



**PROJECT REPORT ON CONFLICT MAPPING
INTO INCESSANT CRISES BETWEEN THE TIV FARMERS AND THE
FULANI HERDSMEN IN GUMA & MAKURDI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS
OF BENUE STATE, NIGERIA & MULTI-STAKEHOLDERS DIALOGUE**

BY

**WOMEN ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMME (WEP)
BLOCK E FLAT 2 ANAMBRA COURT, GADUWA HOUSING ESTATE, AFTER
APO LEGISLATIVE QUARTERS, ABUJA NIGERIA**

FOR

INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (IPCR)

AND

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Societies generally across the world, especially in Africa, have had very disturbing phases in their history. Such phases are characterized by inter group rivalries. In some societies, the levels of conflicts have reached alarming stages that it seems hardly possible to imagine that such societies ever enjoyed any peaceful relationship. The rising tide of instability and the issue of peace and national security are essential in the understanding of the development of societies. The significance of the issue of peace and security cannot be overemphasized in the light of their relationships with one another.

In recent times, the issues of conflict and instability in the north region of Nigeria has become a major focus or at least has seemed to dominate the focus of the Nigerian Government, International and National or indigenous development organizations. It is against this backdrop that Women Environmental Programme (WEP) initiated this action with the support of her partners the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) and the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) with respect to the incessant conflicts amongst Tiv farmers and Fulani pastoralist in Benue State, north central Nigeria.

The project specifically targeted critical actors and stakeholders in Benue State covering Gwer-west, Makurdi and Guma LGAs, Tiv farmers, the Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), Government institutions, Traditional leaders, Religious leaders, Women and Youths groups at the community level, Individuals, NGOs/CBOs.

The methodologies involve conflict mapping with in-depth studies on the conflict in the affected local government areas, analysis of the focus groups discussions, interviews with key actors, multi- stakeholder local dialogues for tension reduction. Apart from Focus Group discussion and interviews of the key actors and stakeholders attempts were made at carrying out interviews one-on-one in a stratified manner targeting the key Governmental Agencies as well as the "illustrious sons" of the communities and other stakeholders in the conflict areas of the local governments. The conflict mapping process was followed by a multi-stakeholder local

dialogue where representatives of the parties as well as other relevant stakeholders collectively reviewed the information gathered in the mapping and brainstormed on the way forward.

Findings

- The cattle Fulani, before 1980 had lived cordially, mutually coexisting with the Tiv farmers especially in these three districts of Tongov Sengev and Tyoughatee.
- The origin of the conflict is the conflict over the 'material' needed for 'existence'. The struggle between the two groups is because each is struggling to survive or exist and each group depends on the same material called the 'green of the land'.
- Another cause of conflict is the Quantum nature of land. Land has a fixed value it is given by God to be fixed, not to increase. Therefore since the population of farmers is increasing, the population of the people of Nigeria and indeed the local governments is increasing by 2.8% (1963 Federal Government Census Figures) thus more people, more farmers will depend on land which has a fixed value hence the supply to demand relationship will not be balanced and as such conflict will arise.
- The large influx of herdsmen into the Benue trough/Benue valley is a cause of conflict. Statistics have shown that the influx from Nassarawa to Benue is on the increase at a rate of 3 – 4% annually and 1.5 – 2% leaves the valley every year while 0.5 – 0.8% is consumed as meat in abattoirs, in the slaughter houses Federal Livestock Department Report (2004). By implication there is always a large percentage of livestock in the Benue valley every year. As was reported, the type of grass, the soil type that encourages and supports vegetation cover creates an enabling environment suitable for the herdsmen to desire to pasture in this valley. The number of the cattle Fulani herdsmen is thus increasing as the population of the farmers on this land.

- Another cause, which immediately sparks up conflicts between the Tiv- farmers and the Cattle Fulani, is “the claim by the Fulanis of their payment of compensation to the Traditional rulers” in Gwer-west Local Government which they claim gives them the right to graze over the land.
- “The Unforgiveness” attitude or culture of the Fulanis: This fact was obtained from several Authorities vested with management of peace in the State. The secretary of Meyette-Allah (The Association of Cattle Breeders of Nigeria) Benue State Chapter also confirmed this fact. The Fulanis are still revenging the ‘Ijov Pupuu’ episode of the early eighties.
- There is a historic relationship between the Tiv man and the Fulanis. The Fulanis call the Tiv-man ‘Munchi’. This is a Hausa word meaning ‘we have eaten’. Historically the Tiv man is believed to have killed and eaten a Fulani cow when the Tivs and Fulanis were moving together in the migrational train as was revealed through Ethnographic Studies. The Fulani’s have the believe that as long as they are in the mist of the Tiv people, some of their cows must be lost, this makes a Fulani man to ever live suspecting a Tiv, man over the loss of their cattle.
- It was discovered that there were several instances where ‘mischief makers’ had set false alarm by saying that either the Fulani’s or the Tiv people are coming for an attack. This had caused fears in the Tiv or Fulani community and the people either the Tivs or the Fulani’s had run for their dear lives and these mischief makers rooted, stole and caused other mischief actions. This is of a great concern and it has several dimensions, and has been found to transcend to the other Local Governments too.
- The findings revealed that between 1980 – 1984, the conflict was volatile. The nature of the conflict that time was volatile, unfriendly, harsh and resulted into a wanton killing of cows of the Fulanis who were reported to have fled for their lives.

- The episode of 1980 – 1984 over eighty (80) Fulani cattle of them killed in an 'Ijov pupuu' or 'white mushroom' episode. It is not clear if some Fulanis lost their lives in this attack but for large flocks to have been killed meant a lot of loss to the Fulanis even if this was to make them leave Gwer-West FADAMA land by a forceful act.
- The Fulani attackers used sophisticated weapons, which did not only kill people but also set into flames houses and structures. The attackers came in the military uniforms so they could have been hired. They may not necessarily have been Fulanis if they came for revenge they could be militia on a mission to revenge. The attack was swift and the attackers came using speed boats by river Benue, completed their assignment and went back through the same route.
- Displacement of the Tivs from their places of origin. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the local governments have found refuge in other districts, towns and settlements including Agaigbe, Naka, Atukpu, Tse-Iorbogo and other missionary centers outside the conflict areas including Mission Station Ajigba of the NKST Church other Christian centers like the Catholic Church premises in Agaigbe and the voluntary organization in the Local Government Areas.
- Poverty: Because the people displaced are peasant farmers they now depend on others to give them land to plant crops on a smaller scale than what they have cultivated before. This is leading to low agricultural yield mainly to support their existence at a subsistence level. Their economic well-being is thus tempered with because of this conflict.
- Reduced standard and levels of education has been noticed. Their unhealthy looks were also visually observed. The conflict has led their children to be out of school for about one year, as their parents cannot afford the school fees. The low capital base leads them to poor health.

- Environmental degradation has been found to be high particularly in areas where the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are staying. Refuse disposal heaps, human wastes and associated household wastes create environmental degradation as drainages are found to be blocked due to poor sanitary conditions and above all potable water is found to be lacking during the dry season.
- Many people were killed in the conflict both young and old.
- Some of the cattle Fulanis do not know their bearings. Because there are no cattle routes they graze without limit and in most cases they are not guided (or guided by children) and so they cause not just havoc on to the crops but the response by the farmer's results into violent conflicts, which lead to wanton destruction of lives and properties.
- The Benue State Government has set up a joint committee with the Nassarawa State Government because of wide accusations that the Fulanis are used for reasons outside of the struggle for material existence. This report has been completed and the committee set up by government has submitted its report.
- In Makurdi Local Government, Developers are made to pay a levy of between ₦35, 000 – ₦40, 000 to the traditional rulers for every plot somebody is allocated and want to develop. This is a common practice, which is illegal but allowed to continue. it must be true that the traditional rulers are collecting tolls from the Fulanis who claim that they are buying pasture land for a given period. The developers give money and they are not given receipt and so the Fulanis too give money and do not get the receipt for it.
- The first noticeable conflict between the Tivs and the Fulanis in Guma LGA originated when the Fulanis diverted from the old cattle route which came from Awe through Akaahena to Torkula then west wards to 'Ortese' and out to 'Doma' district. This route clearly was away from the Makurdi north because of the absence of the flood plains in

the North Bank area of Makurdi town. The population of the cattle made the cattle Fulanis to begin to seek other routes to lead them to areas close to Makurdi namely Rukobi, Anter, and Nyijir. These are all 'rich' and evergreen arable land suitable for pasture. The land around Nyijir settlement which is close to Akpanaja in the neighbouring Doma district of Nasarawa State is low enough and has the FADAMA characteristic of the Benue trough more so because of the 'Wururu' stream that enters river Benue and acts as part of the 1923 delimited boundary stream by the colonial administrators. The dimension from the route has thus taken this nomads to lands far away from the tract which was earmarked for the cattle by colonial administrators and which has been in use up to the late seventies.

- One of the origins of the conflicts between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani cattle rearers is traced to the fact of the influx of the Fulanis from Nasarawa State on the boundary line which was delimited by the 1916, 1919 and 1924 description. Whereas National Boundary Commission, the presidency Abuja handed over this delimitation instruments in 1991 to Benue and Plateau State, Benue State Government rejected them as not being legal instrument to bind the states together. Any conflict from Nasarawa State including the conflict of Tiv farmers with the Fulanis is viewed by the some highly placed political actors as being one of the actions by the Nasarawa State to send the Tiv people/farmers away from their ancestral home. More so as the 'Fulanis' who come to breed the cattle are not the Fulanis but from other tribes. Because they do not even understand Hausa language the Tiv people view them as 'militia' coming under cover of cattle Fulanis to cause mischief and attack them and send them away from the boundary corridor.
- The attacks are not only on the Tiv farmers but the crops they produced hence the farm yield are affected.
- Pastoralists need land for grazing purpose

- Tiv farmers equally need land for farming activities
- The conflict is polarized due to the porous borders
- That absence of grazing reserves and routes precipitates and facilitated the conflict
- Encroachment on grazing routes which have gone extinct/blockage of cattle routes
- Increase in human and livestock population with no corresponding increase in land mass
- Lack of control of the migrant life style of the nomads generates conflict
- Unemployment by youths is the cause of mischievous activities between Tiv farmers/Fulani herdsmen

Challenges

- The project was to be carried out in Makurdi and Guma LGAs however in the cause of implementation, WEP discovered that the genesis of the conflict started from Gwer-west hence it took a further step in ensuring that Gwer-west was part of the project. Involving Gwer-west cost time and finance but was necessary if the project objective was to be attained.
- The project was limited to Benue State; however the mapping reveals that Nassarawa State plays an active role in triggering the conflict amongst the Tiv farmers and Fulani herdsmen as Nassarawa State has been accused of accomplice by several critical actors till date.

