in case of an emergency, there is no security.

When the Divisional Police Officer (DPO) for OLGA was asked about this findings, he insisted that:

[...] The role of the police in the district is to maintain law and order, which includes protecting lives and property of farmers and herdsmen. We carry out patrols and operations whenever the conflict arises in order to restore peace and prevent the conflict from escalating. Unfortunately, we cannot constantly patrol or monitor every nooks and cranny of the district due to inadequate manpower [...] (Divisional Police Officer (K.5), KII).

4.5.2. Lack of equal opportunities

Lack of equal opportunities was indicated by 4 out of 10 respondents of the IDI as one of the structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in the study area. Bororo herdsmen²⁶ claimed that land is a common resource which belongs to no single individual and could be used for anything including grazing activities. They therefore asserted that any attempt to stop herdsmen from grazing in such uncultivated land will be perceived as depriving them a vital natural resource crucial for their survival. They also asserted that government interventions favoured only the sedentary farmers while ignoring the Bororo herdsmen. This statement was refuted by the Agriculture Extension Officer and District Veterinary Officer²⁷. According to them, support are provided by MARD on sustainable farming and animal husbandry to all farmers and pastoralists in the district. As a matter of fact, at the just concluded ANCHOR²⁸ workshop on Animal Management, only the Fulani herdsmen were present. According to them, no single Bororo herdsmen were present even though it was held during the dry season when the Bororos were usually in the district in large numbers. When the researcher followed up on this with some Bororo leaders²⁹, they insinuated that they refused to participate because it was a measure to force them to start operating ranching.

4.5.3. Lack of political participation

4 out of 10 respondents of IDI indicated lack of political participation as one of the structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in the study area. In an interview with a Bororo herdsman³⁰, it was indicated that local political leaders have always favoured sedentary farmers over Bororo herdsmen. When

²³ Interview with IMC Conflict Mediator, July 2019

²⁴ Key informant interview with HOD: Land & Conflict Matters, July 2019

²⁵ In-depth interview with community land chief, July 2019

²⁶ In-depth interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.10), July 2019

²⁷ Key informant interview with AEO (K.2) and DVO (K.3), July 2019

²⁸ The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), in conjunction with FMARD initiated Anchor Borrowers' Programme (ABP) in 2015 to boost agricultural and pastoral production. Both small holder farmers and pastoralists are targeted.

²⁹ In-depth interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.7 & ID.8), July 2019

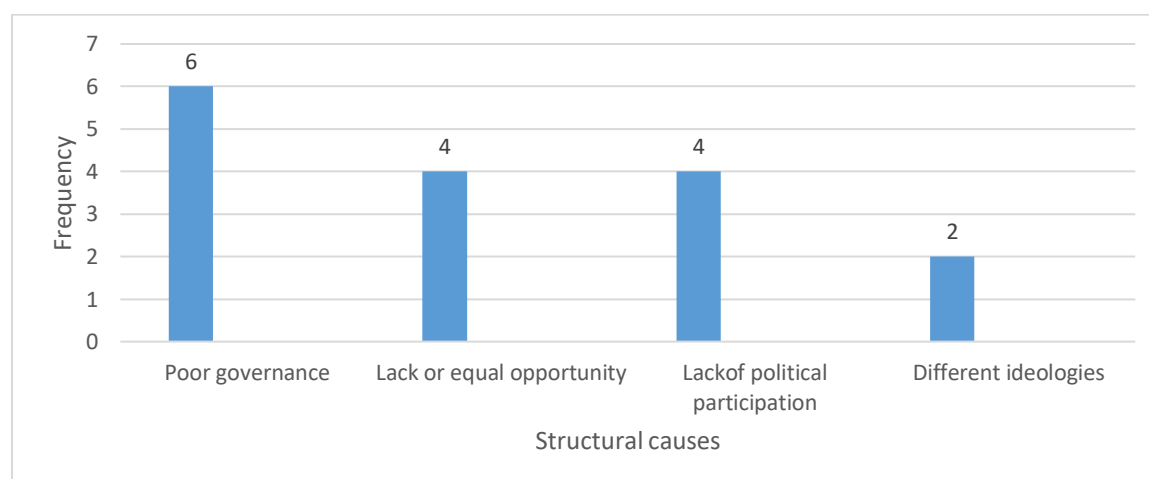
³⁰ In-depth interview with Bororo herdsman (ID.9), July 2019

probed on this statement, he said that Bororos were never involved in any political and/or decision-making process because they do not reside permanently in the community. So politicians do not want to lose favour with the sedentary farmers who can vote for them during elections. In key informant interview³¹ with the HOD Land and Conflict Matters, it was stated that the assertion of the herdsmen on lack of political participation was partially true. He emphasised that according to electoral policies, you must be permanently resident in a district and show proof of residence before you can be registered to vote during an election. The Bororo herdsmen do not pay any tax to the district government and thus do not have any municipality bills to show as evidence of their residence in the community. He also stated that in most cases, the nationality of many herdsmen is questionable as they do not have any government issued identification document to confirm their nationality status.

