

# **INTERNAL INSECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: PROBLEMATIZING HERDSMEN AND FARMERS' CONFLICTS IN ANAMBRA STATE**

## **Abstract**

Internal security challenges in Nigeria, particularly herdsmen and farmers' conflicts, have worsened over time. In Anambra state, clashes by the two groups have equally persisted. The key concern of this study was on the effect of this challenge on national development in Nigeria. In essence, the objective of this study was to examine how herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state have affected national development in Nigeria. To achieve the objective of this study, the following hypothesis was posed: Herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state have not supported national development in Nigeria. Anchored on the Eco-Violence Theory and the Deprivation, Frustration and Aggression Theory as the frameworks for analysis, the study adopted descriptive survey design and Questionnaire as instrument for data collection. Analysis of data was quantitatively carried out. Among other things, the study found out that herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state have some negative consequences which include loss of lives, farmlands, cattle and property; worsened level of poverty and threat to jobs. It also found out that Nigeria cannot achieve national development in the face of the recurring herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state as the impacts affect the rest of the country. In view of the findings, the study recommended the need for the state government to devise strategies for effective implementation of its Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law 2021. It equally recommended Federal Government's proactive intervention in ending the herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in the state.

**Keywords:** internal insecurity, national development, herdsmen, open grazing, conflicts.

## **Introduction**

States, unarguably, make efforts at attaining development. This progressive process of seeking improvement or transformation in the capacity of individuals and societies to control and manipulate the forces of nature for their own benefit has remained a major pursuit of successive governments in Nigeria (Igwe, 2007; Ijomah, 2008; Njoku, 2009; Nnoli, cited in Ezeibe, 2015; Okeke, 2020). As such, there have been a focus, over the years, on such issues such as free, compulsory and universal education; improvement of the general education, cultural and technical training of the working populace; raising the peoples standard of living to a qualitative and new height; improvement of people's health and extending their active life through a system of universal health checks in the polyclinic, hospitals and sanatoriums, and ensuring that the levels and structures of consumptions of materials, social and spiritual goods and services are

raised – all seen by Kuzretsov (cited in Udenigwe, 2010) as well as Okereke and Ekpe (2002) as ways through which mankind can be developed.

Nigeria, in particular, has been under pressure of sort over her development. First is because achieving development attracts attention of governments across the international system. The second is rooted in the observation made by Ijomah (2008) to the effect that performance in the area of development, particularly the demands of the people and responses of governments towards such demands, has become the best way to assess African States. To that end, she has initiated several programmes in order to achieve national development and has continued to do so.

However, internal insecurity, particularly herdsmen and farmers conflicts in the country, has become the defining characteristic of the Nigerian political scene which takes a recurring turn on the very fabrics of the Nigerian State and deepens its pangs in the process. In particular, the competition for arable land by herdsmen and farmers has continued to leave behind it series of killings, displacements and numerous other ills such that the social, economic and political tension created by the clashes raises fundamental national questions for numerous issues including survival of the Nigeria State (Isah, 2013).

Of course, there is no contesting the fact that the situation has far-reaching impacts. Sadly, the conflict shows no sign of abating as several cases have been recorded in the administration of President of Nigeria (Opejobi, 2016). The country's porous border is among the factors that account for the challenge (Onuoha, 2011). Also, cases of drought, desertification and deforestation in the Sahel region force herdsmen to migrate down south for greener pasture for their cattle to graze and in the process great damage has been done to farmlands which triggers confrontations with the indigenous farmers (Abugu and Onuba, 2015).

Anambra State has had its own sad shares of the conflict. The situation in October 2021 resulted in the enactment of Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Bill of Anambra State by the State House of Assembly and its assent into law by then State Governor, Willie Obiano as a way to arrest the situation. This has, however, not proven sufficient in addressing the challenge as herders continue with the outlawed open grazing practices.

Generally, previous studies have examined the impacts of the herdsmen and farmers clashes on food security, livestock and security architecture of the country. There has equally been focus on the psychological implications of the herdsmen and farmers clashes. Also, several scholars have generally identified the relationships between insecurity and national development (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013). However, there is dearth of literature on the impacts of the herdsmen and farmers conflicts on national development, particularly focusing on the recurring situation in Anambra State. This is the gap which this study seeks to address.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Peaceful co-existence, co-habitation and integration of the various sections are the ideal goals of societies. This is particularly so in heterogeneous societies which are prone to frequent conflicts. In such areas, greater investments are made by all stakeholders in order to achieve integration of all ethnic groups in the larger society. In other words, attaining national unity is a major pursuit of the people.

However in Nigeria, co-habitation remains a problem. Herdsmen and farmers' conflicts, in particular, have become a real disaster for the country (Odemwingie, 2015). The violence involving Fulani herdsmen and Farmers is ranked one of Nigeria's most persistent security problems that has left thousands of people dead in recent decades (Kwaghga, 2018). Its frequent occurrence forced the global terrorism index to rank herdsmen as the fourth deadliest militant group in the world with a record killing of 1, 229 people in 2014 (Eyekpimi, 2016). In 2016, it was estimated that the death toll of approximately 2,500 people were recorded while the Nigeria Watch database reported 615 violent deaths relating to cattle grazing, out of a total of 61,314 violent fatalities in Nigeria (Francis, et al. 2019; Olayoku, 2014). In fact, the federal government of Nigeria was said to be losing \$13.7 billion in revenue annually because of herders-farmers conflicts in Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Plateau states, with the clashes becoming as potentially dangerous as the Boko Haram insurgency in the North East (Francis, et al. 2019).

The herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Nigeria have become more organized and coordinated in recent times with many of the attacks carried out in the nights when the locals, mostly farmers, have gone to sleep or when the people have gone to markets with herdsmen using modern weapons various dangerous weapons, sometimes appearing in military camouflage, burning houses, destroying farmlands and engaging in killing spree (Durueke, cited in Chikelu, 2017).

With such magnitude of destructions, most farmers no longer attend to their farmlands, more so as reporting of the violence has increased exponentially (Francis, et al. 2019).

While farmers are concerned with food production, using land as both factor of production and source of livelihood, herdsmen, on the other hand are in dire need of arable land for grazing, as well as a source of livelihood for themselves and their cattle; the competition associated with access to arable land, hence, provides the basis for violent confrontation which has led to deaths, huge population displacements and destruction of property (Kwaja, 2015). Evidently, affected farmers choose the option of confrontation since whatever happens to their farms directly affects them (Udemezue, 2019). Instructively, several factors account for the cause of the conflict. Apart from many others, rural farmers hold strong cultural attachments to the farmlands; in fact, under the customary land tenure, access to land depends on systems of inheritance and lineage (Hebinck, et al. 2018; Obeng-Odom, 2015). This is apart from ideological, historical, and cultural influences (Ningxin, 2018).