Recommendations

- Government should put in place measures to check proliferation or influx of pastoralists from other neighbouring countries;
- Government should construct more Dams in far north especially cattle producing states;
- Efforts should be intensified to integrate Fulani and Tiv Farmers into farming and cattle rearing;
- For a holistic resolution of the crisis in the Benue Valley all ethnic groups should be brought together in Forum: Tiv/Fulani Forum for dialogue and peace building purposes;
- Training of Traditional/Religious Institutions on peace building and conflict resolution;
- Domestication of cattle is a lasting alternative which needs to be put into consideration especially as times are changing, population is on the increase, cattle is on the increase but land is constant; more so, considering the effects of climate change coming into play;
- Provision of grazing reserves and cattle routes accompanied with necessary infrastructural facilities such as water, nomadic schools, veterinary and human medical services, etc.
- The project recognizes that the Government of Benue State has established the position of a Special Assistant on Fulani issues however, it is important that the Appointee should be of Fulani extraction as agreed by the Fulani pastoralists/Meyatti Allah;
- Deliberate efforts should be made by the government of the two states (Benue and Nassarawa) to create access roads to the conflict areas;

- The institution of a Tiv/Fulani Women Community Forum for the purpose of peace building;
- Where there exist no Fulani community leaders (Ardos) they should be appointed. Similarly, Tiv communities at the Benue/Nasarawa borders be accorded traditional rights;
- Governments of Benue and Nassarawa States should encourage Tiv communities to live in cluster settlements;
- More needs to be done to resolve the conflict targeting Nassarawa State which is a critical actor in this conflict and not just concentrating on Benue State alone;
- The National Boundary Commission needs to be sensitized on the need to ensure proper demarcation/reviewing existing demarcations of borders around States in Nigeria as this has been a recurring point of conflict in Nigeria;

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

ADR	-	Alternative Dispute Resolution
CAN	-	Christian Association of Nigeria
CBA	-	Community Based Approach
CBO	-	Community Based Organisation
CERI	-	Community Emergency Response Initiative
DG	-	Director General
ED	-	Executive Director
EU	-	European Union
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
FOMWAN	-	Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
HRH	-	His Royal Highness
IDPs	-	Internal Displaced Persons
IPCR	-	Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
JDPC	-	Justice Development & Peace Commission
JNI	-	Jama'atu Nasiru Islam
JP	-	Jerusalem Pilgrimage
LG	-	Local Government
LGA	-	Local Government Authority
MACBAN	-	Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTA	-	Nigerian Television Authority
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
WEP	-	Women Environmental Programme

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Whereas by the terms of the contract agreement signed between Women Environmental programme (WEP) and the Employer, the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the conflict mapping involving the Tiv Farmers and Fulani Herdsmen was restricted to Makurdi and Guma Local Government Areas of Benue State, it became necessary to include the third local government in this conflict mapping namely Gwer-west Local Government Area also of Benue State. The reasons for the inclusion of this Local Government will become clearer in the cause of the analysis of the conflict situation but it is necessary to mention at this stage that:

- (a) The conflicts between the Tiv Farmers and the Fulani Herdsmen in Benue State started in Gwer-west and any kind of conflict mapping being contemplated without getting started from where the conflict first originated would only yield results which will only be skeletal without reference to the 'deep rooted' nature but will be examined in the light of competition for state interest only. It was therefore opined by the consultants that the deep rooted conflict types like the ones before the consultants where the 'material existence' of the rural dwellers in these three local governments play an important role in understanding the conflicts, it should be noted and agreed as being natural and functional between the resident Tivs and the nomadic Fulanis. Thus agrees with the conceptual model of Morsley (1989). This mapping therefore was not to include Gwer-West Local Government but the consultants decided to start with Gwer West local government then to Makurdi and to Guma local government in that order.
- (b) The second reason for inclusion of Gwer West Local Government was related to the geospatial location of the three local governments, their population distribution together with the terrain analysis and drainage characteristics of the three Local Government areas. It is to be noted that Makurdi, Gwer West and Guma Local Government areas of Benue state all fall within what is regarded as the Benue trough or Benue Valley.

Population wise the highest populated Local Government is obviously Makurdi Local Government by 1963 census figures (which is the state capital defined by 16 kilometers radius from the centroid of the capital which is around General post office Makurdi). Closely related to this in population is Guma local Government which has a lower per kilometre population density when compared to Gwer-West but due to the large area coverage/land mass of Guma local government, the population outweighs that of Gwer-West Local government Area which has a lower land mass.

- (c) There is also the attractive nature of the drainage characteristics of the trough. All the rivers/streams in these trough flows from the south or the South-East towards either River Benue or River Katsina Ala. Smaller rivers (which are seasonal) too flow in the same direction and discharge in river Benue or river Katsina Ala. This trough otherwise called the Benue Basin is also characterised by good vegetation, which is almost available for ten (10) out of the twelve (12) calendar months of the year hence facilitating the evergreen nature of the grass, which is found to be always available, and perhaps an attraction for the herdsmen with their cattle. The water table is relatively high particularly in the location within 20-25km of the flood belt or plains of the river Benue and 10-15km off the Katsina Ala flood plains. The availability of the green grass within these local governments, the low population density in the outskirts (10-16km radius) of Makurdi and the low population density in Guma local government area particularly in the settlements like Anter, Nyijir and the neighbouring Akpanaja makes pastureland attractive and a place worth feeding the cattle in this trough by the cattle Fulanis in their two local government areas.

The three local government areas understudy, Gwer West has a wider flood plain in the district of Sengev after Agaigbe settlement. Before the year 1986, accessibility to the settlement of Agaigbe was difficult. The bridge across River Nagi along Naka to Agaigbe was not constructed. It was therefore not easy to reach Agaigbe the headquarters of Sengev district. The distance from Agaigbe to River Benue, which is about 18km, was difficult to traverse. Due to the marshy nature of the terrain but attractive flood plain and the fallow, uncultivated

nature this area this place was found a good pasture to feed the cattle by the Fulanis. This belt extends to Apa local government area (the neighbouring local government to Gwer-West along river Benue). In this report, attempts are made to unveil how the 'Miyette Allah' has described this local government as 'Afghanistan' – 'the cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria', (MACBAN) Benue State Branch. The Consultants received a report from the coordinating leader/secretary of the Fulani herdsmen in Benue state and which revealed why there are no Fulanis in Gwer-west local government as of the time of this conflict mapping and the withdrawal of the Fulanis from breeding their cattle in the fertile and rich plains around the three districts in Gwer West of Benue State.

1.2 OVERALL OBJECTIVE

To contribute to the development and strengthening of indigenous, sustainable resources for conflict prevention and resolution in the target locations of Makurdi and Guma LGAs among Tiv Farmers and Fulani nomads through the strengthening of gender roles and the promotion of knowledge and skills acquisition in the areas of conflict analysis, mediation, negotiation, conciliation, advocacy, and early warning.

1.2.1 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- Promote mediation and other conciliatory methods of conflict resolution.
- Increase community awareness and practice of mediation.
- Promote partnership with FBOs, CBOs and other stakeholders to provide a high quality client focused service and deliver services to the conflict prone communities.
- Strengthening gender roles in conflict prevention and resolution
- Increase the capacities of mediators work to the highest professional standards, within the best practice guidelines and the principles of mediation.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The project involve conflict mapping which has been done in Local Government Areas of Gwer-west, Makurdi and Guma. It dwelled on sectoral accounts taking each of these local governments as a sector. Each sector therefore was mapped in details with in-depth studies

on the conflict. It contain analysis of the focus groups discussions, interviews with key actors, multi- stakeholder local dialogues for tension reduction, stakeholders including Local Authorities, Traditional Rulers, Religious Leaders, Fulani pastoralists, Tiv Farmers, Women and Youth groups at the community levels in the local governments.

Apart from Focus Group discussion and interviews of the key actors and stakeholders attempts were made at carrying out interviews one-on-one in a stratified manner targeting the key Governmental Agencies as well as the “illustrious sons” of the communities and other stakeholders in the conflict areas of the local governments. The conflict mapping process was followed by a multi-stakeholder local dialogue where representatives of the parties as well as other relevant stakeholders collectively reviewed the information gathered in the mapping and brainstormed on the way forward.

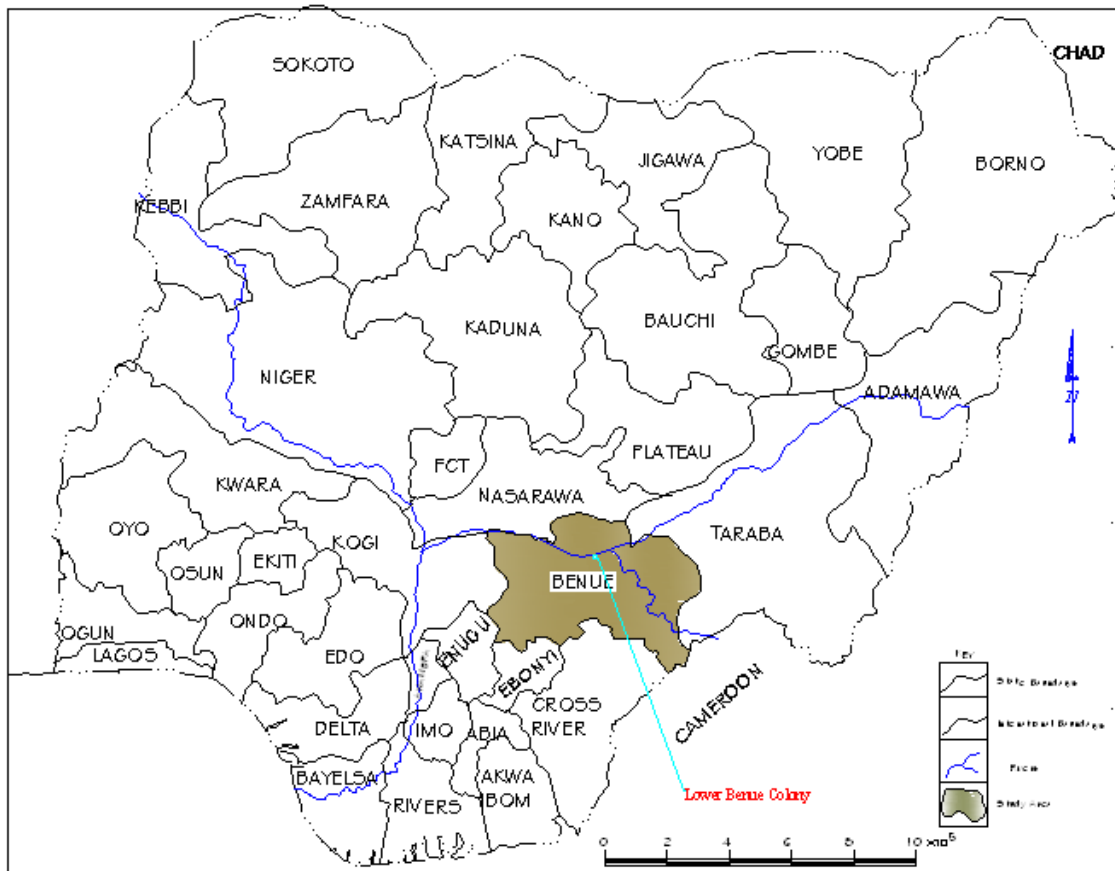
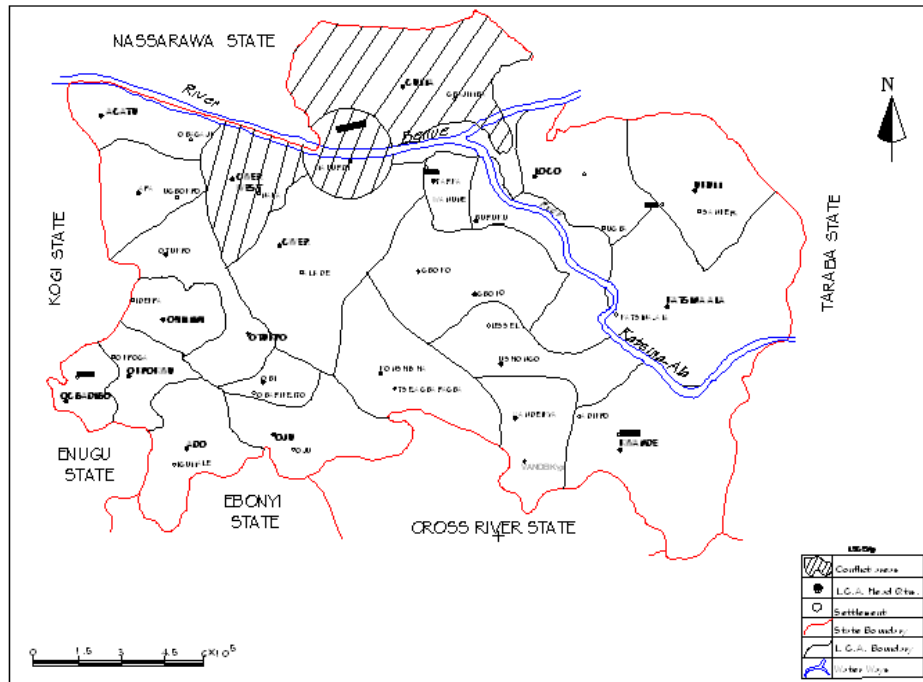


Fig.1.2(a) MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING BENUE STATE
Source: Ministry of Lands and survey Makurdi, 2012



Map of Benue State Showing Local Government under study

Source: Ministry of Lands and Survey Makara, 2012

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT MAPPING – SECTORAL REPORT

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This sectoral report contains the origin of the conflict, the cause(s) of the incessant conflict between the Tiv-farmers and Fulani herdsmen and the Nature of the conflict. This report has also included the attempts of the three tiers of Government in curtailing the disputes and the effectiveness of such machineries of Government or any agency or stakeholders in restoring peace, resolving the dispute at the local level. The role of the women, the youth and the traditional rulers in this crisis is also analysed. The impact of the conflict on the rural development in these three Local Governments shall also be evaluated.