4.5.4. Different ideologies

In accordance with the 1979 Land Use Act, legislative powers over land ownership and management is vested in the state government³². A key informant³³ indicated that Oyo state has already passed legislation banning open grazing. When prompted about settling down in ranches and becoming sedentary like their Fulani counterparts in the study area, the Bororo herdsmen³⁴ responded in the negative saying that they will never settle as it is in their culture to move from one place to another with their cattle. He further indicated that if they stayed too long in a place at a time, their animals become infected with mastitis and other diseases.

Figure 16: Structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflicts in Agbele community



Source: Fieldwork, 2019.

4.6. Assessing the existing mechanisms for managing and resolving farmers and herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

This section presents findings on existing mechanisms for managing and resolving farmers and herdsmen conflict in Agbele community. This is not an element of the “pressure” but “release” component of the PAR model. To answer sub-question 5, the researcher focused mainly on three methods utilised in the study area to de-escalate the conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen. This include the deployment of security agencies (military and police), official settlement through adjudication and/or arbitration, and traditional conflict resolution method.

³¹ Informal interview with HOD Land and Conflict Matters, August 2019

³² Key informant interview with HOD: Land and Conflict Matters (K.4), July 2019.

³³ Key informant interview with District Agriculture Director (K.1), July 2019.

³⁴ Focus group discussion with Bororo herdsmen, August 2019.

4.6.1. Deployment of security agencies

The deployment of security agencies has been a dominant feature of the government's response to farmer-herdsmen conflict in the study area. All the 10 respondents in the IDI indicated that this is the most applicable method of conflict management most especially after violence has erupted between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in the community. One of the respondents³⁵ stated that the presence of the military parading and setting up base in the community immediately after the violence in 2017 was a show of force which prevented anybody from contemplating further revenge attacks. Unfortunately, it only suppress the violence but was not able to resolve the conflict

The findings on the deployment of security agencies as a conflict management mechanism was affirmed by HOD: Land and Conflicts Matters who stated that:

[...] Whenever there is conflict escalation in the community, the government immediately deplores the Military Joint Task Force (JTF) for peace-keeping. They stayed in the community until the conflict has subsided. Their presence helped to reduce the tension and brings about immediate calm. Albeit, the JTF could not resolve the conflict as they do not have the capacity and know-how to do so [...] (HOD: Land and Conflicts Matters, KII).

The security agents interviewed during key informant interviews concurred to the above statement by the HOD: Land and Conflicts Matters. According to the informants:

[...] Our division is situated in the state capital (Ibadan). Whenever there is conflict escalation anywhere in the state, we are deployed there. We were first deployed here in 2017 immediately after the murder of a farmer by Bororo herdsmen. The presence of our division in the community and its environs brought an instant calm. We were able to work with the Divisional Police Headquarters to trace and eventually arrest the perpetrators of the murder who had fled to Kisi. This enabled the community to trust that there would be no further attacks on them [...] (DPO (K.5) and CO-JTF (K.6) KII).

Figure 17: Joint Task Force (JTF) deployed to Agbele community in 2017 after violent conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen



Source: Nigeria Police Force, Divisional Headquarter Igbeti, 2019

³⁵ Interview with smallholder farmer (ID.3), July 2019.

4.6.2. Formal method through adjudication and/or arbitration

Formal method through adjudication and/or arbitration is gradually becoming one of the most preferred method adopted by farmers and Bororo herdsmen to resolve conflict between the two groups. 8 out of the 10 respondents in IDI indicated that they preferred to report the case to the security agencies (NPF and NSCDC) for further investigation. One of the respondents stated that the reason why they do so is because the security agencies have the legislative authority to back up and implement any judgements made by the courts. The above was affirmed by a key informant who indicated that:

[...] Parties to pastoralists and farmers conflict usually approach our office for settlements. The main method of conflict resolution adopted by our office is official settlement (adjudication) where both parties are provided opportunity to state and justify their grievance. Our office then ensures that compensation awarded to affected party/parties by the court is paid by the guilty party/parties [...] (HOD: Land and Conflicts Matters (K.4), KII).

According to a key informant, the approaches used to resolve and manage farmers-herdsmen conflict under formal method include arbitration and adjudication (HOD: Land and Conflicts Matters (K.4), KII).

Adjudication is non-violent approach of managing conflict which involves the use of courts procedure in getting to the root of the case. Some farmers involved in farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele stated that they preferred to seek redress in the court of law before a judge instead of resolving their differences through the indigenous method³⁶. When probed about why they preferred this method, they explained that because court judgment is enforced by the law enforcement agencies, herdsmen are forced to pay the compensations. In order to confirm the validity of these assertions, the researcher asked Bororo herdsmen their view on the use of adjudication for conflict resolution. They explained that outcomes of cases referred to courts for adjudication are considered unfair and a waste of time³⁷. They further asserted that instead of resolving the conflict, adjudication further entrenched divisions between the two groups.