Faced with climate change and desertification in the northern region, the herdsmen have had no option than to migrate farther south in order to feed and sell their cattle, thereby encroaching on the territory of sedentary farmers and resulting in scarcity-driven environmental resource conflict (Wamser-Nanney, et al. 2019; Ndubuisi, cited in Ningxin, 2018; Fekadu, 2013, Ofuoku and Isife, 2009). This movement cum open grazing of cattle, mostly in the southern region and some parts of north central area has given rise to perennial herdsmen and farmers conflicts. As the herdsmen move with their cattle where the grass is fresh, they often intrude into spaces long cultivated by farmers and conflicts usually follow (Olaniyan, et al., 2015). Such encroachment over farmlands and the destruction of food and cash crops by the cattle has ignited conflict repeatedly (Adeoye, 2017; Odufowaken, 2014; Ofem and Inyang, 2014; Olaleye, et al., 2010).

The conflicts have demonstrated high potential to cause food crises and insecurity in rural communities where majority of the conflicts frequently occurred and as well portends a grave consequence for rural development as well as imposing threat to various aspects of human life (Udemezue, 2019; Fasona and Omojola, 2005). Previously, farmers were able to ward off the herdsmen and their cattle from their lands without any retaliation since the herders moved about with only sticks, bow, arrows and knives (Okese, cited in Chikelu, 2017). However, terrorists bent on destabilizing the country have joined forces with the herdsmen, dispossessing farmers of

their lands/farms and settling forcefully in the areas (Bolaji, 2014). In fact, there are longstanding disagreements between herdsmen and their various host communities (Burton, 2016).

Today, farmers and herders alike in Nigeria face challenges worsened by suffering, climate of fear, death, destruction of sources of livelihood, excruciating economic challenges and internal displacement (Udemezue, 2019). It is unarguable that the national population largely depends largely on the rural farmers for food. Yet, the patterns of deaths through violence and deadly attacks between farmers and herdsmen stemming from encroachment into farmlands, struggle over grazing space, and other forms of criminality continue to put communities at risk of violence and deaths on a daily basis, posing a serious security threat to the lives and livelihoods of the people, amidst the inability of security agencies to adequately provide the much needed security for the people (Uzoezie, cited in Chikelu, 2017). This inability emboldens the conflict and makes herdsmen and farmers conflict a serious challenge that manifests into real threats to human and national security, regardless of the fact that Tonah (2006) has pointedly accused herdsmen of engineering invasion of farmlands. Nevertheless, there is an obvious lack of central system on grazing and this fuels the conflict between herdsmen and farmers nationwide (Dickovick and Eaton, 2013).

Anambra state in particular has borne a scary brunt of the conflict. The problem festers because farming is subsistent in the state, as against commercialized farming (Udeagbala, 2020). Thus, in August 6, 2016, 10 persons were killed in Igbariam community, 7 persons in Ummumbo community and about 10 hectares of rice field were burnt including more than 30 persons who were injured by herdsmen invaders in Ugbenu community (Udemezue, 2019). Especially Anambra East Local Government Area, particularly in Aguleri/Umuleri axis, herdsmen have been banned from entering the area since 2012, despite the fact that the area is known for high agricultural engagement and food production like rice, yam and others. From 1990 to 2014, the conflicts between farmers and cattle herdsmen in Ayamelum local government area claimed several lives, wounded over 100 people, destroyed many properties and also displaced a lot of pastoralists from their homeland (Udemezue and Anedo, 2015).

The sad narrative is that the activities of these herdsmen in some communities in Anambra State have become a source of great worry to the people as a result of the huge damage the cattle inflict on crops and farmlands in these rural communities which the breeders illegally and brazenly colonize as grazing grounds (Okoli, 2014). Much more worrisome is that the state

government and by extension federal government, are yet to find a lasting solution to the problem of open grazing in the country and herdsmen and farmers conflicts (Odoma, 2014). Even the Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Bill of the state signed in October, 2021 by then state governor, Willie Obiano is yet to tame the monster of open grazing in the state as a way to end the herdsmen and farmers conflicts. Cattle continue to graze in the open. Obviously, response to the crisis at both the federal and state levels has been poor (International Crises Group, 2018). The clashes accounted for the setting up of the Eastern Security Network by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a situation which has worsened the insecurity challenge in the state and the south east region in general as the group which defends the indigenous farmers against criminal herders equally confronts the government security forces which are bent on hunting down the IPOB's security outfit. The implication which the herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state have on national development in Nigeria is what this study sets out to interrogate.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The study has broad and specific objectives. The broad objective was to determine the correlations between internal insecurity and national development in Nigeria. The specific objective was:

- 1 To examine how herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state have affected national development in Nigeria.

### **Research Question**

The following research question guided the study:

1. How have herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state affected national development in Nigeria?

Finding an answer to the question was the task set out by this study to achieve. The question was expected to offer useful insight into the impacts of herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra state on national development in Nigeria.

### **Methodology**

#### **Research Design**

Descriptive Survey Design was adopted for this study.

## **Area of the Study**

Anambra state has a total land mass of about 4, 844km<sup>2</sup> and population density of about 1, 141/km<sup>2</sup>, making it the second most densely populated state in Nigeria after Lagos state (Dada, et al., 2006). The population of the state as at 2006 is 4, 177, 828 (Federal Government, 2009) The state comprises of 21 local government areas and is located between latitudes 5° 40´ and 6° 46´ north of the equator and longitudes 6° 35´ to 7° 21´ east of the Greenwich Meridian. The study area is bounded to the northwest by Kogi state, to the northeast and east by Enugu state; to the southeast by Abia state, to the south by Imo state and to the west by Delta State (Ndulue and Ayadiuno, 2021).

Anambra state lies within the tropical wet-and-dry climate or Aw climate based on Koppen's climate classification. It has on average eight months of rainfall and four months of dry season. The two major seasons experienced in the state are: the rainy season (March to October) and the dry season (November to February). Heaviest rainfall usually occurs in June and September while December records the driest month and the month of March records the hottest weather. Mean annual rainfall ranges from 1800mm to 2000mm. the state experiences high temperatures all year round with an average value of 27°C while the average relative humidity ranges between 60-70% and 80-90% in January and June respectively (Ndulue and Ayadiuno, 2021; Anyadike, 2002).

Awka South, Awka North, Ayamelum as well as Anambra East and Anambra West Local Government Areas were selected for sampling since they are the most affected areas with regards to herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra state. Specific towns include

## **Population of the Study**

The population of the study was made up of residents of the five local government areas most affected by herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra State. According to the national census of 2006, the local government areas have the following population:

Awka South	198, 589
Anambra West	165, 776
Ayamelum	130, 431
Awka North	92, 289, and

Anambra East	88, 041
Total	675, 126.

**Sample Size**

A total of 400 respondents were targeted for this study. The study used Yamane (1967) formula to determine the sample size. The same formula was previously used by Thecla and Ogbodo (2015) as well as Ndulue and Ayadiuno (2021) to get a true representative sample of the target population in their respective studies. According to Yamane (1967), the sample size of any population that is more than 100, 000 is 400.