2.1 The Origin of the Conflict in Gwer-West Local Government Area of Benue State

From the Focus Groups Discussions (FGD) at the traditional council chamber in Naka, the Gwer-west Local Government Headquarters and the meeting with the traditional rulers (District heads) of Sengeev, and Tongov districts, in the secretariat of Gwer-West local Government Area, it was clear that the origin of the dispute could be traced to the conflict over what WEP (the consultants) have identified as "conflict over material existence" between the Tiv- farmers and the Fulani herdsmen. In this local government, the three districts which are bordering with River Benue and which are mostly within the flood plains of River Benue have been found to have pastureland suitable and most desirable for feeding and breeding the cattle by the Fulanis. The use of this pastureland did not pose a problem to the Tiv farmers before the early Eighties (1980-1984). Reports have it that with the green Revolution campaigns of the previous administrations and the programme called "operation feed the Nation", there were growing interests to go back to land for Agricultural production in Benue State and Gwer-West in particular. The agricultural production programmes gained support in Benue State when it was tagged "The Food Basket of the Nation" .

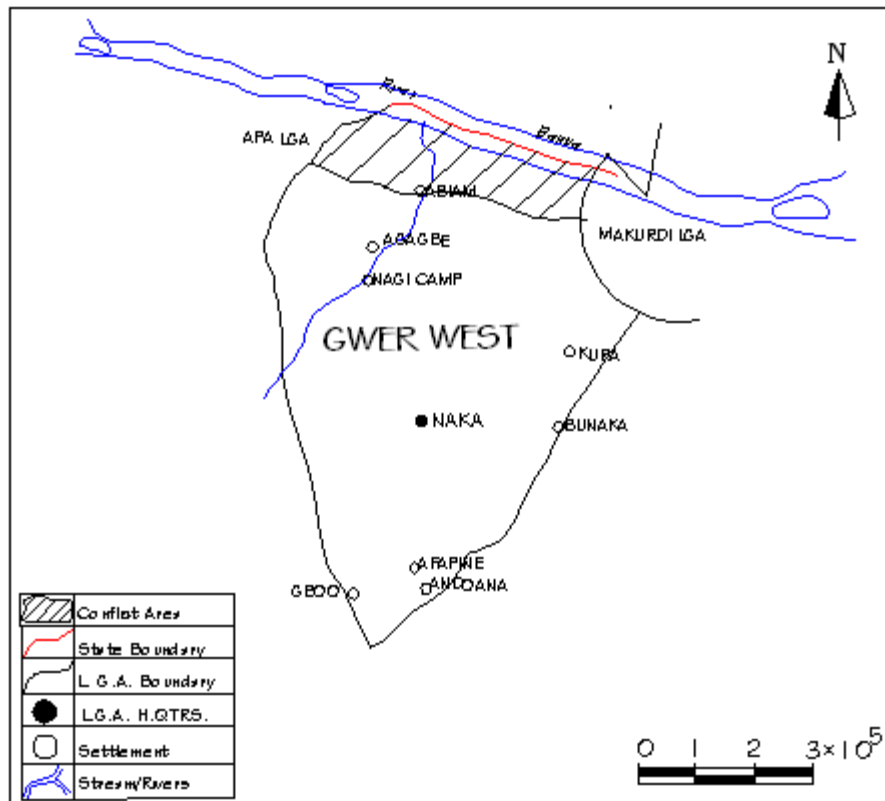


Fig 2.1 Map of Gwer-West Local Government Area showing the Conflict area
 Source: Ministry of Lands & Survey Makurdi, 2012

Gwer-West with its fertile soils particularly in the flood plains around the three Districts of Sengev, Tongov and Tyoughatee thus became very attractive to the indigenes of the area. The missionaries too supported the rural farmers by farm inputs as well as construction of a bridge across river Nagi along Naka to Agaigbe road and the construction of pipe and box culverts along bigger streams to enable accessibility to these rich alluvial soils of the flood plains and also to missionary centres at Agaigbe and mission station Ajigba in Sengev district of Gwer-West Local Government Area.

The late eighties (1985-1989) saw a large influx of farmers to the flood plains of the three districts. It must be mentioned that these flood plains are rich and almost evergreen (for a period of ten) months of the year thus attracting within this period not only the cattle Fulanis but also the Tiv farmers who had gone into this land for to grow rice. The Agricultural Research institute in Ibadan and Customised developed the improved 3 monthly specie of rice for use in Benue soils by the ABU Agricultural Research centre in Yandev, near Gboko in Benue State. A large crowd of farmers went

to the farms for rice due also to the embargo on employment, which commenced, in the early eighties. The large influx of graduates who turned to farming at the rich Alluvial soils of the three districts placed a high demand for the land, which has a constant value. The high education cost, the oil glut in the mid-eighties made people to desire this area for farming of cash crop production.

There is the need to mention quickly that before the influx of Tiv farmers to the three districts mentioned above, the cattle Fulanis had enough of the land to graze on and the relationship between the Tiv-farmers and the Fulanis herdsmen was cordial. This was confirmed by the report of the district Head of Sengev who is quoted as saying

"Our Father gave land to the Fulanis who stayed in our district, their wives used our grinding stones to grind guinea corn and interacted with us freely. The relationship was so cordial that when that Fulani man gave birth to his son he named him after our Father".

The conflict between the farmers in Gwer-West and the Cattle Fulanis started when there was an increase in the sizes of the farms and a corresponding increase in the number of farmers to the flood plains because of unemployment oil glut, and the harsh economic conditions of the mid-eighties. The consultants have found out that:

"The Fulanis needed the green grass for pasturing the cattle, this green grass was on land. The Tiv-farmers needed the land containing the green grass and to worsen the matter, rice which was planted on the land was green in colour – attractive to the cattle for consumption".

It was not easy to send the Fulanis away because they had settled in Gwer-West, pre 1980, on the rich alluvial soils of the FADAMA and there was a mutual co-existence between them, which it was difficult to break away easily, and the traditional rulers also

testified to their close ties with the Tivs. Indeed they had their camps within the districts, which contained this arable, rich and attractive grassland for breeding cattle.

Reports from the missionary sources indicate that in the early eighties, when the demand on the rich alluvial soils of the flood plains was increasing, it became difficult for the mutual coexistence to continue because the cattle started destructive activities of eating up the rice and destroying the yam farms, the cassava farms and other crops. When the cattle Fulanis were not restricted to the flood plains alone due to the population density and the increase of the cattle Fulanis in the flood plains, the upland Tiv residents started having an influx of the Tiv Fulanis into their farms. Furthermore there were threats to these rice farms due to the uncontrollable behaviour of the cattle.

It is not clear why a large number of cows and other cattle were slaughtered in Gwer-West in the early eighties (1980-1982) but the missionary sources reported that over 80 (eighty) cows and other cattle belonging to the Fulanis were slaughtered one day by the Tiv-people of Gwer-west and many people from other districts went to get the cow meat which was nick-named "Ijov pupuu". This report has not been received from the Gwer-West stakeholders during the conflict mapping.

Based on our current findings, we are convinced that:

- (a) The Fulanis – the cattle Fulani, before 1980 had lived cordially, mutually coexisting with the Tiv farmers in the three districts of Tongov Sengev and Tyoughatee.
- (b) The Origin of the conflict in Gwer –West is the conflict over the 'material' needed for 'existence'. The struggle between the two groups is because each is struggling to survive or exist and each group depends on the same material called the 'green of the land'.

"Whereas the Tiv-farmers depend on the 'green crops' that grows on the land like rice, yam, cassava etc, the Fulani herdsmen also depend on what grow on the land the 'green' of

the land which either grows naturally –the ‘grass’ or that which is planted- rice, yams, cassava etc.

2.1.1 The cause(s) of the incessant conflicts between the Tiv-farmers and the Fulani herdsmen in Gwer-West Local Government

The causes of the conflict between the Tiv farmers and the cattle Fulanis could be grouped into two. The Immediate causes and the Remote causes.

2.1.1 (a) The Immediate Causes

These should not be understood as being the causes of the current conflicts. The immediate causes are the causes that are more easily prone to violence when there is disagreement between the two groups. This must be differentiated from Remote causes which are latent, hidden more of a systematic cause which are more or less ‘in-born’ and appear to be embedded in the Tiv-farmers or/and the cattle Fulanis discussed in 2.1.1(b)

- (i) The first immediate cause is the ‘deep rooted’ cause. Both the Tiv-farmers and the Fulani herds-men must ever continue to depend on a common material for their existence. There is therefore bound to be conflict. What matters therefore is to forget fighting to ‘remove’ or ‘court’ the conflict but to put the conflict under ‘checks’ or ‘under bounds’ since it has ‘deep roots’ or it’s deeply rooted and simply inevitable.
- (ii) The second immediate cause of the conflict is the Quantum nature of land. Land has a fixed value it is given by God to be fixed, not to increase. It may decrease, as it gets lost to agents of denudation. Therefore since the population of farmers is increasing, the population of the people of Nigeria and indeed Gwer-West local government is increasing by 2.8% (1963 Federal Government Census Figures) we expect that more people, more farmers will depend on land which has a fixed value hence the supply to demand relationship will not be balanced and as such conflict will arise as one considers the issue of ownership and also between the cattle Fulani as that graze where they are not expected to graze.

- (iii) We also see an immediate cause as being attributed to the large influx of herdsmen into the Benue trough/Benue valley. Statistics have shown that the influx from Nassarawa to Benue is on the increase at a rate of 3 – 4% annually and 1.5 – 2% leaves the valley every year while 0.5 – 0.8% is consumed as meat in abattoirs, in the slaughter houses Federal Livestock Department Report (2004). By implication there is always a large percentage of livestock in the Benue valley every year. As was reported, the type of grass, the soil type that encourages and supports vegetation cover creates an enabling environment suitable for the herdsmen to desire to pasture in this valley. The number of the cattle Fulani herdsmen is thus increasing as the population of the farmers on this land.
- (iv) Another cause, which immediately sparks up conflicts between the Tiv - farmers and the Cattle Fulani, is “the claim by the Fulanis of their payment of compensation to the Traditional rulers” in Gwer-west Local Government. The consultants were briefed by the Fulanis that it has been their custom to pay ‘homage’ to the chief of whichever area they wish to enter and graze. According to reports, before they even step on any place to make their nomadic camps’, they first visit the nearest tax collectors who take them to the kindred head and to the District head. In each case they pay homage with money and collectively the herdsmen contribute money to visit the paramount ruler of the Local Government, which they do through their secretary The Miyette-Allah (MACBAN). This ascertains was confirmed by the Secretary of MACBAN.

The money they believe gives them authority to use/graze the land. We must not forget to mention that the fertility of the soil in this valley is overwhelming; one does not need any fertilizer for crops production in this valley. Land here is thus valued jealously.

2.1.1 (b) The Remote Causes of the incessant Conflict between Tiv-farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Gwer Local Government

- (i) The first remote cause as was obtained in the cause of the study was “The Unforgiveness” attitude or culture of the Fulanis: This fact was obtained from several Authorities vested with management of peace in the State. The secretary of Miyette-Allah (The Association of Cattle Breeders of Nigeria) Benue State Chapter also confirmed this fact. When the Tiv-men from Gwer-west was alleged to have attacked and killed over 80 cows of the Fulanis in what was called “IJOV PUPUU” meaning ‘white mushroom’ in the early eighties, little did the Gwer-west people, (The Tyosin people) from the three districts ever know that they will be attacked for that action thirty years after. Mechanism of the attack was explained to the consultants to prove that the Fulanis are still revenging the ‘Ijov Pupuu’ episode of the early eighties this is indeed remote, latent, hidden and cannot easily be traced to any known immediate cause.
- (ii) The second remote cause of the conflict is attributed to the historic relationship between the Tiv man and the Fulanis. The Fulanis call the Tiv-man ‘Munchi’. This is a Hausa word meaning ‘we have eaten’. Historically the Tiv man is believed to have killed and eaten a Fulani cow when the Tivs and Fulanis were moving together in the migrational train as was revealed through Ethnographic Studies. The Fulani’s have the believe that as long as they are in the mist of the Tiv people, some of their cows must be lost, this makes a Fulani man to ever live suspecting a Tiv, man over the loss of their cattle.
- (iii) The third remote cause the consultants unveiled was that of ‘mischief’. We discovered that there were several instances where ‘mischief makers’ had set false alarm by saying that either the Fulani’s or the Tiv people are coming for an attack. This had caused fears in the Tiv or Fulani community and the people either the Tivs or the Fulani’s had to run for their dear lives and these mischief makers rooted, stole and caused other mischievous actions. This is of a great

concern and it has several dimensions, which the consultants went ahead to investigate and concluded that these herdsmen who cause mischief are hired herdsmen who are not committed to their work. They do this so that they will falsely accuse the Tiv people of taking their cows but in the long run they are the ones who will arrange to take those cows in connivance with other mischief makers and sell the cows or transport them to other places for sale, when they might have executed their plans they usually go back to tell their 'masters' that they were attacked in some village and some cows were lost thus setting a revenge mechanism against the people of the area. This indeed is the current trend of the remote causes of conflict between the Tiv-farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Gwer-West Local Government and has been found to transcend to the other Local Governments too.