7 out of 10 respondents indicated that they used assistance of Land and Conflict Matters to arbitrate conflict between the two parties and thereafter, gives a decision in form of an award which is also expected to be binding on the parties in the conflict. In an interview with the HOD: Land and Conflict Matters and Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC) conflict mediator³⁸, it was stated that office for Land and Conflict Matters in conjunction with Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC) arbitrates conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in the community. Although their decisions are not binding by law, both farmers and Bororo herdsmen³⁹ claimed that it prevent tension building up between both parties instead of having to wait for so long for the case to be adjudicated by the courts.

However, during a focus group discussion with Bororo herdsmen, participants voiced out their frustration about using formal method for conflict resolution. According to a participant,

[...] The process takes too long and requires us to make appearance in the courts too many times. We take our cattle for grazing every day so we cannot afford to be absent from our cattle for too many days. They never rule in our favour, we are always the ones asked to pay compensations! [...] (Bororo herdsman (FH.7), FGD-2)

³⁶ Interviews and FGD with farmers, FGD and IDI, July 2019

³⁷ Interviews and FGD with Bororo herdsmen, July and August 2019.

³⁸ Key informant interviews, July 2019

³⁹ Interviews with farmers and Bororo herdsmen, July 2019

4.6.3. Traditional conflict resolution method

All the 10 respondents in the IDI acknowledged the resolution of conflict through the traditional conflict resolution method. According to the community land chief who is part of the traditional conflict resolution committee, the traditional conflict resolution committee is made up of Agbele community head (*Ba'ale*), the chiefs and elders in the community. The committee is appointed by the community head based on age and experience. The youths and women are excluded from the committee since they do not have the patience to handle complex and sensitive. He further indicated that whenever conflict comes up, the warring parties are summoned by the Agbele community head (*Ba'ale*) and chiefs. The leaders of Bororo herdsmen are also asked to witness or testify to the case. After hearing the case, judgment is then delivered based on consultation with all stakeholders. After the resolution of the conflict, both parties are expected to reconcile with each other to prevent animosity and future re-occurrence.

However, during focus group discussion (FGD-1) with farmers affected by the conflicts, participants indicated that:

[...] We usually start with our traditional method of conflict resolution but the traditional system has little power to enforce its decision, so many offenders do not pay compensation. This eventually leads to increased tension between farmers and Bororo herdsmen. [...] (Farmer (FF.6), FGD-1).

However, in a focus group discussion (FGD-2) with Bororo herdsmen affected by the conflicts, one of the participants indicated that:

[...] This traditional conflict resolution used to work in the past, but not anymore. Nowadays they only rule in favour of the farmers. We do not recognise their judgement anymore. None of our own members are part of the committee so how can they be fair to us? Compensation for crop damages is always too high so we always refuse to pay them! [...] (Bororo herdsman (FH.2), FGD-2)

When probed further about how they cope with the issue of non-payment of compensation, participants in focus group discussion, another farmer indicated that:

[...] Nowadays, the aggrieved parties start by reporting to the traditional conflict resolution committee then also report the case at the divisional police office and also the lands and conflict matters. The reason why we do this is that adjudicated and arbitrated compensation can be properly implemented [...] (Farmer (FF.8), FGD-1).

4.6.4. Suggestions on how to effectively resolve and/or prevent conflicts and promote co-operation between the farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community

All the respondents in the IDI indicated that farmers-herdsmen conflict impacted negatively on their livelihoods. When asked for suggestions on how to effectively resolve and/or prevent conflicts and promote co-operation between the farmers and herdsmen, participants during focus group discussion (FGD-1) with farmers affected by the conflicts indicated that they have started implementing certain measures on their farms. According to a farmer:

*[...] We have learnt that the best strategy is to prevent crop damage as it is a major trigger of the conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen. Last planting season, we have started planting castor seed plants and *Jatropha* plants as hedges around our farms. These two plants are toxic and cattle do not eat them. The moment they smell them they would be discouraged from foraging into our farms [...]* (Farmer (FF.5), FGD-1).

His statement on prevention was further corroborated by another farmer. According to him:

[...] Last year 2018 I planted Jatropha plants as hedges around my farm at Oko-Egan (farm located far away from the village). I never recorded any crop destruction on my maize and cassava farm as grazing animals were discouraged from entering my farm. I think the Bororo herdsmen are also starting to take note and therefore avoid that area when grazing their animals [...] (Farmer (FF.7), FGD-1).

However, during a focus group discussion (FGD-2) with Bororo herdsmen affected by the conflict, it was indicated by the participants that in order to improve co-operation between farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community, there is need for improved dialogue between the two groups. According to one of the herdsmen:

[...] The people in this community are our host but when there is any disagreement outsiders who do not know the source of the conflict will be called to intervene. We would be happy if there can be avenue for improved dialogue with parties involved in any disagreement [...] (Bororo herdsman (FF.8), FGD-2).