Applying the Yamane’s equation at ±5% level of precision, the sample size of the study was determined as follows:

$$S = N/1+N(e)^2 \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Where *S* = Sample size

1 = Constant

*N* = Population size of the five sampled local government areas (198, 589 + 92, 289 + 130, 431 +88, 041, 165, 776)

*E*= Margin of error, usually 5% (0.05)

$$S = (198, 589 + 92, 289 + 130, 431 +88, 041, 165, 776)/\{(1+(198, 589 + 92, 289 + 130, 431 +88, 041, 165, 776)(0.05)^2\} = 400$$

Therefore, 400 copies of the structured questionnaire were administered on a direct contact basis in order to reduce or eliminate loss of the instruments should they be mailed. A total of 110 questionnaires were shared in Awka South, 100 in Anambra West, 80 in Ayamelum, and 55 each at Awka North and Anambra East local government areas. Awka South, Anambra West and Ayamelum got highest shares since they have more population than Awka North and Anambra East and coincidentally too, herdsmen and farmers clashes had occurred most in them than the rest of the remaining two local government areas.

**Sampling Techniques**

The researcher adopted both purposive and snowball sampling techniques for the study. Purposive sampling entails selecting, indeed handpicking desired samples from groups or individuals that have been identified as useful indicators. It has wide applicability in opinion

polls where the focus has always been on groups or individuals that are regarded as benchmark personalities in constituencies or regions (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2006). On the other hand, because the researcher does not personally have access to some of the respondents, particularly the herdsmen, snowball sampling was equally adopted where two members of the group were engaged as assistants for the distribution of the questionnaires to their own acquaintances.

### **Instrument for Data Collection**

The instrument for data collection used for this study is the Questionnaire. It consists of 20 questions designed to elicit responses on the effects of herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state on national development in Nigeria. In the instrument, the respondents were required to indicate whether they agreed or otherwise with each of the questions contained in the questionnaire simply by ticking (✓) Strongly Agreed (SA) = 4, Agreed (A) = 3, Disagreed (D) = 2 and Strongly Disagreed (SD) = 1 as appropriate. In order to determine the reliability of the instrument, a total of 40 questionnaires were administered on residents of affected communities who were not part of those on whom it was finally administered on. A repeat was carried out two weeks after while the Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was adopted to find out the relationship between the first and second test with a reliability coefficient of 0.85 obtained for the instrument. Thus, though the test-retest reliability method, it was established that the questionnaire used had content, and by extension face validity.

### **Administration of Instruments**

The researcher administered the questionnaires, together with five research assistants. This made administering the instrument and its retrieval faster. Out of the 400 copies administered, a total of 245 were retrieved. Some of the respondents, particularly the herdsmen, declined responses irrespective of the fact that the researcher was able to employ two of their acquaintances to assist in the distribution of the questionnaire. Reasons for the decline ranged from suspicion to time constraints as the targeted respondents were met on duty. This therefore accounted for the failure to retrieve a total of 26 questionnaires.

### **Method of Data Analysis**

The administered questionnaire were collated and scored in order to obtain the number of respondents that selected particular options listed on a 4-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Strongly Disagree and Disagree). The benchmark for establishing whether the respondents agreed or disagreed with each of the items on the questionnaire was 2.50. Mean and Standard Deviation was employed to answer the research question. Test of hypothesis was carried out at 0.05 level of significance using one-way Analysis Of Variance (ANOVA).

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study adopted the Eco-Violence Theory and the Deprivation, Frustration and Aggression Theory as the frameworks for analysis. Using more than a single theory for the study was to enable relatively rigorous analysis owing to the peculiarities of the variables under study. More so, the sad incident of herdsmen and farmers in the country is characterized by related yet divergent contexts. It is therefore against this background that adopting a single theory for analysis is grossly inadequate.

The major proponent of the Eco Violence Theory was Thomas Homer-Dixon. He propounded the theory in 1999. The major thrust of the theory is that a decrease in the quality and quantity of renewable resources, fueled by population growth and other major resource-based factors, act singly or in various combinations to increase the scarcity for certain population groups, of crop land, water, forests and fish (Chikelu, 2017). According to the theory, the affected people may, as a result, migrate or be expelled to new lands, often triggering conflicts in the new areas as a result of competition and further depletion of the resources in the new environment. The theory assumes that the competition over scarce ecological resources is what engenders violent conflict, including in contemporary times, worsened by the impacts of climate change which has aggravated ecological scarcity across the world (Onuoha, 2007). In essence, it is the contention of the theory that ecological scarcity accounts for the competitive stake which groups in the society place on available ecological resources, thereby triggering conflicts. This is more so as the population increases, definitely there will be as well increase in demand for land, water, forest products and grazing land within the territories inhabited by herdsmen and farmers, the latter forced to find new ways to cope with the different types of conflict occasioned by the marginal resources (Adogi, cited in Chikelu, 2017).

The deprivation, frustration and aggression theory, on the other hand, was initially adopted by Mac Dougherty in 1937 and is anchored on the premise that aggression is always a function of frustration with occurrences of aggressive behaviour always presupposing the existence of frustration. The theory argues that the cycle of conflict starts with a party or parties to conflict becoming frustrated in the desire to achieve an objective. It is this frustration that leads parties into aggression against the other parties they hold responsible for their woes and the aggression then leads to conflict and violence (Anifowose, 2006). The central gist of the theory is that scarcity is a by-product of insufficient supply or unequal distribution of resources occasioned by deprivation which ultimately leads to aggression (Chikelu, 2017). The implication therefore is that there must be a reason for conflicts as they do not just occur, and this includes competition over natural resource. In essence, frustration instigates aggression against vulnerable targets. It is a necessary and sufficient condition for aggression which can lead to serious conflict (Milner, cited in Chikelu, 2017). Such contestation over scarce natural resources is instructively neither strategic nor rational (Wolf, cited in Chikelu, 2017).

Eco-Violence Theory and the Deprivation, Frustration and Aggression Theory enjoy succinct applicability in this study which examines how herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra State have affected national development in Nigeria. The former lays credence to the practice by herdsmen in northern Nigeria who face the challenge of scarcity of natural resources for feeding their cattle. This scarcity is orchestrated by certain factors including population explosion, climate change and depletion of resources in their environment. It is therefore these conditions that necessitate their migration down southern part of the country. However, they face competition for the resources in their new environment with the local farmers who hold farm lands on subsistence basis. Frustration and aggression consequently occur when the herdsmen face stiff resistance and opposition from farmers who protest grazing on their farms. The worse case happens when the herders' cattle graze on cultivated farmlands. On the other hand, the farmers feel aggrieved on destruction of their crops by cattle. These situations generate conflicts which result in monumental casualties, usually on both sides, with other dire consequences at the national level. It is therefore to this extent that both theories used as framework of analysis in this study are apt.

## **Review of Literature**

### **Conceptualizing Insecurity**

The concept of insecurity has attracted the attention of many scholars in the field of social sciences more than many other concepts. Basically, it is a concept that has not only dominated discourse right from the evolution of man but has continued to evolve in multiple dimensions in the contemporary time. That explains why many scholars have viewed it through many lenses. The implication is that there is, today, many different perspectives to insecurity.

For instance, insecurity is viewed as a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection (Beland, 2005). The core gist of this perspective is the reality of lack of protection which, in turn, triggers fear or anxiety. Regardless of the concise characteristic of this viewpoint, Achumba et al. (2013) went further to widen the scope of insecurity by offering two perspectives to it. In the first leg, they see insecurity as the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. What that portends is that any condition that exposes one to peril and circumstances surrounding it best represents state of insecurity. The peril, no doubt, denotes harm in whatever form it comes.