2.1.2 The Nature of Conflicts between Tiv farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Gwer-west Local Government of Benue State

- (a) Conflicts are characteristics of all living things and particularly for higher animals, it is inevitable as we have seen that before 1980, the conflicts were not noticeable at least if any, it was described as being mild, dormant and/or tolerable.

Studies have revealed that between 1980 – 1984, the conflict was volatile. The nature of the conflict that time was volatile, unfriendly, and harsh which resulted into a wanton killing of cows of the Fulanis who were reported to have fled for their lives. The alleged attacks on the Fulani herdsmen were thus brutal.

The episode of 1980 – 1984 was a brutal attack on the Fulani Cattle as over eighty (80) of them were reported killed in an 'Ijov pupuu' or 'white mushroom' episode. It is not clear if some Fulanis lost their lives in this attack but for large flocks to have been killed meant a lot of loss to the Fulanis even if this was to make them leave Gwer-West FADAMA land by a forceful act.

We have just explained one of the immediate causes of conflicts to be the “unforgiving attitude”, “un-forgetfulness culture” as the nature of the Fulani man. It is clear from here that the recent attacks in Gwer-west between 2010 – 2012 about 28 to 30 years after the ‘white mushroom’ episode of the Sengevev district where their cows were killed, may have caused the unforgiving Fulanis to plan strategies of attacks on the Gwer-west people. The attack on the cows was brutal, harsh, and unfriendly and similarly the attacks by the Fulanis on the Tiv farmers in the same area where the cows were killed were harsh, brutal, unfriendly, violent and above all unexpected.

- (b) Nature of the weapon used in the conflicts: Reports had it that the Fulani attackers used sophisticated weapons, which did not only kill people but also set into flames houses and structures. The attackers came in military uniforms so they could have been hired. They may not necessarily have been Fulanis if they came for revenge they could be militia on a mission to revenge. The report added that the attack was swift and the attackers came using speed boats by River Benue, completed their assignment and went back through the same route. There was no way in which the people of Gwer-west will retaliate to the attack because they were taken unawares.

By the time security forces were drafted from Naka to the place, the attackers had completed the mass killing and wanton destruction of houses and other properties and retreated.

2.1.3 Impact of the Conflict between Tiv farmers and Fulani herdsmen Conflict on the Development of the rural areas of Gwer-west Local Government Area

The impact of this conflict has been observed to include;

- a. Displacement of the Tivs in the three districts from their places of origin. They have thus become Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) within the Local

Government and have found refuge in other districts, towns and settlements including Agaigbe, Naka, Atukpu, Tse-Iorbogo and other missionary centers outside the conflict areas including Mission Station Ajigba of the NKST Church other Christian centers like the Catholic Church premises in Agaigbe and the voluntary organization in the Local Government Areas. In a similar view the Fulanis have dared not go near the boundaries of Gwer-west Local Government Area. They were also displaced from where they had found pasture.

- b. Poverty: Because the people displaced are peasant farmers they now depend on others to give them land to plant crops on a smaller scale than what they have cultivated before. This is leading to low agricultural yield mainly to support their existence at a subsistence level. Their economic well-being is thus tempered with because of this conflict. Their cash crops production has reduced, their subsistence level also has dropped. Naturally by the use of simple Regression Techniques using the yield from their farms post conflicts and pre-conflict at the new places of abode and their former places respectively, the results has shown their impoverished levels due to this conflict.
- c. Reduced standard and levels of education has been noticed. Their unhealthy looks were also visually observed. This last conflict has led their children to be out of school for about one year, as their parents cannot afford the school fees. The low capital base leads them to poor health. They are unable to purchase drugs prescribed in the clinics available around where they are. This will definitely lead to very low Human Capital Development Index if it is to be measured on them.
- d. Environmental degradation has been found to be high particularly in areas where the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are staying. Refuse disposal heaps, human wastes and associated household wastes create environmental degradation as drainages are found to be blocked due to poor sanitary

conditions and above all potable water is found to be lacking during the dry season.

- e. Many people were killed in the conflict both young and old.

Ref fig. 2. 4(e).

A Plate showing some pictures of the impact of the Tiv-Fulani crisis on Gwer-West Local Government area of Benue State



A child age 4 killed by the Fulanis in the crisis



An Aged man killed in Sengev District of Gwer-West Local Government Area of Benue State

FIG – 2.1.4(e)

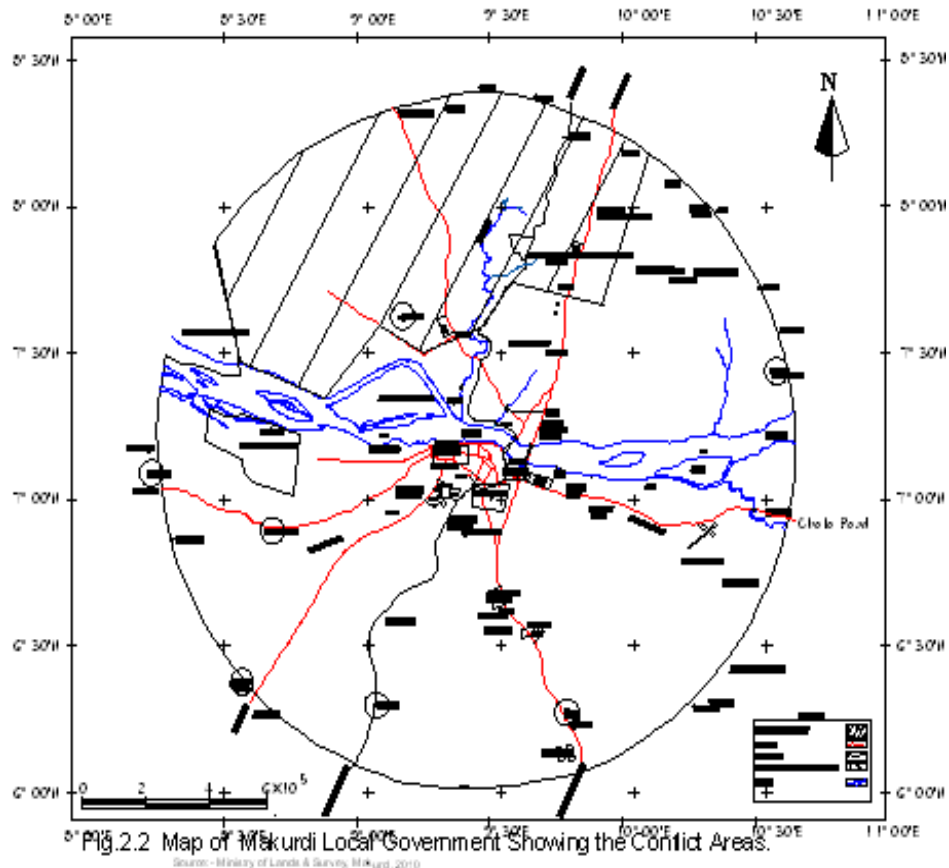
2.2 MAKURDI LOCAL GOVERNMENT SECTORAL CONFLICT MAPPING

Makurdi Local Government is the most populated of the Local Government under study among the three LGAs. The spatial population distribution of Makurdi Local Government area is skewed towards the south of River Benue which cuts Makurdi town into two living about 1/3 of the area of the town to the North with a low population density per square kilometre. Part of this land is occupied by the University of Agriculture Makurdi, the Nigerian Army School of Military Engineers (NASME) and the 72 Battalion/Brigade Command whose area put together covers an approximate 300,000 hectares of land. The town has not developed to the peripheral limits beyond the three institution/organization mentioned above therefore as will be seen shortly the undeveloped, sparsely populated/low density parts of Makurdi local government in the northern parts where the conflict between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani-herdsmen is mostly concentrated.

2.2.1 The origin of the conflict in Makurdi Local Government Areas of Benue State

Contact with the traditional rulers, the authorities of the Local Government and the security officers/Advisers at both the State and Local Government including one-on-one discussions with the political groups in Makurdi Local Government has indicated that the origin of the conflict between the Tiv-farmers and the Fulani herdsmen has many dimensions.

- a). Just as is in the case of Gwer-west mentioned in 2.1. above, the growth in population of the Local Government is partly responsible for the conflict. There is not only the 2.8% increase in population of Makurdi Local Government based on the 1963 official census figures in Nigeria but also due to the rural to urban migration. This has increased the population of the town. There is also the rural to urban drift which is capable of making a demand on what will be basic material for subsistence and in Makurdi town, it has been found to be all forms of casual jobs for rural-urban drifters as a way of dependency on land.



Because of this the struggle for the limited land available in Makurdi Local Government between the Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv farmers has increased appreciably within the last three decades.

- b). Closely related to (a) above but unique to Makurdi is the development that is springing up at a rate of about 7 to 8% move in the South bank of River Benue than the North bank. Urban Renewal Report-URDB (2009). This has made the more concentration of the cattle Fulanis in the empty/unoccupied undeveloped lands in the Mbagwen district around Anter, Agan, Nyijir, Yogbo and the areas peripheral to the University of Agriculture, NASME and 72 Brigade command in Makurdi North. There are traces of conflict reported by traditional rulers in the areas which are in the South East of Makurdi around the Air Force Base but towards River Benue where 3km flood plains exist between the Gboko road and the River Benue. This belt, which is conflict laden, is clearly seen. The cattle

Fulanis are seen grazing here and in most cases they camp in the Island of River Benue. The Island is called Akwagye. There are also conflict around Apir settlement in Makurdi Local Government and these conflicts are between the cattle Fulanis and the Tiv farmers, traced to the struggle for the 'greens' which the Tiv farmers depend on and which the cattle Fulanis also depend on. Because of the dense population in Makurdi town, wherever we see population density increasing with a lot of farming activities either on the highlands (where yams, cassava and other crops are grown) or in the FADAMA (where rice is grown) conflict (latent) exists particularly in Makurdi town attributable to the high population making a demand on land.

It was identified that the rate of violent clashes resulting from the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv-farmers is on the increase at an alarming rate, population increase and the demand that this is making on land is thus an origin of the conflicts. This must be understood to be fundamental.

- c). WEP had also identified that the quantum nature of land is a cause of this in the Benue valley where the three Local Governments are located. Land is fixed and the pressure exerted as the demand on it increases calls for conflict to be deeply rooted when understood in the light of an ever increasing population.
- d). We have not been able to establish the relationship that had existed between the Tivs and the Fulanis prior to 1980 due to the fact that many Fulanis were settled in camps in the outskirts of Makurdi urban area where development has not reached particularly in the flood plains now speaks about some level of mutual coexistence. This could be an uneasy calm or could best be described as a dormant volcano.
- e). The noticeable origin of conflict between Tiv-farmers and the Fulani herdsmen is the influx of the cattle Fulanis from Gwer-West as a result of the 'Ijov pupuu' episode of 1980-1984. The Fulanis have relocated in mass to Makurdi Local

Government and to the neighbouring State of Nasarawa where they are finding in roads to the Benue valley in Makurdi and Guma Local Government Area. There is also the influx of the cattle Fulanis from the neighbouring Local Government in the direction of Akpanaja, Rukobi and Andori towns of the neighbouring Nassarawa State. Incidentally these towns are within the flood plains of River Benue and in the Benue trough. The grass is relatively good; the ground is also fertile just like in Gwer-West. Due to the large number of cattle in Doma Local Government, some filter into Benue State and the only contact is in the Northern part of Makurdi the district of Mbagwen in Makurdi Local Government. Conflicts are bound to come because the number of these cattle is increasing with time per head per annum.

- f). Some of the cattle Fulanis do not know their bearings. Because there are no cattle routes they graze without limit and in most cases they are not guided and so they cause not just havoc on to the crops but the response by the farmer's results into violent conflicts, which lead to wanton destruction of lives and properties.
- g). There is also the issue of 'mischief' makers among the Tivs and the Fulanis and is a major origin of conflict. This case was mentioned and analysed by the traditional rulers in Makurdi Local Government who in their words said:

"We had reported to police exactly about what our sons reported to us concerning the attack on some of our villages, we in company of the police went and did not see anything close to what was reported to us".

Clearly this was mischief and it exists amongst the Tivs and also the Fulanis. The Secretary to the Miyette-Allah (The Association of Cattle Breeders of Nigeria, Benue State Chapter) also confirmed this on the part of the Fulani and attributed it to those who are hired herdsmen who use mischief to get what they want.