His statement was affirmed by another herdsman during the focus group discussion (FGD-2). According to him:

[...] Some cases have been opened at the police for almost two years without any closure. So we do not know who is guilty or innocent. In the meantime, tension will continue to increase between the farmer and Bororo herdsmen involved. However, if there is a properly-constituted dialogue group made up of all stakeholders, cases can easily be dealt with at community level to the satisfaction of both parties as they know that their interests are well protected [...] (Bororo herdsmen (FH.2), FGD-2).

On how to ensure sustainable peace and co-operation between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community, affected farmers during focus group discussion (FGD-1) also suggested on improved dialogue at community level. According to one of the farmers:

[...] Whenever there is any disagreement between farmers and Bororo herdsmen, we have to leave our farm and travel over 20 kilometres to the Divisional Police Headquarters at Igbebi town. In most instances, the case will not even be attended to as a matter of urgency as there are insufficient police officers available. This causes a lot of frustration and increase tension between the affected parties. If we have proper dialogue in the community, then disagreements between the two parties will be easily addressed before they escalate [...] (Farmer (FF.4), FGD-1).

His statement was affirmed by another farmer during the focus group discussion. According to him:

[...] The existing methods for conflict management are not working. JTF only come when there is violence and leave thereafter. The courts do not resolve conflicts, they only manage the effects. Nobody respects the traditional authority any more. The police are never visible in the rural areas. So we need a community-based conflict management team in which all parties are well-represented to prevent bias and marginalisation. It will also eliminate most of the present challenges we face with the existing conflict resolution mechanisms [...] (Farmer (FF.10), FGD-1)

5.0. Introduction

The findings highlighted in the previous chapter are analysed to assist in drawing the necessary conclusions that will guide in achieving the research objectives. This section analyses the nature of the conflict as well as the existing mechanisms available to farmers and herdsman in Agbele community. In addition to the above, triggers/unsafe conditions, proximate and structural causes of the conflict will also be analysed.

5.1. Nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsman

Findings from the study revealed an alternation from a period of co-operation to manifest conflict:

- From 1975 to 2003, there was co-operation between the two groups. Even though misunderstandings existed, the traditional conflict resolution ensured amicable settlements;
- In 2004 there was mass migration of Bororo herdsman to the study area. The increase in population (human and livestock) exerted pressure on available resources leading to tension build-up;
- From 2005-2016 the tension has reached a point where incompatible goals between the two has resulted in latent conflict;
- In 2017 the tension reached a boiling point manifesting in fatal conflicts. This was the beginning of the current conflict escalation between the two groups.

The above findings on progression of violence from a period of co-operation to a period of conflict escalation is in agreement with the findings of Mitchell (1989:51) who asserted that there are four phases of conflict development.

The study also discovered that there was historical co-existence and symbiotic relationship between farmers and herdsman before the recent conflict escalation. However, Raynaut and Delville (1997:112) note that, "such a co-existence has never been without tension since it demands a conciliation of rival interests. According to them, conflict can erupt when livestock is poorly controlled, and when animals wander about in a cultivated fields. This always occurs at critical times in the annual cycle mainly during sowing, when herds are late in leaving agricultural lands and during harvests; if they return too early, clashes occur when agricultural activities hinder the movement of animals and cut off their access to water sources or pastures".

In addition, findings from the study revealed that tension between the two groups became visible after a mass migration of Bororo herdsman to the study area. This is also in agreement with the findings of Blench (2003:2). According to him, "two major reasons led to a major reformulation of the conventional stereotypes of pastoralism. These include; the movement into the southwest which was earlier noticed than in the Centre and South East regions of the country, for both ecological and cultural factors. The climatic regime of the South-West is such that, the derived Savannah loops Southwards West of Oyo State, getting close to the coast in Benin and the Togolese Republic".

5.2. Triggers and unsafe conditions driving farmers-herdsman conflict in Agbele community

Conflict is caused by a multitude of socio-economic, environmental, political and institutional factor that can either be remote or immediate (Kriesberg and Dayton, 2012). Among the most common triggers of the conflict between the two groups are poisoning of cattle (20%), crop destruction (90%), drought (40%), escalating conflict in the north (60%), unsafe rural locations (90%) and exclusion of herdsman (60%).

These triggers and unsafe conditions did not exist in isolation. At different point in time, they all contribute to impact negatively on the livelihoods of the two production systems. This finding is further supported by empirical evidence that Fulani herdsmen and farmers are willing to fight each other in order to protect their respective livelihoods because whereas indigenous farmers feel their survival depends on their crops, herdsmen equally feel their survival is dependent on their cattle (Agyemang, 2017).

5.3. Proximate causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

The erosion of traditional authority (70%), small arms proliferation (60%), exploitation by political and security forces (40%), and absence of effective conflict mediation mechanisms (80%) were identified as the proximate causes of the conflicts.

This use of weapons by Fulani herdsmen is confirmed by McGregor (2017) who posited that Fulani herdsmen are typically armed to protect their herds from rustlers, wild animals and other threats, making them targets for violence and confrontation with local farmers. Ingawa et al (1999:6) note however that, the activities of pastoralists who wander with arms and usually in large groups and who commit intentional crop damage has added a new dimension to the conflicts in recent times. This could be attributed to the inflow of light weapons and small arms into the country through our porous borders.