On the other leg however, the scholars described insecurity as the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. This second standpoint is neither remarkably distinct from the perspective offered on the subject by Beland (2005) nor the definers themselves in their first analysis. This is because the end-product of the exposure to either danger or risk is, undoubtedly, precarious and devastating. What it means is that such exposure results in harm. In essence, what the clarifications on insecurity succinctly revealed is in multi folds. Mainly, they showed that victims of insecurity are vulnerable to danger of harm, and they situation, most often than not, comes impromptu or in reflex.

Nevertheless, a more appropriate way to have a better understanding of what insecurity stands for is to conceptualize security. First reason is because insecurity is the extreme opposite of security (Vambe, 2016). More importantly, through the attempt, the opposite then becomes what insecurity stands to explain. Consequently, some scholars, in conceptualizing security, have projected the ideas of absence of threats to peace, stability, national cohesion, political and socio-

economic objectives of a country (Igbuzor, 2011; Oche, 2001; Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013). Security is simply the existence of conditions within which individuals in a society can go about their normal daily activities without any form of threat to lives and property (Igbuzor 2004, Akin 2008). This is the point which Deutsch (cited in Vambe, 2016) tried to emphasize upon when he maintained that security implies a stable relatively unchanged atmosphere in which individuals or groups may pursue their ends without fear of loss or injury. Muhammed (2012) in his own account tried to put it in a more concise manner when he argued that security entails protection, assurances, a state or sense of safety or certainty, and not being exposed to danger. In fact, Vambe (2016) listed what he described as seven fundamental elements that lie at the core of national security in any given polity to include socio-political stability, territorial integrity, economic solidarity and strength, ecological balance, cultural cohesiveness, moral-spiritual consensus, and external peace. The import of this is that security is a multidimensional and all-encompassing concept.

It is in that light that many scholars have opposed narrow definitions to the concept and insisted that security does not suggest or imply absence of threats or challenges to security. These opponents chose rather to view the concept from the prism of a robust mechanism for offering proactive response to the challenges and threats to security. That explains why Omoyibo and Akpomera (2013) argued that security is a concept that is of paramount concern to the State, and the *raison d'être* of the State.

To address the threat to national security, the federal government of Nigeria has, since the 2013 budget to date, always made a huge allocation to security, with the national assembly passing the Anti-Terrorism Act in 2011 (Ewetan, 2013). It followed this path because the country is today confronted with the challenge of combating serious internal security challenges including Boko Haram insurgency in the North-eastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa and the Niger Delta militancy in the South-south geo-political zone comprising of Bayelsa and Rivers. There are also threats posed by farmers and Fulani herdsmen conflicts across the country as well as kidnappings, ethno-religious crises, political assassinations and so on (Vambe, 2016).

Basically therefore, when we talk about security, we clearly are pointing towards the desideratum, *sine qua non* for economic growth and development of any country (Oladeji and Folorunso, 2007). This conceptualization accounts for the consensus that security is vital for

sustainable development and other vital goals. The key question that begs for an answer then becomes, what is development?

### **Perspectives on Development**

Like other social sciences concepts, there is no international consensus on the definition of development. In fact, arriving at a universally-accepted definition of development is difficult, just like the concept has been discovered to be not only problematic in terms of operational definition but also too argumentative in nature (Ijomah, 2008; Udenigwe, 2010). The reason for the zero-single definition of definition is not far-fetched. As Rodney (cited in Ezeibe, 2015) contended, development consists of many sided process. Apart from that, the divergent views expressed by liberalists and radical Marxists on the concept has not equally helped to pull us out of the enigma (Okeke, 2020).

Expatriating on the exposition, Udenigwe (2010) revealed that the liberalists evaluate development based on the indicators of the economy, interlinked with the structures and natures of the growth of the gross national products. That is why they view development as the maximization of gross-national-products growth-rate through the instrumentality of capital accumulation and industrialization. What this further implies is equating development with quantitative increase in things such as infrastructural and industrial life of the people enabled by the capacity of national economy by the liberalists or economic internationalists. By implication, scholars who hold this view make economic growth or capital accumulation as well as massive physical infrastructure the basic indicators of development. It is as a result of this that scholars like Rostow and Harrod-Domar (cited in Ezeibe, 2015) insisted that economic development and growth result from structural changes, savings and investments in an economy.

Be that as it may, this position on development has been challenged by a set of scholars who accused the liberal viewpoint as inadequate and obviously short-sighted. The failure of economic growth in most developing and developed countries of Latin America and Africa in the late 1970s to deliver corresponding social goods and solve problems of unemployment, poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and ever increasing crimes and wars, necessitated the new thinking, and redefinition of development from economic growth centered perspective to human centered approach (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013). Obviously, new thinking began to see development as rather a broader concept that recognizes psychological and material factors that measure human

well-being (Chandler, 2007). It is therefore in that light that development has rather come to be accepted as multifaceted phenomenon and man centered. It is unarguably a multi-faceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity as well as the process of empowering people to maximize their potentials, and develop the knowledge capacity to exploit nature to meet daily human needs (Ezeibe, 2015; Ake, 2001).

By implication, the set of Marxists scholars, according to Ijomah (2008) hold the view that development does not just refer to growth in the infrastructure but includes other variables such as building of institutions that create the values and norms and the way of life that hold the institutions together. Their major contestation is that linear growth of infrastructures, institutions and industrialization amounts to immaturity. The dependency theorists define development as increase in human capacity to conquer his immediate environment by rational and sustainable use of natural resources with the aid of indigenous technology rather than a mere increase in the quantity of artifacts that a nation acquires; in essence, it involves the use of people's physical and mental energies to conquer and transform their environments (Ezeibe, 2015). That is to say that development is first and foremost a phenomenon associated with changes in man's humanity and creative energies, not in things (Nnoli, cited in Ezeibe, 2015).

Certainly, development is an all-round interconnected progressive transformation of man, society and nature, made possible by his incremental mastery over them; it is a steady movement towards a better graduation (Okeke, 2020; Njoku, 2009; Igwe, 2007). This is why Seers (cited in Ezeibe, 2015) insisted that in determining development, focus should be on the following: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? To him, if all three of these have become less severe, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned but if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all the three have, it would be strange to call the result development, even if per capita income has soared.

To further put the concept in its proper perspective, Okereke and Ekpe (2002) and Udenigwe (2010) outlined the features of development which they divided into economic, political and socio-cultural and described as indicators for determining development in any given society. The economic indicators of development, therefore, include the growth rate in the areas of the gross national product, the measure and levels at which incomes are equitably distributed in any given

society, the high rate of poverty reduction and eradication, the level and natural labour output per man and the extent and level of agricultural development. Others are the level of industrialization, the amount and level of steel and iron consumption in any country, the growth rate of technological development, advancement and transformation; the growth rate of capital formation, the extent to which the economy is diversified, increasing physical infrastructure (example: improvement in its transportation system, increase in electricity supply, extent of its telecommunications system, increase in water supply and waste management system), increasing industrial production and increasing agricultural production. Political indicators of development, on its own, include a clearly-defined process of power succession, the level of integration, the level of political tolerance and compromise, the extent to which fundamental human rights are recognized and enforced, and the level of mass mobilization and participation in policies. Socio-cultural indicators entail the level of social mobilization, the extent of cultural socialization, the prevalence of universalistic norms and the extent to which recruitment is based on achievement rather than ascription (Okereke and Ekpe; 2002; Udenigwe, 2010).