- h). One of the origins of the conflict unveiled by the consultants is the compensation the Fulanis say they pay for grazing. According to the Fulanis, they pay homage, pay compensation and take permission financially to traditional rulers to enable them graze, camp and live amongst the Tivs.

2.2.2 The Nature of the Conflict in Makurdi Local Government.

- a. The conflict between the Tiv-farmers and the Cattle Fulanis is always that of violence. Because they claim to part away with a lot of money to the chiefs as compensation for the land on which they stay, there is always a violent reaction when they are forcefully and unethically sent away from where they are. It is their refusal; resistance to go away that causes the rift and fracas resulting into violence. Generally the conflict in this Local Government has been mild until year 2006 when there were noticeable violent reaction and attacks.
- b. Reports have it that the death toll on the conflicts in the ruler areas of Makurdi has risen to 27 within the past 10 years.
- c. Because the Fulanis are closer to the law enforcement agents that are the NASME, 72 Battalion the conflicts are brought under control.
- d. The recent episode however was reported to be brutal on both sides as it was reported that the soldiers from the 72 battalion who were sent for peace assignment went killing indiscriminately. There were thus a lot of killing of women and children under age 12 and even the old who were above 60 in the attacks, which occurred around Yogbo, Anter and Nyijir areas.
- e. In Makurdi Local Government we can see that the Local and State Government machineries are the key players in ensuring that peace returns to the area. The Benue State Government has set up a joint committee with the Nassarawa State Government because of wide accusations that the Fulanis are used for reasons outside of the struggle for material existence. This report has been completed and the committee set up by government has submitted its report. There are thus calls for cattle routes, grazing reserves and a call for the status quo of what was happening before in the operations of the cattle rearing enterprise. The

question the Consultants are examining in this context is the large increase in the cattle being reared and the population density alongside with the demand-supply relationship for land in Makurdi Local Government particularly in the underdeveloped vast land in the North Bank of Makurdi town.

A Plate showing some pictures of the impact of the Tiv-Fulani crisis on Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue State



Another aged man killed in Makurdi Local Government Area of Benue State



A middle aged man killed in the crisis.

Fig. 2.2.3(d)

2.2.3 The impact of the conflict on undeveloped areas of Makurdi Local

Government Area

- a. There is an obvious influx of Displaced Persons in Makurdi town. The Local Government did not establish any camp for the displaced.
- b. Churches, open fields and markets became the camps for the displaced. SEMA (State Emergency Management Agency) waded in to identify churches and centres where these people were staying and gave them aid. It was also understood after consulting the NKST church North Bank and the St. Mary's Catholic Church and the open fields and markets that their premises became emergency places where people had escaped for survival.
- c. Attendant environmental problems associated with health, loss of man-hours for workers, loss of school contact session and economic losses are noticed. (Refer to the map of Makurdi Local Government Area showing the undeveloped part where conflicts are most likely to occur Fig.2.2.3 (d) shows some wanton killings resulting from the crisis between Tiv farmers and Fulani herdsmen

2.2.4 The cause of Conflicts between Tiv-farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Makurdi Local Government Area

- a. 'Deep rooted' cause is the dependency on a common material for existence and survival without which the Tiv-farmers or the Fulani Cattle will not exist. This is a deep-rooted cause for there to be no conflict there must be a balance in the demand-supply chain. This chain cannot be balanced in a wake of ever increasing population and demographic problems including the rural to urban drift/migration.
- b. Land was described earlier as having a restricted size – land mass-for, which an increasing number of people want to carry out activities. Since these activities are not mutually exclusive conflicts are bound to be when we consider this in the light of (a) above.

- c. We have mentioned a large percentage of 7-7% of herdsmen who move annually to the Benue valley and of this 1.0% who stay within the Makurdi Local Government. (Benue State Livestock Departmental Report 2009). This percentage increase is due to the fact that 'Gwer West' is now a 'no go area' for all cattle Fulanis and any entrance to it at any point is melted with attacks on the cattle Fulanis. We expect therefore that this large increase on the land in Makurdi Local Government where land is in short supply must cause conflicts.

- d. In Makurdi Local Government, Developers are made to pay a levy of between ~~₦35, 000~~ – ~~₦40, 000~~ to the traditional rulers for every plot somebody is allocated and want to develop. This is a common practice, which is illegal but allowed to continue. If the indigenes and other Nigerians are developing in Makurdi Local Government at that cost, it must be true that the traditional rulers are collecting tolls from the Fulanis who claim that they are buying pasture land for a given period. The developers give money and they are not given receipt and so the Fulanis too, give money and do not get the receipt for it. The traditional rulers must check themselves against these illegal deeds as these are anti-developmental and they cause conflicts. To developers, if you do not pay the traditional rulers will seize your construction materials and equipment. If Government does not check this it will be worst with the Fulanis and it is a latent/silent reason the Fulanis are being serious because they claim to pay handsome money to graze according to them.

- e. The historic relationship of the Tivs and Fulanis mentioned in 2.1, the unforgiven nature and culture of the Fulanis coupled with the mischief is what we see as being responsible for the latent or remote/concealed cause of the conflict between the Tiv farmers and the cattle Fulanis discussed in the earlier section must be considered as causes of conflicts within Local Government.

2.3 Guma Local Government Sectoral Conflict Mapping

Guma Local Government has the largest land mass and the second largest population. The western part of the local Government consisting of the district of Mbagwen and Utyondu are the worst hit in terms of the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herdsman conflicts. The old cattle routes however were traced to have passed through Guma Local Government from Awe to Akaahena through Torkula to a route due North of Daudu to a place currently called 'Ortese' or NKST Isherev to Doma Local Government along the road leading to Akpanaja from Rukobi. The old cattle route has been thrown out of use because of the large influx of cattle and because of the many bridges that were not constructed on the Rivers, which hitherto were a restriction to the free and safe, crossing for the cattle during the rainy seasons. Now the consultants have noticed that the multiple cause and spatial locations of conflict in Guma Local Government is related not only to the existing causes of conflicts which have been identified earlier but to the routes which have been created by those nomadic Fulanis who are found to be wildly moving in an uncontrolled pattern of pasturing in Guma Local Government area. This report is therefore concerned with the Western and North Western part of Guma Local Government because these are the subsectors where the conflicts were concentrated.

2.3.1 The Origin of the Conflict in Guma Local Government Area

Because of the influx of the cattle on the old routes and the seemingly inadequacy of the routes to contain the cattle, the Fulanis had to find their own routes and the strategies to survive in Guma Local Government.

- a. The first noticeable conflict between the Tivs and the Fulanis originated when the Fulanis diverted from the old cattle route which came from Awe through Akaahena to Torkula then west wards to 'Ortese' and out to 'Doma' district.

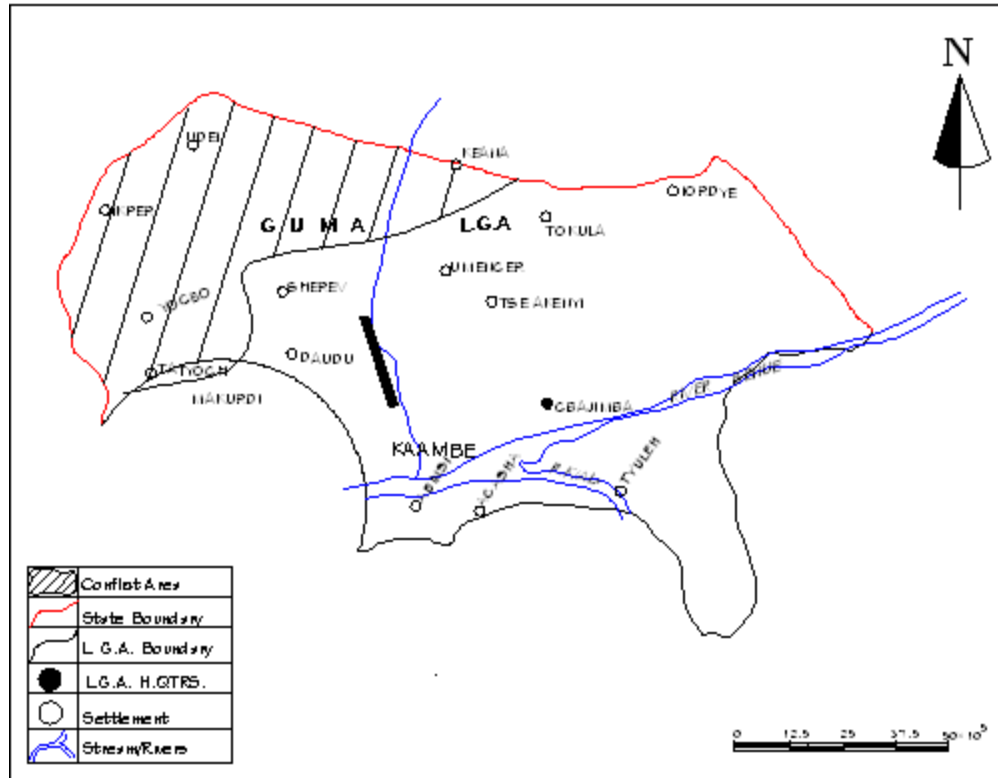


Fig. 2.3 Map of Guma Local Government Area Showing the Conflict area
 Source: Ministry of Lands & Survey Makurdi, 2012

This route clearly was away from the Makurdi north because of the absence of the flood plains in the North Bank area of Makurdi town. The population of the cattle Fulanis to begin to seek other routes to lead them to areas close to Makurdi namely Rukobi, Anter, and Nyijir. These are all 'rich' and evergreen arable land suitable for pasture. The land around Nyijir settlement which is close to Akpanaja in the neighbouring Doma district of Nassarawa State is low enough and has the FADAMA characteristic of the Benue trough more so because of the 'Wururu' stream that enters river Benue and acts as part of the 1923 delimited boundary stream by the colonial administrators. The dimension from the route has thus taken the nomads to lands far away from the tract which was earmarked for the cattle by colonial administrators and which has been in use up to the late seventies.

- b. Most of the conflicts between the Tiv-farmers and the cattle Fulanis in Guma Local Government are attributed to mischief. Many of the cattle Fulanis do not know their

way in and out of Guma Local Government. Report gathered in the field indicates that many of the cattle Fulanis do not know how to speak Hausa language and where they are heading for they do not know. As a matter of fact is the issue of misguided alignment of the Fulanis, the inability to communicate and above all the aggressive nature of people when they cannot get their way through. Reports have it that because they are paid to do some works, they do not care what happens to the owners of the land on which they pasture and move on and the destruction that their cattle cause. The mischief-makers are therefore the most illiterate ones who cannot communicate nor find their way nor even know where they are going. Care needs to be taken with this class of cattle breeders and the secretary to the Miyette-Allah has also confirmed this mischief as a major origin of conflict within the Tiv and the Fulani communities of Guma Local Government and has gone ahead to be found among those who are entering Guma and Makurdi Local Government from Nassarawa State.

- c. One of the origins of the conflicts between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani cattle rearers is traced to the fact of the influx of the Fulanis from Nassarawa State on the boundary line which was delimited by the 1916, 1919 and 1924 description. Whereas National Boundary Commission, the presidency Abuja handed over this delimitation instruments in 1991 to Benue and Plateau State, Benue State Government rejected them as not being legal instrument to bind the states together. Any conflict from Nassarawa State including the conflict of Tiv farmers with the Fulanis is viewed by the some highly placed political actors as being one of the actions by the Nassarawa State to send the Tiv people/farmers away from their ancestral home. More so as the 'Fulanis' who come to breed the cattle are not the Fulanis but from other tribes. Because they do not even understand Hausa language the Tiv people view them as 'militia' coming under cover of cattle Fulanis to cause mischief and attack them and send them away from the boundary corridor.
- d. The other origin of the conflict in this Local government is traced to the role of traditional rulers in the western and North western areas. Because the Fulanis make

their camps within the Local Government it is believed they do so with permission; The Fulanis say they take permission, pay homage and loyalties but the traditional rulers accept that they receive them in their mist without collecting money from them. Since these are acts, which are not official and cannot be receipted the manner becomes a matter, which can only be argued.

As was mentioned in the preamble to 2.2.1 above, Makurdi developers of property complain bitterly of paying un-receipted monies to the tune of N30, 000 to N40, 000 to the traditional rulers and N10, 000 to N15, 000 to the youth apart from cartoons of beers, wine, soft drinks that they are compelled to buy and give to traditional rulers. If this is happening which the researchers have reasons to believe there are stronger reasons to believe that the same is happening to the Fulanis apart from the problems of mischief from the Fulanis and the Tivs mentioned in earlier sections of this study.