5.4. Structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

Findings from the study indicates that poor governance (60%), lack of equal opportunities (40%), lack of political participation (40%), and different ideologies (20%) are the structural causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community.

The findings on poor governance is in consonance with Leonard and Longbottom (2004:43) who argued that:

[...] Pastoralists in West Africa dry lands have little legally recognised tenure security over their traditional grazing lands. In many countries, pastoralism is not legally recognised as a productive use of the land and consequently, pastoral lands have been subjected to expropriation by the state and marginalised in favour of agricultural use [...].

5.5. Existing mechanisms for managing and resolving farmers and herdsmen conflict in Agbele community

Findings from the study indicated that existing conflict resolution mechanisms available to both groups include deployment of security agencies, formal settlement (adjudication and/or arbitration), and traditional conflict resolution method. Evidence uncovered in the findings showed that:

- Local and state interventions has failed in protection of lives and properties;
- Presence of the Joint Task Force (JTF) in the community reduced the number of attacks, but not visible to prevent escalation;
- Formal settlements are time-consuming and biased in decision-making;
- Traditional conflict resolution overstate compensation claims and also lack legitimate powers to implement their decisions.

Farmers and herdsmen in the study area now explore self-defence strategy to protect their livelihoods.

5.6. Reflection on my role as a researcher during the study

In this section I present a report reflecting on my role as a researcher during the study titled "Understanding the complexity of the conflict between small holder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in

Agbele community Oyo state, South-West Nigeria". The report details my personal experiences in a self-reflexive way regarding the research process, methodology, and quality of research findings.

5.6.1. Research process and methodology

The research focused on farmers-herdsmen conflict which was very challenging to analyse based on its sensitive and delicate nature. Exploring the issue with the sampled respondents required extensive skill as probing could reveal fears being harboured by them. Therefore, ample time was needed to build trust with the respondents in order to be able to obtain vital data. Unfortunately the fieldwork was conducted in the rainy season when most of the target group (Bororo herdsmen) had migrated with their cattle. It was also a sensitive case because of the way it has been politicised in the study area and other communities where farmers-herdsmen conflict occur in the country. Key informants were careful about their responses as they did not want to be seen as criticising the policies of their organisations with respect to management and resolution of the conflict between the two production systems.

My own positionality also played a major role. I work for the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), the owner of the research problem. In addition, the research process was influenced by my perspectives on the organisation's policies for the state and district. As much as I tried to allow the facts to speak for themselves and not be influenced by my personal values and biases, subjectivity was intimately involved in this research as I was guided by personal perspectives, values, social experiences, and preferences from the choice of topic, objectives, methodology, and method of interpreting data for this study. This was due to the fact that I was trying to ensure that the outcome of the findings would be sufficient enough to meet the pre-determined objective. In order to ensure an acceptable level of objectivity for the study, I ensured that I did not use opinionated/prejudiced language during interpretation of data and reporting. I also ensured that I was very professional during the research process by not exaggerating the findings and allowing the respondents to tell their story in their own words.

Prior to the fieldwork, a research proposal detailing the steps to conduct the research was submitted for approval. I adopted qualitative research strategy and design methodology for the study. The data collection phase was restricted to Agbele community in Olorunsogo Local Government Area (OLGA) based on certain criteria set out in the problem statement. Thus the study implemented a case study design. Furthermore, since in-depth data was collected from respondents, my sample size consisted of only a limited number of respondents. Otherwise my ability to get "in-depth" data would have been limited if a large sample size was used.

5.6.2. Quality of the research findings

The research instruments I used in this study were subjected to the different dimensions of validity and were standardised in the context of content validity, construct validity and face validity. The data collection instruments (topic checklist and discussion guide) were modified while on the field: the reason was to adjust and accommodate new developments discovered during the pre-research visitation to the study area. In order to establish its face validity, draft of the tools were evaluated by various research institutions; while construct validity was achieved by linking theories and conceptual framework of the study with the research questions to ensure its construct validity. To establish room for triangulation and a deep probing into the study, I employed multiple data collection methods (IDI, KII, FGD, and participatory observation) in the process of gathering qualitative data from sampled respondents.

Despite the care taken to ensure quality of research findings, I encountered certain limitations which could impact on the validity of the result. This study focused sampling on representative of interest groups (farmers and Bororo herdsmen). Although the design aimed for a representative sample, I acknowledge that the study sample is not the standard statistically derived representative number for

the entire population. Based on strength of sample size, this study has a weaker basis for generalisation than a study with a statistically representative number. Therefore, findings of this research is only valid for conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen as they were the only group in the study area that I focused on. In addition, due to the sensitive nature of the research topic, it was difficult for me to establish trust with the Bororo herdsmen within the time frame of the fieldwork. This was a limitation as the Bororo herdsmen would not reveal key information about their stories which were deemed as being vital to the validity of the results. Finally, I was only able to speak with the top echelon of the security force (JTF and NPF). I was not granted permission to interview the field officers due to “classified” nature of their duties. Inability to interact with those officers directly involved in on-field conflict management in the study area could impact on the validity of the result.