### **Herdsmen and Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria**

The challenge of herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Nigeria is better understood when the observation by Odemwingie (2015) to the effect that the number of cows owned by a herdsman constitutes his social standing and as a result, he guards the animals carefully and fights anybody who tries to harm them. He contended that the Fulani herdsmen are well armed, and move around with weapons, especially their poisoned dagger. According to him, the herdsmen understand that when their animals feed on fresh pasture, the animals will remain healthy and well fed.

Historically, conflicts between herdsmen and farmers were not experienced because herders kept their animals away from farming areas most of the time and thus reduced the incidence of livestock destroying crops (Tonah, 2006; Ofuoku, 2008). However, there is now a consensus among observers that herdsmen and farmers have since the 20th century become widespread in the coastal countries of West Africa necessitated by certain factors which include the southward movement of pastoral herd into the humid and sub-humid zones (Tonah, 2006). By this revelation, it is unarguable that the story has changed due to the considerable growth in human and livestock population which has, in turn, mounted growing pressure on natural resources. The

implication is that herdsmen graze their cattle on farmlands and this triggers reaction from the farmers who put up resistance, thereby leading to clashes.

Obviously, some of the major drivers responsible for the frequent confrontations between farmers and herdsmen have to do with population dynamics with an increased livestock that is estimated at 19 million cows, 45 million sheep and 35 million goats (Kwaja, 2015). Urbanization has led to a situation whereby grazing routes have been tampered with while only 141 grazing reserves out of the 415 initially established were gazetted (Yusuf, 2014). The situation worsens the conflicts and as Stein (2016) revealed, herders were ranked as the fourth deadliest brigand globally.

As it stands, open grazing is a main issue in Nigeria today as herdsmen take farms by force with weapons like AK 47s (Udeagbala, 2020). Supporting this position, Olaniyan, et al. (2015) agreed that as the herdsmen move with their cattle to where the grass is fresh, they often intrude into spaces long cultivated by farmers and conflicts have usually followed. Bolaji (2014) even went further to state that Boko Haram members taught the herdsmen how to move about with AK47s, harassing, dispossessing farmers of their lands/farms and settling forcefully in the areas. In fact, Burton (2016) was emphatic that the reason for the many attacks by the herdsmen was their longstanding disagreements with various communities.

Instructively, open grazing became an issue in Nigeria when the herdsmen started to invade farms, driven by the problem of land scarcity (Tonah, 2006). Sadly and as it stands, the government of Nigeria is still to find a lasting solution to the problem of open grazing in the country (Odoma, 2014). But what is the nexus between insecurity and national development?

### **Insecurity and National Development**

Generally speaking, scholars have identified strong links between security and development since the cold war ended with an argument that development cannot be achieved in any nation where there is insecurity (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013; Chandler, 2007). There is a consensus in the literature that security and development are two different and inseparable concepts that affect each other, and this has naturally triggered debates on security-development nexus (Vambe, 2016; Chandler, 2007; Stan 2004).

However for Nigeria, insecurity is on the increase (Ali, 2013). Many scholars have identified several causes of the insecurity, some of which are internal (Ali, 2013; Okorie, 2011; Jega, 2002; Salawu, 2010; Onyishi, 2011; Ezeoba, 2011; Lewis, 2002). The deteriorating security situation in the country thrives despite the challenges of endemic rural and urban poverty, high rate of unemployment, debilitating youth unemployment, low industrial output, unstable and deteriorating exchange rate, high inflation rate, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, very large domestic debt, and rising stock of external debt (Ewetan, 2013).

Today, it amounts to misnomer to say that Nigeria has witnessed development. This makes much sense when one takes into account the high incidences of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Currently, poverty in Nigeria is high, ravaging, real and pervasive, even as the proportion of Nigerians living in poverty is increasing every year despite the fact that Nigerian economy is paradoxically growing (World Bank, 2019; National Bureau of Statistics, 2010; Dangana, 2011; Asogwa and Okoli, 2008; Okoye, 2002). The share of Nigeria's population living in extreme poverty will have risen from 42.8 percent (in 2016) to 45.0 percent by 2030, representing about 120 million people living on less than US\$1.90 a day (World Bank, 2019). As the Bank puts it:

*Despite being a middle-income economy, Nigeria fares astonishingly poorly in poverty and human capital related outcomes. The number of people living in extreme poverty has gone up from 2011 to 2016, and many more are vulnerable to falling into poverty, especially in the Northern regions of the country. Nigeria ranks among the worst seven performers in the World Bank Human Capital Index and the poor lag far behind the rich in every human capital outcome. (World Bank, 2019:5)*

The poverty challenge in Nigeria forced the federal government in May, 1999 led by President Olusegun Obasanjo to publicly acknowledge that the incidence of poverty and unemployment had assumed a dimension that is socially, economically and politically unacceptable and consequently earmarked the sum of N10 billion for the creation of 200, 000 jobs in the year 2000 in demonstration of the government's desire to eradicate poverty (Okoye, 2002). Yet, Nigeria currently hosts the largest of poor people globally (World Bank, 2019). Inequality which refers to the relative welfare of different groups is high in the country (Inam, 2015; Perkins et al, 2001; Todaro and Smith, 2009). Same also applies to unemployment.

## **Empirical Review**

## **Internal Insecurity and National Development in Nigeria**

Scholars had made attempts in the past to empirically determine the correlations between internal insecurity and national development in Nigeria. For instance, Olabode and Ajibade (2010) carried out a study on the impact of environment-induced conflict on sustainable development in Nigeria using the case of Fulani/and farmer's conflict in Odo-Owa, Oke-ero, Kwara state. In the study, they used the instruments of questionnaire and oral interview with an investigative visit to the sampled groups at Kajolay Owa, Ikotun, Igbede, Ilofa, Egosi and Imode communities, as well as three Fulani settlements at Gaadore, Atapa and Ajo. The objective of the study, among other things, was to identify the source(s) of Fulani-farmers conflict and the impacts of the conflict on agriculture production. Their major finding is that cattle, many times, strayed into the fields and ate up the crops of local farmers thereby resulting in conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Oke-Ero Local Government-Area of Kwara state.

Adekunle and Adisa (2011) on their own conducted an empirical, phenomenological and psychological study of farmer/herdsmen conflicts in North Central Nigeria. The study sought to unearth the underlining causative factors necessitating farmer-herdsmen conflict. Using the instrument of interview, the study found out that information gap, depleting soil fertility, water for cattle and inadequate supply of fertilizer account for the farmers-herdsmen conflicts. Findings by the study revealed that the search for drinking water could be problematic and had often led to fracas; locals abhor sharing drinking water with cattle.