2.3.2 The Causes of the Conflicts in Guma Local Government Area

- a. From the reports of the traditional rulers and coupled with the statistical data of 2.1.2 (a) it was clear that one of the causes was the large number of herdsmen who moved into Guma Local Government. From the reports of the Local Government authorities there are three approaches which the cattle herdsmen entered in the Local Government. This includes the West and North West as were seen earlier through the farmlands around Akpanaja Rukobi and Andori just to mention a few. There are also routes from Awe and Keana Local government areas of the North East and Eastern part of Guma. Because the Eastern part of Guma and North East are highlands and do not have FADAMA there are no flood plains hence the cattle Fulanis do not settle here. The influx is therefore only seasonal during the rainy season.
- b. In Guma Local Government one other cause of conflict between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herdsmen is the 'deep rooted' conflict between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani cattle breeders. The 'deep rooted' conflict, which is fundamental,

is that all of them, the Tiv farmers and the cattle Fulani have dependence or a demand on a common 'resources'. This resource is land in a situation of ever increasing population; the land is in a short supply to the Tiv man. To the Guma man the issue of grazing reserve, cattle routes and other facilities for the Fulanis which will entail taking part of their land for the purposes of building peace is a problem worth negotiating against tides of resistance.

- c. The case of the "unwillingness" of the Guma farmer to give his land to bring peace is a deeply rooted but founded on the fact that there is population increase in Guma Local Government. Awareness to go back to land is becoming stronger Advocacy for 'back to land' and the need for 'self-employment' by the unemployed youth of the Local Government to reduce the drift from rural to urban trend is a serious cause of the conflict. Land is therefore viewed by highly placed Guma indigenes as not just being there but to contemplate making some of it available for the cattle Fulanis in the Local Government in form of grazing reserve or tracts is a problem, an uphill task according to them.

- d. We must mention here that a Fulani man whether in Gwer West or Makurdi or Guma or whether in Sokoto or Maiduguri is a Fulani man with a culture of unforgiveness. This was discovered during the study and the reason for this behaviour is beyond this study but whether the Tiv farmers from Guma had attacked the Fulani in past it was not clear. One thing was clear, the Tiv farmers of Gwer West are Tiv and if the Fulani will not revenge enough over their 'Ijov pupuu' episode of 1980-1984 in Gwer West, they will melt their anger on the Guma Tiv farmers after all the Fulanis have lived long with Tiv people to know that the Tyosin people of Gwer West are the Iharev people and they are of the same stock with their brothers in Makurdi and Guma Local Government. We are of the view that if the Fulanis rearing cattle in the Tiv territories of Guma, Gwer West and Makurdi could advance no other reasons, then all the attacks by the Fulanis are reprisal attacks. This is the most important latent and remote cause

of the conflicts we see in Guma Local Government, that the Guma people are brothers to the Gwer-West people. This view agrees with the seven-point proposition of conflict by Miall (1999) and also summarized by Coleman (2000) as;

- i. "Having the command content, and
- ii. The deprivation of human needs in the rural areas."

2.3.3 The Nature of the Conflicts in Guma Local Government Area

- a. Before 1980, the cattle routes were observed and there was cordial relationship between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herdsmen. The Fulani herdsmen were not as many as they are now. As we have seen in 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 above from the origin and causes of the conflict, it is clear that because of the factors considered earlier in these sectoral reports, the conflicts were mild 1980.
- b. After 1980 particularly in the late eighties, the conflicts became volatile. From the focus group discussions it was insinuated that:
 - i. The herdsmen were many so they thought they could team up to fight their way through the land.
 - ii. The conflicts became volatile because of the types of weapons used by the Fulanis in the conflict.
 - iii. They felt they could use the money they have to 'buy off' the traditional rulers and use this to intimidate them.
- c. The attacks are not only on the Tiv farmers but the crops they produced hence the farm yield are affected.
- d. In cases of reprisal attacks the Tiv people also kill the cows of the Fulanis.
- e. The use of sophisticated weapons by the Fulanis gives room for other interpretation of the sources of the weapons and the purpose for the cattle-Fulanis harbouring this type of ammunition.

2.3.4 The Impact of the Conflict between on the rural areas Guma LGA

- a. Dwelling on economic considerations, the displacement of the Tiv farmers as an impact of the conflict between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herdsmen, the Tiv farmers suffer most economic constraint. This is because the Fulanis by their very nature are nomads. There is low output since the farms are abandoned, no one cares for the crops and the weeds make them to yield low products. They live mostly on subsistence level under very poor living conditions of near starvation.
- b. The displaced Tivs live in camps and the environmental conditions have much to be desired. There is therefore the threat to humanity as sickness associated with overcrowding and epidemics abound. There is environmental degradation of the area due to the increase in population in the area where wastes products increase particularly in camps and centres where the IDPs are found to be staying in Daudu camp, and at Umenger, Torkula and Gbajimba.
- c. The educational standards of the children have gone down. The children were found not to have run away from their places so they cannot continue school. In places where they had gone back, the school enrolment was low, as the parents could not afford money to buy books, uniforms and other needs of the schools. In other places the teachers had not returned due to the insecurity associated with the crisis.
- d. The Health of the people was challenged because the facilities were not attended to as many of the health staff had escaped for safety.
- e. Local markets were affected as the long distant traders from other states who used to come and buy had not started coming. This made the economy of the people low and the conflict has thus rendered the people impoverished and indeed worst than they were before the conflict in all spheres of livelihood.

A Plate showing a picture of the impact of the Tiv-Fulani crisis on Guma Local Government area of Benue State



Women were not spared in the attack in Guma Local Government Area

Fig. 2.3.5(f)

- f. There were records of over 57 people dead and over 200 houses burnt in several villages in the North West and Western part of Guma where the crises had occurred. See fig.2.3.4. for the map of Guma Local Government showing areas of conflict.

CHAPTER THREE

Multi-stakeholder Dialogue

Women Environmental Programme (WEP) having carried out a comprehensive study on the problems of peace and instability between the Tiv and Fulani's with the support of its partners the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) through mapping of conflict among Tiv farmers and Fulani pastoralist in Benue State convened a multi-stakeholders dialogue meeting with the aim of reducing tension, dialoguing, presenting its findings from the mapping and charting a way forward for the sustenance of peace between the both parties.

Major issues which came out of the conflict mapping was laid bare for the purposes of discussions, dialogue and analysis so that the components of the Tension between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani herdsmen which has translated into hatred between the larger Tiv communities and the Fulani herdsmen as they move in search of pastureland be resolved. This can be seen in the response to the discussions held at several levels particularly at the level of the traditional rulers, the Local Government Authorities in the districts/ward mostly affected in Gwer-West and Guma Local Government Areas.

3.1 Objective of the multi-stakeholders dialogue

- a. To provide a forum for education on issues related to peace building particularly when there is a 'deep rooted' conflict issue related to the 'material existence' of individual as we have identified in this conflict.
- b. To provide a broad public awareness of latent issues filtering into the society like population increase, quantum nature of land and above all the fact that there is an increase in the influx of herdsmen into the Benue trough/valley. These are likely to affect peace building positively and negatively. The need to discuss the way forward in view of these facts is inevitable.

- c. To promote productive discussions on basic and fundamental issues in the conflict like 'material existence' and those, which are 'incidental' to the issue like the 'mischief', use of sophisticated firearms and ammunitions by the cattle breeders/rearers – that is the Fulani herdsmen. These are intended to be discussed even when opinions differ.

3.2 Structure of the Workshop

The multi-stakeholders meeting was structured to involve plenary and break-out sessions. The key session involved a film show on the challenges facing Pastoralist across Nigeria and the African Continent while a PowerPoint Presentation to the case study and findings from the conflict mapping was presented for verifications and deliberations. The sessions were also structured to be participatory.

3.3 Opening Session/Goodwill Messages

Priscilla Achakpa - Executive Director WEP

The Executive Director, Women Environmental Programme (WEP) Priscilla Achakpa welcomed all participants to the meeting. She reiterated WEP's commitment to bringing about peace in the middle belt and beyond. She explained the objective of the multi-stakeholders dialogue meeting and the expectations from participants towards ensuring lasting peace between Tiv Farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in Benue State but also adding that participants from Nassarawa state were invited to this meeting because in the cause of conflict mapping, there were information that Nassarawa State is key to finding lasting peace on the crisis between the parties involve. In her speech, she said any discussions and positive intervention that would bring about a climate of peace is welcome noting that we all desire peace because of what the absence of peace brings, the ultimate being the underdevelopment of any community. That is why issues of conflict and peace building are serious issues requiring positive commitment by both state and non-state actors in the prevention, management and peaceful resolution of

conflicts. She further called for sincerity, openness and a true commitment to peace process not just at the high level meeting but in the entire peace process. She commended UNDP and IPCR for their support in making the project a reality.

His Excellency, The Executive Governor of Benue State Rt. Hon. Gabriel Torwua Suswam (CON)

The Permanent Secretary Internal Affairs did not speak for the Governor but said that since he was part of the security team he is only delivering a goodwill message to this meeting and believing that the outcome of the meeting will turn to what would be used as a catalyst of peace between the Tiv farmers and Fulani herdsmen who have always had the cause to stay together and one does not envisage that the two groups who are dependent on the same material existence will ever separate saying further that the way they have found themselves to be living is the way God made them and appreciated the Donor Agencies and WEP for this odious task hoping that solutions will be arrived at in this meeting. He however ended by saying that in the wake of these incessant crises, the government of Benue and Nassarawa State set up a small but powerful committee which was given a short time to look into the incessant crises involving the Tiv farmer and the Fulani herdsmen in Gwer-west, Makurdi and Guma Local Government Councils of Benue State including the lower parts of Nassarawa State where Doma and Keana Local governments meet with Benue state. The report was submitted and action is being taken on the recommendations as the chairmen of the three local governments present attested.

Director General- IPCR, Represented by Betty Bassey

Also speaking, the Director General of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Dr. Joseph Golwa represented by Betty Bassey, appreciated WEP for the wonderful work they have been doing as well as UNDP for their support for the programme. She informed participants that September is the month of peace as the whole world celebrates peace day on 21st of September, 2012, she therefore called on all to make peace and wished them useful deliberations.

UNDP Country Representative, Represented by Dr. Abiodun Onadipe

The Country Representative of the UNDP represented by Dr. Abiodun Onadipe also called for peace. He emphasized the need to finding alternatives for dispute resolution. According to him, it must not be government that will resolve conflicts, that conflicts is better resolved at the community level noting that the multi-stakeholders dialogue meeting is a step towards resolving the incessant clashes between the Fulani Herdsmen and the Tiv Farmers. Thus he called on all participants to be open, frank and should not be offensive to discussions. He assured that UNDP will continue to support peace processes in Nigeria.

Traditional Rulers

The Ter Nagi – HRH Mr. D.A Abomtse representing the traditional rulers of the three Local Governments, HRH praised the courage of WEP to have delved into a conflict of this nature where the outcomes of the impact as noticed where wantom loss of lives and properties including sacking of villages and settlement of the part of Tiv people and the loss of cows and in some few cases the lives of some Fulanis while the conflict lasted. He however said he will give the rudimental and fundamental causes of this conflict which he has followed as roar as they are so that WEP, the Donor agencies, Governments and all Stakeholders would act on them in order to profer solutions which would be long lasting, sustainable and acceptable to the affected communities.

HRH traced the problem to have originated from Gwer-West but did not relate it to the 'Ijov-Pupuu' episode. He said rather that there is a large population of Gwer-West people (the Namgba-Tiv) who are living in the land which was declared Doma Local Government in the last creation of State exercise when Nassarawa State was created. When Doma Local Government, by virtue of the inhabitants being largely Tiv and Agatu was merged with Benue State. The powerful elites from the newly created Nassarawa State protested and the Federal Government remerged Doma district – which has the

Tiv and Idoma stock dominating back to Nassarawa State. The minority groups of Arago tribe have ever politically threatened the Tivs and the Agatu people of Benue State. However, since the Agatu and Arago are of the Kwararafa Stock there was an easy alliance and they merged to attack the Namgba-Tiv in the new Doma Local Government which was created. The Aragos live around the settlements of Akpanaja, Rukobi, and Wururu areas at the North bank of River Benue while characteristically the Tiv people are found in scattered settlement in over 2/3 of the Doma Local Government Area. As usual, the Tiv people are regarded as immigrants even though they were born and bred in this area. They have no other places to go than this Doma area.