This was my first experience in applied research but reflecting on my role during the research process, there were certain things I could have done better to improve the quality of the research findings. First, the selection of my respondents for IDI could have been done to include at least 10 farmers and 10 Bororo herdsmen: this would have made the findings more specific and less anecdotal in nature thereby giving more ownership to the findings. Second, there were about 10 sects of Fulani groups operating in the study area while I focused only on the Bororo herdsmen. Looking back, other pastoralist groups should have been included in the research to analyse their roles in the conflict escalation. This would have made the findings more credible. Third, I collected mainly qualitative data from the sampled respondents. Looking back on the research process, I should have collected quantitative data as part of respondents’ profile. This would have given a clearer picture of the characteristics of the respondents, as well as made analysis and presentation of findings clearer. Fourth, the findings revealed increase in the number of herdsmen and cattle in the study area. I should have explored whether all the cattle belong to Bororo herdsmen only, or if some of the cattle are owned by local residents of Agbele and its environs. This would have revealed and provided opportunity to explore other dimensions (such as hired herders) of the conflict.

Finally, lots of discrepancy on plagiarism was detected on my initial thesis report. The feedback provided by the examination panel and the Exam Board enabled me to be able to amend those discrepancies. Looking inward, I need to put measures in place to improve on my technical writing and referencing skills. I also need to take extra measures to acknowledge any material that I use, irrespective of whether it was in part or whole. Going forward, it would be ideal if the university could register the students on Turnitin or any plagiarism tool, so that students could have the ability to use it all year round to improve on their referencing skills.

Table 5: Summary of reflection on role as a researcher

SITUATION	TASK	ACTION	RESULT	REFLECTION
Designing research context	Choosing research topic; identifying research problem; formulating objectives, main questions and sub questions	After deciding that my research will focus on farmers-herdsmen conflict, I identified the main problem within the specific context, defined my objectives, and formulated my main research and sub-questions.	A well-developed research background and context, which facilitated theoretical and conceptual design for further study	I had to ensure the originality of the research topic to prevent against plagiarising other people's work. The initial challenge in this part was how to design the main question in such a way that the research objectives would be achievable. Another challenge faced was how to formulate sub-questions that would answer the main question. I had to do this exercise several times before I finally managed to do so.
Data collection	Secondary data collection through desk study	I searched through the internet for academic journals, thesis, books, reports, etc. using conflict, conflict escalation, complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflict, smallholder farmers, Bororo herdsmen as key words.	This activity helped me to choose relevant literature for my topic. It also deepened my knowledge on the nature and complexities of farmers-herdsmen conflicts.	After extensive desk study of secondary data, I discovered the lack of empirical data on farmers-herdsmen conflict in the study area. Empirical data on the issue from the International Crisis Group (2017) was used as a guide for the study area.
	Primary data collection through Interviews and focus group discussions, as well as participatory observation	My role was to prepare check list, topic guide, observation checklist and booking appointments with key informants and respondents for semi-structure in-depth interviews.	Conducting the interviews and FGDs helped me to collect information from respondents and informants vital to achieving objectives of the research	I had to reschedule my appointments several times due to the busy schedules of government expert. Some of the respondents for the interviews were not comfortable to discuss certain things due to lack of trust.
Data processing	Data entry	I transcribed qualitative data directly after the completion of each interview and FGD	This activity helped me to master the use of thematic and content analysis.	Lots of data was collected while some information were not relevant in answering the questions of the research.
	Data analysis	Data collected was analysed by thematic analysis using the different elements of the PAR framework as a guide	This part helped me to evaluate the findings towards each research question and also enabled me to present my findings of the research in line with the study objective.	Some vital information were missing from the analysis because I did not ask the right questions and also because of the way I sampled my respondents. This has been included as part of the limitation of the findings of this study.
Design research report	Make the structure of the report	My role was to structure the report in order to know how many chapter and what is the content of each chapter	This activity played a major role in improving my writing abilities because it improved my skills in technical writing.	This was my first attempt in applied research so it was not easy to write the report in a format prescribed for this kind of research. However, constant implementation of feed backs received from my supervisor and colleagues made it possible to improve the content and quality of the report.

Source: Author, 2019.

6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarises the research findings and their correlation to the objectives of the study. The conclusions are presented based on the research questions while the recommendations are presented in line with the research objectives.

6.1. Conclusion

This study set out to examine the complexity of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community. To understand the triggers/underlying causes, proximate and structural causes, five sub-questions were proposed with the objective of advising MARD on effective strategies and interventions to manage and promote sustainable peace between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community.