In yet another study, Musa et al. (2014) examined resource-use conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Guma Local Government Area of Benue state, Nigeria with a total of 160 heads of farming households and 40 herdsmen drawn from areas that have experienced farmer-herders conflict purposively selected. Data for the study was collected using questionnaire, field observation and reports from Benue State Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. The study found out that herdsmen were not accepted by their host communities.

Negedu (2005) in his study on constraints to cassava production in Kwara state found from over 90 percent of interviewed farmers that their greatest problem in cassava production is herdsmen's encroachment on their farms. This is even as Ofuoku and Isife (2009) conducted an investigation into farmers/herders' conflict in the country focusing on Delta State using simple random and purposive sampling techniques. Data were collected using a structured interview

schedule. The study found out that the clashes caused many ills which included destruction of crops, contamination of streams by cattle, over-grazing of land, disregard for local traditional authorities, female harassment, harassment of nomads by youths of host communities, indiscriminate bush burning, defecation on roads by cattle, cattle theft, and straying of cattle.

On the other hand, Zhou et al. (2018) investigated grassland ecological change and related factors in the farmers and herdsman conflicts applying non-equilibrium theory. The study found out that grazing-prohibition policy needs urgent adjustment according to management pattern and limited time and space. It consequently recommended improved ecological compensation and diversification as a way to resolve the conflicts.

The implication of the reviewed empirical studies is that previous studies had examined the impacts of the herdsman and farmers clashes on food security, livestock, security architecture and national development using other states as case studies. There has equally been focus on the psychological implications of the herdsman and farmers conflicts. However, there is dearth of literature on the impacts of the herdsman and farmers conflicts on national development, particularly focusing on the recurring situation in Anambra state. This is the gap which this study sought to address.

### **Summary of Literature**

From the reviewed literature, insecurity is viewed as a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection (Beland, 2005) with core gist hinged on the reality of lack of protection which, in turn, triggers fear or anxiety. The same position was adopted by Achumba et al. (2013) who in widening the scope of insecurity by offering two perspectives to it see insecurity as the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. However, scholars which include Igbuzor (2004), Akin (2008) and Deutsch (cited in Vambe, 2016) see security simply as the existence of conditions within which individuals in a society can go about their normal daily activities without any form of threat to lives and property.

With regards to development and discountenancing the economy-related posturing of the economic internationalists with regards to what development stands for, the review of related literature revealed that development has rather come to be accepted as multifaceted phenomenon and man centered involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity as well as the

process of empowering people to maximize their potentials and develop the knowledge capacity to exploit nature to meet daily human needs (Ezeibe, 2015; Ake, 2001). The review unveiled Okeke (2020), Njoku (2009) and Igwe, 2007 as foot soldiers of the argument that development is an all-round interconnected progressive transformation of man, society and nature, made possible by his incremental mastery over them.

However, the review revealed that a herdsman who has come to view the number of cows owned by him as constituting his social standing and as a result, guards the animals carefully and fights anybody who tries to harm them. According to Odemwingie (2015), that explains why herdsmen are well armed, and move around with weapons, especially their poisoned dagger. Historically, conflicts between herdsmen and farmers were not experienced because herders kept their animals away from farming areas most of the time and thus reduced the incidence of livestock destroying crops (Tonah, 2006; Ofuoku, 2008). However, the review revealed that there is now a consensus among observers that herdsmen and farmers have since the 20th century become widespread in the coastal countries of West Africa necessitated by certain factors which include the southward movement of pastoral herd into the humid and sub-humid zones (Tonah, 2006).

Specifically, it was revealed by the literature review that open grazing is a main issue in Nigeria today as herdsmen take farms by force with weapons like AK 47s (Udeagbala, 2020). Supporting this position, Olaniyan, et al. (2015) agreed that as the herdsmen move with their cattle to where the grass is fresh, they often intrude into spaces long cultivated by farmers and conflicts have usually followed.

Through the review, it was discovered that scholars have identified strong links between security and development since the cold war ended with an argument that development cannot be achieved in any nation where there is insecurity (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013; Chandler, 2007). Thus, there is a consensus in the literature that security and development are two different and inseparable concepts that affect each other, and this has naturally triggered debates on security-development nexus (Vambe, 2016; Chandler, 2007; Stan 2004).

On the other hand, it is revealed by the literature review that scholars had made attempts in the past to empirically determine the correlations between internal insecurity and national development in Nigeria. For instance, Olabode and Ajibade (2010) carried out a study on the impact of environment-induced conflict on sustainable development in Nigeria using the case of

Fulani/and farmer's conflict in Odo-Owa, Oke-ero, Kwara state and using the instruments of questionnaire and oral interview with an investigative visit to the sampled groups at Kajolay Owa, Ikotun, Igbede, Ilofa, Egosi and Imode communities, as well as three Fulani settlements at Gaadore, Atapa and Ajo. The objective of the study, among other things, was to identify the source(s) of Fulani-farmers conflict and the impacts of the conflict on agriculture production. Their major finding is that cattle, many times, strayed into the fields and ate up the crops of local farmers thereby resulting in conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Oke-Ero Local Government-Area of Kwara state. Other scholars who have also done work around the variables of this study are Adekunle and Adisa (2011) who on their own conducted an empirical, phenomenological and psychological study of farmer/herdsmen conflicts in North Central Nigeria. The study sought to unearth the underlining causative factors necessitating farmer-herdsmen conflict. Using the instrument of interview, the study found out that information gap, depleting soil fertility, water for cattle and inadequate supply of fertilizer account for the farmers-herdsmen conflicts. Findings by the study revealed that the search for drinking water could be problematic and had often led to fracas; locals abhor sharing drinking water with cattle.

The implication of the reviewed empirical studies is that previous studies had examined the impacts of the herdsmen and farmers clashes on food security, livestock, security architecture and national development using other states as case studies. There has equally been focus on the psychological implications of the herdsmen and farmers conflicts as well as on the impacts of open grazing on the people of Anambra South Senatorial zone. However, there is dearth of literature on the impacts of the herdsmen and farmers conflicts on national development, particularly focusing on the recurring situation in Anambra state. This is the gap identified in the literature review which this study sought to address.

## **Data Presentation and Analysis**

### **Personal Data of Respondents**

#### Gender of the Respondents

**Table 1: Gender of Respondents**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>
Male	159

Female	86
Total	245

The data collated on the sex of the respondents show that 159 were males while 86 were females. The sharp difference is accounted for. This is because more males than females engage in farming in Anambra state. On the other hand, only male herdsmen engage in cattle rearing in the state. The researcher did not encounter female herder at all.

#### Age Distribution of Respondents

**Table 2: Age Distribution of Respondents**

Age Bracket	No. of Respondents
10-39 years	59
40-70 years	190
Total	245

The respondents who fall within the age bracket of 10-39 years are 59 in number while those within the age bracket of 40-70 years are 190. By implication, those within 10-39 years are understandably lesser. Largely speaking, herdsmen fall within that age bracket. Herdsmen are usually young persons. Besides, the fact that only a few of them were reached partly accounted for the low figure. Conversely, only a few young persons engage in farming activities in Anambra state. Between ages 10-39, they are either in school or engaged in business activities or craft, thus, leaving farming for older persons. That explains the high figure for respondents aged 40-70 years.