HRH in his speech to the meeting further reported that because of the large population of the Tiv people they won elections in the Doma Local Government levels and at the Nassarawa State House of Assembly levels. This large Tiv population in Doma Local Government is thus a threat to the Arago and other minor tribes of the Nassarawa origin in Nassarawa State, HRH, Ter Nagi further went on to say that because of this threat, the Aragos supported by their people at the highest seat of Government have planned to ensure that:

- i. They reduce the population of the Tiv people by killing them through the use of Fulanis to attack their settlements, in their farms and to ensure life is unbearable for them. This, the Nassarawa State is aware because women, children and farmers who are of the Tiv stock go to the farms not knowing whether they will come back. In order to counter this attack, there is a movement of arms amongst the people themselves as they have decided to defend themselves. The Fulanis who are seen to attack the Tiv farmers on the farms do not even come with their cows. They come, commit the act and run back because they have been hired to kill. Sometimes they destroy the yams and when they are confronted, they go wild and start fighting thereby killing the Tiv farmers. This is a strategy, HRH paused to ask the Fulanis people in the meeting if what he was saying was not real.
- ii. HRH further said the second strategy used by the Doma people is to ensure that no Tiv man in Doma LGA that ever wins elections, that even if he or she wins, the result will

be changed since according to them the Tiv people in Doma LGA are not indigenes to Doma Local Government.

- iii. He further said that the three attacks on Gwer-west between 2011 – 2012 were from Doma Local Government. The attackers were camped in Doma Local Government and were trained there. That the Doma people have a training ground to train attackers with a plan to eliminate the Tiv people and reduce them to an insignificant number which will make them loose their land to the cattle Fulanis to graze on and eventually give that area as a grazing reserve and push the Tiv people away.
- iv. HRH went into smaller details to prove his point in his well-articulated presentation and told the meeting that he is a member of the committee set by His Excellency the Governor of Benue State to look into the incessant crisis between the Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv farmers and this presentation was made to the committee. He therefore said that the Fulanis are being used in all the three Local Government Areas by the Nassarawa state local authorities of Doma and Keana to fight and reduce the Tiv population in the areas where boundary conflicts exists. He said there are evidences to show in the electioneering campaigns, attacks to Tiv farmers on the farms and above all the grand design to extinguish them from the surface of Doma land and push the remnants to Gwer-west through the establishment of grazing reserves and large farmlands.
- v. He concluded by appreciating WEP and the Donor Agencies, (UNDP and IPCR) for this noble task and wished God’s guidance, protection and more support in this field.

Minister, National Planning Commission Represented by H. Famakinwa

The Minister of National Planning Commission (NPC) representative, Mr. H. Famakinwa commended WEP for their efforts for the peace meeting. He stated that he is confident the meeting will compliment efforts of government towards finding lasting solution to the crisis in Benue and other part of the country bordering of Fulani Pastoralists and Farmers.

Commissioner, Boundary Commission Benue State

Mr. P. N. Chagu, the Commissioner, Boundary Commission of Benue State reiterated the position of the State government towards efforts in resolving the disputes among the Fulani Pastoralists and Tiv Farmers adding that training of people on living together in peace is necessary.

National Secretary, Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association

The National Secretary, Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association commended WEP for her efforts towards ensuring peace through her projects adding that Pastoralists are always looking up to the people that will support their plight. He stated that he believes the meeting will look into the issue of grazing reserves which he believes will to some extent bring to rest the clashes between the Fulani herdsmen and Farmers generally in Nigeria and not only in Benue.

Mrs. Khaidijat Bello, Member Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association - Benue

Complained bitterly on the injustice metted to her son who was shot and detained by the Policemen attached to a Jukun Chief at Abinsi in Benue State for allegedly attempting to murder the Chief. She said her son was denied bail until after much effort by the Secretary of Meyatti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, Benue State, that he was granted bail and taken to the hospital. She said that the ED of Women Environmental Programme has assisted them with part of the hospital bill.

3.4 Presentations

Audio-visual Documentary - credits – Pastoral Reserve (PARE)

This 10 minutes audio-visual documentary on challenges of the Fulani Pastoralists, credited to Pastoral Reserve (PARE) was shown to ignite discussions, plights of the Pastoralists as well as ways of resolving conflicts amongst them and Farmers across Nigeria.

Methodology on Conflict Mapping

The Executive Director of WEP said in the course of their work in Benue discovered the crisis between the Fulani herdsmen and Tiv farmers which motivate WEP to step-in to resolve the conflict through the support of its partners. Adding that during the conflict mapping, findings revealed that previous interventions were mainly from the State and National levels without really involving the community people and it was on this bases that WEP informed the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Institute of Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR).

Strategies used by WEP to do the conflict mapping involve:

- *Identification of critical actors*
- *Literature review:* She explained that the previous works done on the crisis involved only the people at the helms of the affairs who gave out only the information they want to hear.
- Focus group discussions with women, LGAs of the target local governments, Traditional Leaders, Fulani Cattle Breeders and other stakeholders.
- One-on-one interviews

She added that the information gotten from all these sources were verified and validated. WEP tried as much as it can to be as neutral as possible in the course of gathering information about this crisis. WEP has spoken with over 500 people to gather information on the conflict mapping.

Presentation on the Findings

Surveyor Ade Zack made presentations on the findings from the conflict mapping carried out by WEP in Benue State titled TIV FARMERS AND FULANI PASTORALISTS: THE ISSUES, THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS. The presentation dwelt on:

- a) The spatial location of the project area(s)
- b) The methodology and

- c) The Sectoral Reports. And the impact of the conflict on the rural dwellers, their economy as well as their development drive.

The meeting was informed that Gwer-West, Makurdi and Guma Local Governments are in the Benue Valley technically called the Benue trough. All the Rivers in this basin start from some watershed somewhere but converge to River Benue. God by his divine creation has endowed this trough with rich alluvial soils which result from the deposits eroding off the slopes as the runoff discharge into the basin. The widest flood plains are found in Gwer West seconded by Makurdi and third by Guma Local Government. The deposits have made the flood plains rich and over the years have encouraged the growth of rice and similar crops like corn/maize, millet etc. This explains why this parcel of land produces large quantities of Rice every year. In a similar view the Doma Local Government which is directly due North of the Gwer-West separated by River Benue has a similar flood plains and is occupied by the same "Tyoshin" people who are called Namgba-Tiv of Doma Local Government whose large population in the local government was reported in Chapter 1 by Ter Nagi as having constituted a political threat to the people of Arago and other smaller tribes in Doma LGC of Nassarawa State.

Because the soil in the area under study is also rich and fertile, the grass is green and the crops produce very well including the roots tubers of cassava, yams and potatoes. The conflict on material existence therefore exists in Gwer-West and Makurdi Local Government of Benue State. The Surveyor General reported further that "whereas the Tiv farmers covet this rich alluvial soil and grow their crops on it and because the crops do not differ from the grass the cattle which pasture over this same area consume the grass and the crops creating conflicts between them arising from the fact that they all depend on this material "the green grass" on the rich alluvial soils for existence.

Surveyor. T. Ade opined that this situation agrees well with the Marxian political economy which has dialectical components rooted in the stages of development from primitive to feudalism to the present capitalist/socialist stages of growth and

development and we came to meet it. The conflict was noted to likely to continue because of the population increase of both the cattle, the population of the people of Gwer-West. Attention was drawn to the fact that the 1963 Federal census figures (approved) when compared to the approved 1991 and 1996 figures, there appear to be about 2.8% increase annually. Statistics of the cattle received from Federal livestock department Kaduna 1963 records indicate that in the whole of the Benue valley had about 3,600 cattle (including rams and cows) but today 2012, the population has gone beyond 376,000 of registered cattle in the Benue valley alone.

The Surveyor further noted that God has made man to reproduce himself and provide an enabling environment for the cattle to recreate, reproduce but unfortunately the land is non-recreatable so the population density on land is on the increase therefore conflicts on this 'material called land' are inevitable.

On the methodology it was not necessary to expatiate but the Surveyor explained that the Focus Group Discussions, contact with illustrious sons of the areas selected for the study, general meetings with the Miyette-Allah (MACBAN) were made to ensure that the Fulani community were visited. Attempts were made in tracing their routes but we could not meet with the herdsmen before they left the camps we visited near Abinsi in Guma Local Government of Benue State. We collated the information from the three local governments including those from the traditional rulers who gave our recommendations which we hereby present for discussion.

On the Sectoral Reports the Surveyor General reported that WEP's conflict mapping team identified the following;

- (a) That the volatile conflict appears to have started in Gwer West between 1980-1984 when about 18-20 cows of the Fulanis were killed in the rich Fadama of Sengev District. This episode was nicknamed 'Ijov pupuu' meaning white mushroom by the people who went to slaughter the cows and eat.

- (b) That before 1980, the Tivs and Fulanis in Gwer West were living peacefully with one another.
- (c) The WEP team identified an unforgiving attitude of the Fulanis, that whenever a cow is killed, it must be paid for by the head of a man. To the cattle Fulanis, a cow is equivalent to a man so if a cow is killed the only ransom for a fulanis is to pay a ransom using a man's head.
- (d) The point noticed in (b) above perhaps was responsible for several attacks (between 2010-2012 in Gwer West on the Tiv people in Sengeev and the two other districts of Gwer West bordering with River Benue.
- (e) On the Sectoral Report, the surveyor team reported that WEP's mapping team also noticed that the data of the people killed in the three attacks by the suspected Fulani herdsmen in Gwer West did not match with the destruction of 1980-1984 so the attackers on understanding that Gwer-West (Tyoshin) people are all Iharev decided to attack Makurdi Local Government and Guma Local Governments to ensure that the people killed will match up to the number of cows killed.
- (f) WEP's further identified that the Fulanis have a network. Whenever they are attacked, the magnitude of the attack is sent round the network. The team was told, that the fulanis will send 'cola' to all their people saying that they have been attacked and so plans to retaliate are made outside the environment since they (the Fulani herdsmen) are nomads. By the time a reprisal attack comes, it may be years after the people may have forgotten what they did. This was the case of the problem in Gwer West. Since they left in the early or mid-eighties, they have not gone back to the place and so they have renamed the local government 'Afghanistan' or Khandahar.
- (g) WEP's team was reported to have discovered that there is mischief amongst some Tivs and Fulanis and this matter needs to be addressed under criminalities in the consideration of the whole episode. This was to be discussed extensively.

- (h) The Team further discovered that there is a wide speculation of (arms parade) and use of 'sophisticated weaponry' in this conflict particularly the volatile conflicts.

The surveyor also reported that there were meetings which were held with (MACBAN) Miyette-Allah the Benue State Secretary and some other officials. The second meeting also had a Fulani woman who was 'hurt' because of an attack on her son. In all the meetings with the fulanis, they kept on requesting for domestication of their cattle and cattle routes to ensure that this should start from the gazetted grazing reserves in the State or as the Chairmen/Traditional Rulers would access the land to them.

He further pointed Tiv/Fulanis have shared resources but over dependence on scarce resources around the north region and the impact of climate as been responsible for the arising crisis. According to him:

- Population increase
- Increase in the number of cattle
- Increase in agricultural practices
- Increase migration of Fulani Pastoralist
- Non-increase in Land as it remains constant
- It is not religion or ethnicity but scares resources they share

3.5 Discussions on the key findings and the way forward

Major issues from the mapping where mentioned which formed the main crux of the discussion. Agreements reached on each issue formed what was termed the AGREEMENT and signed by various stakeholders. The findings from the mapping were accepted by the all and various actors identified the following as key challenges:

- a. Conflict of interest over land resources
- b. Pastoralists need land for grazing purpose
- c. Tiv farmers equally need land for farming activities
- d. The conflict is polarized due to the porous borders

- e. That absence of grazing reserves and routes which precipitates and facilitates the conflict
- f. Encroachment on grazing routes which have gone extinct
- g. There is poor development due to lack of education, lack of good health services, no sufficient water and security
- h. Increase in human and livestock population with no corresponding increase in land mass
- i. Blockage of the cattle routes
- j. Control of the migrant life style of the nomads
- k. Unemployment by youths is the cause of mischievous activities between Tiv farmers/Fulani herdsmen
- l. The Tiv and Fulanis are not at war and are determined to maintain peaceful co-existence
- m. The effects of climate change.

Wrapping up the discussions the Executive Director Women Environmental Programme, called on the participants to support WEP and her partners (UNDP and IPCR) in the peace process when they go back to their various communities. She noted that if the people say there should be peace, there will be peace. She added that the sole decision to let peace reign at the communities is theirs and no one to give.