- The nature of the conflict between farmers-herdsmen in the study area is complex, driven by multiple actors and evolved over a period of co-operation-symbiotic relationship to tension-conflict escalation;
- The conflicts between farmers and Bororo herdsmen are not only driven by triggers and unsafe conditions, but develop with a multitude of complex proximate and structural drivers;
- Government responses so far has been inadequate since it only addressed triggers of the conflict;
- There is lack of faith in the existing conflict management measures;
- Conflicts between the two groups escalate differently, thus any attempts to find solutions to farmer-herdsmen conflicts need to address the processual causes.

Based on the findings from the study, the researcher therefore conclude that finding solutions to farmer-herdsmen conflicts demands analyses of the complex political, socio-cultural, and environmental drivers between actors involved in the conflict.

6.2. Recommendations to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD), OLGA District

Based on the key findings and conclusion above, two recommendations are provided to manage the conflict. The study uncovered that the conflict between the two groups escalate most frequently during the dry season. Therefore, the first recommendation will be implemented in the short-term to provide immediate relief; while the second recommendation will provide long-term solution to the conflict in the study area.

6.2.1. Peace Architecture Dialogue (PAD) committee

Farmers-herdsmen conflict have negative implications on crop and pastoral production which results to extreme poverty and hunger. Evidence from the findings showed that the conflict is caused by multiple actors and factors which are complex in nature. In order to resolve the conflict, there is need to address the triggers/unsafe conditions, proximate and strategic causes driving the recurring violent conflict between farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele community. This study has evaluated the issue and presents recommendations towards conflict resolution and improved food security in the study area. The researcher therefore recommends that the MARD strengthen local peacebuilding and reconciliation mechanism by setting up a community-based Peace Architecture Dialogue (PAD) committee.

- The committee should comprise of key stakeholders identified during the stakeholder analysis such as farmers, Bororo herdsmen, farmers and pastoral groups, cattle owners, traditional authorities, security officers, and MARD officers.

- The committee should be tasked to meet biweekly especially in the dry season to map up strategies to obviate any conflict and discuss issues as they arise.
- During their biweekly meetings, all grievances reported to the committee must be addressed before it degenerates into conflict as this will help to reduce the frequency of conflict. Finally, the committee should be given the mandate to settle farmer–herdsmen conflict at the village level and compensations paid in their presence if it involves farm destruction or cattle poisoning.

The composition of the committee will also help to build confidence and trust, which is crucial in mediation and conflict resolution process. This will also help solve complaints by Bororo herdsmen that farmers overstate compensation claims which this study uncovered.

6.2.2. Establishment of fodder bank

Findings from the study showed a high population of Bororo herdsmen in the community especially during the dry season. The study also identified that the climatic characteristics of the community is conducive for farming and husbandry. Despite the presence of many cattle camps (kraals) in the district, census data of pastoralists in the study area are unavailable. The researcher hereby recommends that MARD conducts a registration of cattle owners, herdsmen and cattle.

- Based on the census data, a fodder bank should be established in Agbele enclave with all the needed resources such as water, veterinary doctors etc.
- The fodder bank must be remote from crop farming activities.
- Measures must be put in place to regulate the activities of both farmers and herdsmen to prevent encroachments.

This will allay fears of crop destructions (which was uncovered as one of the triggers of the conflict), and allow both parties to carry out their activities in peace.

This will also increase collaboration between all stakeholders and foster integration of Bororo herdsmen into the community.

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Master Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management)

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences

Key Informant Interview with government and security officials

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am a M.Sc. student in Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management) at Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands. I am conducting a research on a project titled: "Understanding the complexity of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele Community Oyo State, South-West Nigeria". The success of this research depends on your co-operation, therefore kindly feel free to express your opinions. Your anonymity is guaranteed and all your responses will be treated confidentially. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Adekunle Joseph Adeogun

Instruction: Please feel free to express your views on the following questions.

(1). What do you know about the nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in this community?

On question 1 related to the nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in this community, probe as follows:

- a. The historical context of this conflict in terms of (i) past relationship between the parties and (ii) current relationship between the two parties
- b. The "triggering events" that brought this conflict into mutual awareness.
- c. The actors (primary, secondary) involved in the conflict

(2). How would you describe causes and elements of the conflict?

On questions (2,3,4) related to causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community, probe as follows:

- a. The triggers and unsafe conditions driving the conflict
- b. The proximate causes of the conflict
- c. The structural causes of the conflict
- d. Conflict expression by parties (e.g. perceived incompatible goals)
- e. Interdependence/interfering to keep conflict in motion.

(3). Existing conflict resolution mechanisms available to farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community

On question 5 related to conflict resolution and management mechanism, probe as follows:

- a. Existing policies to deal with the issue of farmer-herdsmen conflicts
- b. Options explored for managing/resolving the conflict?
- c. Limitations of existing mechanisms for conflict resolution and management
- d. Involvement of third parties and impact of their involvement

APPENDIX II: TOPIC CHECKLIST FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW (IDI)

Master Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management)

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences

In-depth Interview with various leaders, smallholder farmers, and herdsmen

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am a Masters (MSc) student in Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management) at Van

Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands. I am conducting a research on a project titled: "Understanding the complexity of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele Community Oyo State, South-West Nigeria". It is my pleasure to inform you that the success of this research depends on your co-operation. Kindly feel free to express your opinions. Your anonymity is guaranteed and all your responses will be treated confidentially. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,
Joseph A. Adeogun

Instruction: Please feel free to express your views on the following questions.