#### Occupation of Respondents

**Table 3 Occupation of Respondents**

Employment Status	No. of Respondents
Farmers	234
Herdsmen	11

Total	245
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Majority of the respondents are farmers at a total of 243. Herdsmen accounted for only 11. It means that more farmers offered responses than herdsmen.

#### Educational Qualifications of Respondents

**Table 4 Educational Qualifications of Respondents**

<b>Educational Qualifications</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>
Diploma/First Degree	60
First School Leaving Certificate	174
Nomadic Education	2
None	9
Total	245

The table above shows that out of the 11 herdsmen/respondents, only 2 had nomadic education. The remaining 9 neither received formal nor nomadic education. On the other hand, out of the 234 farmers/respondents, 60 have Diploma/First Degree while 174 have First School Leaving Certificate.

#### **Analysis of Research Question**

Research Question 1: How have herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra State affected national development in Nigeria?

**Table 5: Mean Score and Standard Deviation Analysis on the Effect of Herdsmen and Farmers Conflicts in Anambra State on National Development in Nigeria**

SN	Effects of Herdsmen and Farmers conflicts in Anambra State on National Development in Nigeria	Mean	SD	Decision
1	Lives, farmlands, cattle and property are lost in each clash	2.75	1.01	Agreed
2	The clashes threaten my family livelihood	2.79	0.92	Agreed
3	The conflict leaves me without money	2.60	1.03	Agreed
4	It worsens level of poverty	3.31	0.80	Agreed
5	Jobs are threatened as a result of the clashes	2.97	0.87	Agreed
6	Prices of farm produce/diary rise after herdsmen and farmers clashes	2.80	0.94	Agreed
7	Farmers and herdsmen fear going to farms, for grazing over clashes	2.92	0.88	Agreed
8	The clashes weaken local economy and productivity	3.13	0.83	Agreed
9	Farmers and herdsmen want an end to the conflicts	2.71	0.96	Agreed
10	Crises are caused by farmers	2.46	0.95	Disagreed
11	Clashes have defied local solutions	3.31	0.78	Agreed
12	State Government's committee is yet to end crises or reduce tensions	2.90	1.01	Agreed
13	The new Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law has failed to end herdsmen and farmers clashes in the state	3.52	0.66	Agreed
14	Clashes negatively affect rural development	2.92	0.94	Agreed
15	They threaten peace and breeds insecurity in rural areas	3.49	0.70	Agreed
16	The clashes result in food and diary scarcity	2.86	0.94	Agreed
17	The clashes create other political and socio-cultural problems for the community	3.63	0.57	Agreed
18	Federal Government needs to intervene to end clashes	3.16	0.81	Agreed
19	Nigeria cannot achieve national development in the face of the clashes	3.45	0.69	Agreed
20	Herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra State affects the rest of the country	3.57	0.64	Agreed
<b>Average Mean Score</b>		<b>6.12</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>Agreed</b>

As the table shows, the respondents agreed to almost all the items in the questionnaire. In particular, the agreed that lives, farmlands, cattle and property are lost in each herdsmen and farmers conflict in their communities with mean score of 2.75; that the clashes threaten family livelihood with mean score of 2.78; that the clashes leave them without money with 2.60; and that it worsens level of poverty with mean score of 3.31. The respondents equally agreed that jobs are threatened as a result of the conflicts with mean score of 2.97; that prices of farm produce/diary rise after herdsmen and farmers clashes with mean score of 2.80; that clashes negatively affect rural development with mean score 2.92; and that the clashes threaten peace

and breeds insecurity in rural areas with mean score of 3.49. Other effects of herdsman and farmers conflicts in Anambra state agreed upon by the respondents are that the clashes result in food and diary scarcity with mean score of 2.86; that farmers and herdsman fear going to farms and for grazing over clashes with mean score of 2.92; that the clashes weaken local economy and productivity with mean score of 3.13; and that the clashes create other political and socio-cultural problems for the community with mean score of 3.63. The mean score of each of the items is more than the benchmark of 2.50, thus, signifying agreement with each item.

However, majority of the respondents disagreed that the herdsman and farmers conflicts in Anambra state are caused by farmers with a mean score of 2.46 which is less than the benchmark of 2.50. The outcome could have been necessitated by the fact that more farmers (234 out of the 245 respondents) provided responses. Only 11 herdsman responded for reasons stated limitation of the study.

Be that as it may, the investigation revealed that the farmers and herdsman want an end to the conflicts with a mean score of 2.71. They hinged their expectation on the premise that the clashes have defied local solutions at a mean score of 3.31. In fact, they lamented that the State Government's committee is yet to end crises or reduce tensions at a mean score of 2.90. It is also their belief that the new Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law which came into operation in October, 2021 has failed to end herdsman and farmers clashes in the state with a mean score of 3.52. Thus, they agreed that the Federal Government needs to intervene to end the clashes with a mean score of 3.16. This is because of their conviction that Nigeria cannot achieve national development in the face of the herdsman and farmers conflicts in Anambra state with a mean score of 3.45. In essence, they agreed that herdsman and farmers conflicts in Anambra state affect the rest of the country with a mean score of 3.57. In all, the Average Mean Score of 6.12 is higher than the benchmark of 2.50

### **Test of Hypothesis**

Hypothesis: Herdsman and farmers clashes in Anambra State have not supported national development in Nigeria

**Table 6 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of the Difference among Herdsmen and Farmers regarding their Assessment on Effect of Clashes on National Development in Nigeria.**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F-Cal</b>	<b>F-Critit</b>
<b>Level of Significance</b>					
Between Groups	54.047	2	27.024	.027	19.430
Within Group	6186.390	235	26.325		0.05
Total	6240.437	237			

From the table, the value of F-calculated is .027 while F-critical is 19.430. The degree of freedom is 2, just as the level of significance is 0.05. The implication where the value of F-critical 19.430 is greater than F-calculated of .027 at 2 degree of freedom and at 0.05 level of significance is that the hypothesis of the study to the effect that herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state have not supported national development in Nigeria is retained.

### **Discussion of Findings**

One of the findings of the study is the disagreement by the respondents that the herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra state are caused by farmers with a mean score of 2.46 and an agreement by the respondents that lives, farmlands, cattle and property are lost in each herdsmen and farmers conflict in their communities with mean score of 2.75. This finding squarely places the blame on herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state at the doorstep of herdsmen and agrees with the position of scholars like Udeagbala (2020), Olaniyan, et al. (2015), Bolaji (2014) and Burton (2016) who believe that open grazing is a main issue in Nigeria today as herdsmen take farms by force with weapons like AK 47s. Specifically, Olaniyan, et al. (2015) agreed that as the herdsmen move with their cattle to where the grass is fresh, they often intrude into spaces long cultivated by farmers and conflicts have usually followed. In the same vein, Bolaji (2014) stated that Boko Haram members taught the herdsmen how to move about with AK47s, harassing, dispossessing farmers of their lands/farms and settling forcefully in the areas while Burton (2016) was emphatic that the reason for the many attacks by the herdsmen was their longstanding disagreements with various communities. Also, Tonah (2006) agreed that open grazing became an issue in Nigeria when the herdsmen started to invade farms, driven by the problem of land scarcity. In fact, Odemwingie (2015) stated that a herdsman guards his cattle carefully and fights anybody who tries to harm them; they move around with weapons,

especially their poisoned dagger. This by extension entails destruction of lives and properties by the clashes, which is among the findings of the study.

The study also found that the clashes threaten family livelihood with mean score of 2.78; that the conflicts leave them without money with 2.60; and that it worsens level of poverty with mean score of 3.31. These agree with the position of Inam (2015), Daniel et al. (2009) and Okoro and Kigho (2013) who maintained that violence accounts for poverty in Nigeria. As World Bank (2019), National Bureau of Statistics (2010), Dangana (2011), Asogwa and Okoli (2008) and Okoye (2002) posited, proportion of Nigerians living in poverty is increasing every year, just as the share of Nigeria's population living in extreme poverty is projected to still rise despite the fact that the country currently hosts largest reservoir of poor people globally.

The investigation revealed that the herdsmen and farmers clashes negatively affect rural development with mean score 2.92; threaten peace and breeds insecurity in rural areas with mean score of 3.49, weaken local economy and productivity with mean score of 3.13; and create other political and socio-cultural problems for the community with mean score of 3.63. These findings agree with the views of Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), Chandler (2007), Vambe (2016) and Stan (2004) who posited that development cannot be achieved in any nation where there is insecurity as security and development are two different and inseparable concepts that affect each other.

On the other hand, the investigation revealed that the farmers and herdsmen want an end to the conflicts with a mean score of 2.71. They hinged their expectation on the premise that the clashes have defied local solutions at a mean score of 3.31, lamented that the State Government's committee is yet to end crises or reduce tensions at a mean score of 2.90., expressed their belief that the new Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law which came into operation in October, 2021 has failed to end herdsmen and farmers conflicts in the state with a mean score of 3.52, agreed that the Federal Government needs to intervene to end the clashes with a mean score of 3.16, expressed conviction that Nigeria cannot achieve national development in the face of the herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state with a mean score of 3.45 and agreed that herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra state affect the rest of the country with a mean score of 3.57. These findings agreed with the position of Odoma (2014) that the government of Nigeria is yet to find a lasting solution to the problem of open grazing in the country (Odoma, 2014).

## Summary

The study was necessitated by the incidences of herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state vis-à-vis the quest by Nigeria to attain national development. It was equally prompted by the dearth of literature which examines the effects of internal insecurity on the country's national development, with particular reference to the herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state that have become a recurring challenge. In essence, the broad objective of the study was to determine the correlations between internal insecurity and national development in Nigeria while the specific objective was to examine how herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state have affected national development in Nigeria.

Even though herdsmen and farmers conflicts have become a real disaster for Nigeria, generally speaking, becoming more organized and coordinated in recent times, Anambra state in particular has borne a scary brunt of the conflict. The sad narrative is that the activities of these herdsmen in some communities in Anambra state have become a source of great worry to the people as a result of the huge damage the cattle inflict on crops and farmlands in these rural communities which the breeders illegally and brazenly colonize as grazing grounds. The problem festers because farming in the state is subsistence, and land ownership is hereditary. Much more worrisome is that the state government and by extension federal government, are yet to find a lasting solution to the problem of open grazing in the country and herdsmen and farmers conflicts. Even the Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Bill of Anambra State signed in October, 2021 by the state governor, Willie Obiano is yet to tame the monster of open grazing in the state as a way to end the herdsmen and farmers conflicts. Cattle continue to graze in the open and there is grave concern over the implications which this has on national development in Nigeria, which is what this study attempts to find out.

The following research question was therefore formulated to guide the study: How have herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state affected national development in Nigeria? In finding answers to the question, the study adopted Descriptive Survey Design. Questionnaire served as instrument for data collection. The instrument consists of 20 questions designed to elicit responses on the effects of herdsmen and farmers conflicts in Anambra state on national

development in Nigeria. The study used Yamane (1967) formula to determine the sample size of 400 respondents. Benchmark for establishing whether the respondents agreed or disagreed with each of the items on the questionnaire was 2.50. Mean and Standard Deviation was employed to answer the research question. Test of hypothesis was carried out at 0.05 level of significance using one-way Analysis Of Variance (ANOVA). The study adopted the Eco-Violence Theory and the Deprivation, Frustration and Aggression Theory as the frameworks for analysis. Using more than a single theory for the study was to enable relatively rigorous analysis owing to the peculiarities of the variables under study.

The study found out that lives, farmlands, cattle and property are lost in each herdsman and farmers clash in Anambra, leaving the victims without money, worsened level of poverty, threat to jobs, increase in prices of farm produce and dairy, negative impact on rural development and threat to peace in rural areas. Other effects are food and dairy scarcity, fear of going to farms and for grazing, weakening of local economy and productivity as well as other political and socio-cultural problems. However, majority of the respondents disagreed that the herdsman and farmers clashes in Anambra state are caused by farmers. The investigation revealed that the farmers and herdsman want an end to the conflicts since the clashes have defied local solutions, including the new Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law which came into operation in October, 2021. Specifically, the study found the need for Federal Government to intervene in order to end the clashes since the country cannot achieve national development in the face of the herdsman and farmers clashes in Anambra state.

### **Conclusion**

The broad objective of the study was to determine the correlations between internal insecurity and national development in Nigeria. Specifically, it intended to examine how herdsman and farmers' conflicts in Anambra state have affected national development in Nigeria. On this, the study found that herdsman and farmers conflicts in Anambra state have some negative consequences. They include loss of lives, farmlands, cattle and property; worsened level of poverty, threat to jobs, increase in prices of farm produce and dairy, negative impact on rural development and threat to peace in rural areas. Other effects are food and dairy scarcity, fear of going to farms and for grazing, weakening of local economy and productivity as well as other political and socio-cultural problems. Other finding is that the new Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law which came into operation in

October, 2021 has failed to end open grazing and conflicts between herdsmen and farmers in the state. Finally, the study found that Nigeria cannot achieve national development in the face of the recurring herdsmen and farmers' clashes in Anambra state as the impacts, by extension, affect the rest of the country.

### **Recommendations**

In view of the findings, the study therefore came up with the following recommendations:

- i. The need for the state government to devise strategies for effective implementation of its Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law 2021. This is with a view to ending open grazing of cattle in the state and its attendant negative effects.
- ii. The need for an intervention by the Federal Government in order to end the challenge since the country cannot achieve national development in the face of the herdsmen and farmers clashes in Anambra state. This recommendation is predicated on the fact that internal defence remains an exclusive function of the federal government which also controls the armed forces necessary for effective implementation of the Cattle and Other Livestock Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law 2021 of Anambra state. Besides, such intervention will deflect the belief that the central government is an accomplice in the herdsmen and farmers conflicts often spearheaded by herdsmen. Achieving national development in Nigeria will be a reality when the federal government takes proactive steps in ending the conflict.

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