(1). What do you know about the nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in this community?

On question 1 related to the nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in this community, probe as follows:

- a. Relationship that exists between farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community (before and now)
- b. Evolution of the relationship between farmers and herdsmen in Agbele community
- c. The events that led to violent conflicts between the two groups.

(2). How would you describe causes and elements of the conflict?

On questions (2,3,4) related to causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community, probe as follows:

- a. The unsafe conditions triggering the conflict
- b. The proximate causes of the conflict
- c. Structural causes of the conflict
- d. Period of the year with increased intensity of conflict between farmers and herdsmen

(3). What have been the measures of resolution of conflicts between farmers and herdsmen?

On question 5 related to conflict resolution and management mechanism, probe as follows:

- a. Measures used by the two groups to deal with conflicts
- b. Effectiveness and limitations of these measures
- c. Involvement of third parties and impact of their involvement
- d. Suggestions on how to effectively resolve and/or prevent conflicts and promote cooperation between the farmers and herdsmen

Master Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management)

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences

Focus Group Discussion with smallholder farmers and herdsmen

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I am a Masters (MSc) student in Management of Development (Specialisation: Disaster Risk Management) at Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands. I am conducting a research on a project titled: "Understanding the complexity of the conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in Agbele Community Oyo State, South-West Nigeria". It is my pleasure to inform you that the success of this research depends on your co-operation. Kindly feel free to express your opinions. Your anonymity is guaranteed and all your responses will be treated confidentially. Thank you for your anticipated co-operation.

Yours faithfully,
Joseph A. Adeogun

Instruction: Please feel free to express your views on the following questions

(1). What are the relations between farmers and herdsmen in the community?

On question 1 related to the nature of conflict between smallholder farmers and Bororo herdsmen in this community, probe as follows:

- a. Trace history of relations between farmers and Bororo herdsmen,
- b. Type and nature of relations between farmers and Bororo herdsmen,
- c. Connections (or lack of) between actors between farmers and Bororo herdsmen,

(2). What drive conflicts between farmers and herders?

On questions (2,3,4) related to causes of farmers-herdsmen conflict in Agbele community, probe as follows:

- a. Type of conflicts; frequency of conflicts
- b. Triggers of conflicts
- c. Proximate causes
- d. Structural causes

(3). How can these conflicts be resolved? What modes of cooperation exist and how can this cooperation be sustained?

On question 5 related to conflict resolution and management mechanism, probe as follows:

- a. Measures used by the two groups to resolve conflicts
- b. Strength and limitations of current measures
- c. Role of groups, role of actors, role of the state/government.
- d. New mechanisms on sustainable conflict resolution and prevention.

APPENDIX IV: CONSENT FORM

Van Hall Larenstein, University of Applied Sciences (referred to below as “Van Hall Larenstein”) has set up a digital repository via which papers produced by its students in the context of their studies will be made available to third parties. This will facilitate the process of creating, acquiring, and sharing knowledge within the education sector.

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When a student’s paper is included and made available in the digital repository, he/she retains the copyright. This means that he/she can also withdraw consent for the paper to be made available.

Rights and obligations of the student

Adekunle Joseph Adeogun (referred to below as “the Student”) grants Van Hall Larenstein a free and non-exclusive licence to include his/her graduation paper in the digital repository and to make it available to users based both at Van Hall Larenstein and elsewhere. This means that users can copy and adapt some or all of the paper. Users are only permitted to do this, or to publish the results, if they do so for their own study and/or teaching or research purposes and if they indicate the name of the Student and the location of the graduation paper.

Consent for the graduation paper to be made available to third parties commences with effect from **11 September, 2019.**

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The Student hereby declares that the organisation where he/she did his/her work placement or his/her client does not object to the inclusion and availability of the graduation thesis in the digital repository.

The Student also declares that he/she has gained the consent of the copyright holder of material that he/she has not created himself/herself for such material to be included as part of the graduation paper in the digital repository and made available to third parties based both at Van Hall Larenstein and elsewhere.

The Student grants Van Hall Larenstein the right to include the graduation paper in the digital repository and to make it available for a minimum period of seven years.

Rights and obligations of Van Hall Larenstein

The non-exclusive licence granted by the Student gives Van Hall Larenstein the right to make the graduation paper available to users based both at Van Hall Larenstein and elsewhere.

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Van Hall Larenstein has the right to alter or restrict access to the Student's graduation paper if there are weighty reasons for doing so.

Rights and obligations of the user

Completion of this Consent Form means that users of the digital repository may copy and adapt some or all of the graduation paper. Users are only permitted to do this, or to publish the results, if they do so for their own study and/or teaching or research purposes and if they indicate the name of the Student and the location of the graduation paper.

Date: 11 September, 2019

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