The UNDP representative again urged all participants to make peace as they go back to their various communities.

At the end of the discussions, a common agreement was reached by all participants on the ways out of the crisis which was signed by representatives of the various groups present.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 Findings

- The cattle Fulani, before 1980 had lived cordially, mutually coexisting with the Tiv farmers especially in these three districts of Tongov Sengeev and Tyoughatee.
- The origin of the conflict is the conflict over the 'material' needed for 'existence'. The struggle between the two groups is because each is struggling to survive or exist and each group depends on the same material called the 'green of the land'.
- Another cause of conflict is the Quantum nature of land. Land has a fixed value it is given by God to be fixed, not to increase. Therefore since the population of farmers is increasing, the population of the people of Nigeria and indeed the local governments is increasing by 2.8% (1963 Federal Government Census Figures) thus more people, more farmers will depend on land which has a fixed value hence the supply to demand relationship will not be balanced and as such conflict will arise.
- The large influx of herdsmen into the Benue trough/Benue valley is a cause of conflict. Statistics have shown that the influx from Nassarawa to Benue is on the increase at a rate of 3 – 4% annually and 1.5 – 2% leaves the valley every year while 0.5 – 0.8% is consumed as meat in abattoirs, in the slaughter houses Federal Livestock Department Report (2004). By implication there is always a large percentage of livestock in the Benue valley every year. As was reported, the type of grass, the soil type that encourages and supports vegetation cover creates an enabling environment suitable for the herdsmen to desire to pasture in this valley. The number of the cattle Fulani herdsmen is thus increasing as the population of the farmers on this land.
- Another cause, which immediately sparks up conflicts between the Tiv- farmers and the Cattle Fulani, is "the claim by the Fulanis of their payment of compensation to the

Traditional rulers” in Gwer-west Local Government which they claim gives them the right to graze over the land.

- “The Unforgiveness” attitude or culture of the Fulanis: This fact was obtained from several Authorities vested with management of peace in the State. The secretary of Meyette-Allah (The Association of Cattle Breeders of Nigeria) Benue State Chapter also confirmed this fact. The Fulanis are still revenging the ‘Ijov Pupuu’ episode of the early eighties.
- There is a historic relationship between the Tiv man and the Fulanis. The Fulanis call the Tiv-man ‘Munchi’. This is a Hausa word meaning ‘we have eaten’. Historically the Tiv man is believed to have killed and eaten a Fulani cow when the Tivs and Fulanis were moving together in the migrational train as was revealed through Ethnographic Studies. The Fulani’s have the believe that as long as they are in the mist of the Tiv people, some of their cows must be lost, this makes a Fulani man to ever live suspecting a Tiv, man over the loss of their cattle.
- It was discovered that there were several instances where ‘mischief makers’ had set false alarm by saying that either the Fulani’s or the Tiv people are coming for an attack. This had caused fears in the Tiv or Fulani community and the people either the Tivs or the Fulani’s had run for their dear lives and these mischief makers rooted, stole and caused other mischief actions. This is of a great concern and it has several dimensions, and has been found to transcend to the other Local Governments too.
- The findings revealed that between 1980 – 1984, the conflict was volatile. The nature of the conflict that time was volatile, unfriendly, harsh and resulted into a wanton killing of cows of the Fulanis who were reported to have fled for their lives.
- The episode of 1980 – 1984 over eighty (80) Fulani cattle of them killed in an ‘Ijov pupuu’ or ‘white mushroom’ episode. It is not clear if some Fulanis lost their lives in this

attack but for large flocks to have been killed meant a lot of loss to the Fulanis even if this was to make them leave Gwer-West FADAMA land by a forceful act.

- The Fulani attackers used sophisticated weapons, which did not only kill people but also set into flames houses and structures. The attackers came in the military uniforms so they could have been hired. They may not necessarily have been Fulanis if they came for revenge they could be militia on a mission to revenge. The attack was swift and the attackers came using speed boats by river Benue, completed their assignment and went back through the same route.
- Displacement of the Tivs from their places of origin. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the local governments have found refuge in other districts, towns and settlements including Agaigbe, Naka, Atukpu, Tse-Iorbogo and other missionary centers outside the conflict areas including Mission Station Ajigba of the NKST Church other Christian centers like the Catholic Church premises in Agaigbe and the voluntary organization in the Local Government Areas.
- Poverty: Because the people displaced are peasant farmers they now depend on others to give them land to plant crops on a smaller scale than what they have cultivated before. This is leading to low agricultural yield mainly to support their existence at a subsistence level. Their economic well-being is thus tempered with because of this conflict.
- Reduced standard and levels of education has been noticed. Their unhealthy looks were also visually observed. The conflict has led their children to be out of school for about one year, as their parents cannot afford the school fees. The low capital base leads them to poor health.
- Environmental degradation has been found to be high particularly in areas where the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are staying. Refuse disposal heaps, human wastes

and associated household wastes create environmental degradation as drainages are found to be blocked due to poor sanitary conditions and above all potable water is found to be lacking during the dry season.

- Many people were killed in the conflict both young and old.
- Some of the cattle Fulanis do not know their bearings. Because there are no cattle routes they graze without limit and in most cases they are not guided (or guided by children) and so they cause not just havoc on to the crops but the response by the farmer's results into violent conflicts, which lead to wanton destruction of lives and properties.
- The Benue State Government has set up a joint committee with the Nassarawa State Government because of wide accusations that the Fulanis are used for reasons outside of the struggle for material existence. This report has been completed and the committee set up by government has submitted its report.
- In Makurdi Local Government, Developers are made to pay a levy of between ₦35, 000 – ₦40, 000 to the traditional rulers for every plot somebody is allocated and want to develop. This is a common practice, which is illegal but allowed to continue. it must be true that the traditional rulers are collecting tolls from the Fulanis who claim that they are buying pasture land for a given period. The developers give money and they are not given receipt and so the Fulanis too give money and do not get the receipt for it.
- The first noticeable conflict between the Tivs and the Fulanis in Guma LGA originated when the Fulanis diverted from the old cattle route which came from Awe through Akaahena to Torkula then west wards to 'Ortese' and out to 'Doma' district. This route clearly was away from the Makurdi north because of the absence of the flood plains in the North Bank area of Makurdi town. The population of the cattle made the cattle Fulanis to begin to seek other routes to lead them to areas close to Makurdi namely

Rukobi, Anter, and Nyijir. These are all 'rich' and evergreen arable land suitable for pasture. The land around Nyijir settlement which is close to Akpanaja in the neighbouring Doma district of Nasarawa State is low enough and has the FADAMA characteristic of the Benue trough more so because of the 'Wururu' stream that enters river Benue and acts as part of the 1923 delimited boundary stream by the colonial administrators. The dimension from the route has thus taken this nomads to lands far away from the tract which was earmarked for the cattle by colonial administrators and which has been in use up to the late seventies.

- One of the origins of the conflicts between the Tiv farmers and the Fulani cattle rearers is traced to the fact of the influx of the Fulanis from Nasarawa State on the boundary line which was delimited by the 1916, 1919 and 1924 description. Whereas National Boundary Commission, the presidency Abuja handed over this delimitation instruments in 1991 to Benue and Plateau State, Benue State Government rejected them as not being legal instrument to bind the states together. Any conflict from Nasarawa State including the conflict of Tiv farmers with the Fulanis is viewed by the some highly placed political actors as being one of the actions by the Nasarawa State to send the Tiv people/farmers away from their ancestral home. More so as the 'Fulanis' who come to breed the cattle are not the Fulanis but from other tribes. Because they do not even understand Hausa language the Tiv people view them as 'militia' coming under cover of cattle Fulanis to cause mischief and attack them and send them away from the boundary corridor.
- The attacks are not only on the Tiv farmers but the crops they produced hence the farm yield are affected.
- Pastoralists need land for grazing purpose
- Tiv farmers equally need land for farming activities

- The conflict is polarized due to the porous borders
- That absence of grazing reserves and routes precipitates and facilitated the conflict
- Encroachment on grazing routes which have gone extinct/blockage of cattle routes
- Increase in human and livestock population with no corresponding increase in land mass
- Lack of control of the migrant life style of the nomads generates conflict
- Unemployment by youths is the cause of mischievous activities between Tiv farmers/Fulani herdsmen

4.2. Recommendations

- Government should put in place measures to check proliferation or influx of pastoralists from other neighbouring countries;
- Government should construct more Dams in far north especially cattle producing states;
- Efforts should be intensified to integrate Fulani and Tiv Farmers into farming and cattle rearing;
- For a holistic resolution of the crisis in the Benue Valley all ethnic groups should be brought together in Forum: Tiv/Fulani Forum for dialogue and peace building purposes;
- Training of Traditional/Religious Institutions on peace building and conflict resolution;
- Domestication of cattle is a lasting alternative which needs to be put into consideration especially as times are changing, population is on the increase, cattle is on the increase

but land is constant; more so, considering the effects of climate change coming into play;

- Provision of grazing reserves and cattle routes accompanied with necessary infrastructural facilities such as water, nomadic schools, veterinary and human medical services, etc.
- The project recognizes that the Government of Benue State has established the position of a Special Assistant on Fulani issues however, it is important that the Appointee should be of Fulani extraction as agreed by the Fulani pastoralists/Meyatti Allah;
- Deliberate efforts should be made by the government of the two states (Benue and Nassarawa) to create access roads to the conflict areas;
- The institution of a Tiv/Fulani Women Community Forum for the purpose of peace building;
- Where there exist no Fulani community leaders (Ardos) they should be appointed. Similarly, Tiv communities at the Benue/Nassarawa borders be accorded traditional rights;
- Governments of Benue and Nassarawa States should encourage Tiv communities to live in cluster settlements;
- More needs to be done to resolve the conflict targeting Nassarawa State which is a critical actor in this conflict and not just concentrating on Benue State alone;
- The National Boundary Commission needs to be sensitized on the need to ensure proper demarcation/reviewing existing demarcations of borders around States in Nigeria as this has been a recurring point of conflict in Nigeria;

- The place of Land Use Act of 1978 as it relates to ownership of land, act of 'possessiveness' and what the Land Use Act of 1978 did to Nigerians must be thorough explained to all Nigerians – The Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv farmers alike. They must be schooled on the provision of the land as it relates to the use, possession, ownership 'right' and privileges that one has in the light of the Land Use Act 1978. This can be achieved through Advocacy and through seminars and workshops.
- Early Warning Systems (EWS) - In the conflict mapping, there were reports of the nature of the conflict which indicates that apart from violence as a characteristic of this conflict at every Local Government, there is the use of sophisticated arms by the cattle Fulanis and when the Tiv-farmers too attack the Fulanis, the report is not too far from the fact of the use of sophisticated arms and ammunition in the conflict. Since we have also identified the mass killings, wanton destruction of lives and properties associated with the violence, attributing these to what arms were used in the attacks was obviously the concern of WEP. Disarmament and Reintegration is being recommended as a solution to higher levels of interaction conflicts where arms trading across borders are discovered. In a case, there will be the need to use the Early Warning Systems (EWS) and Early Warning Response mechanism to mitigate these since it might be difficult to be able disarm the Fulanis except for an 'operation' which will be backed up by law. Strengthening the early warning systems and responses will mean placing the early warning signals in place particularly, in communities where the Fulanis are located and this can be done with the aid of the Tiv communities inside whose land the Fulanis are breeding being careful of 'mischief' makers discussed earlier. Strong agitation for an establishment of networks for communicating the signals and for other purposes related to peace building is highly recommended in a way of achieving the set objectives of peace building between the Tiv-farmers and the Fulani herdsmen.
- Cultural Festivals (The Tiv and the Fulanis) - In the cause of this conflict mapping the traditional rulers have echoed that according to the Tiv and Fulani culture; "when a Tiv

man wears a cloth which has a dent of by fire a Fulani man will seize the cloth” Ter Guma (Oral Interview 2012). This was an oath the Tiv people entered into with the Fulanis. This was an oath of allegiance and mutual coexistence one with another. Even in the three Local Government under study, the traditional rulers know this and they can explain in a cultural setting in details what the genesis of this oath is. One thing is clear, the seemingly severed disagreement, which had separated these communities, was bridged and an oath, which went over the ages, still exists and can be reactivated.

ANNEXTURE

THE AGREEMENT

THIS IS THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON PEACE BUILDING WITH CRITICAL ACTORS AND STAKEHOLDERS BETWEEN FULANI PASTORALISTS AND TIV FARMERS IN BENUE AND NASSARAWA STATES. ORGANISED BY WOMEN ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMME (AN NGO) WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME(UNDP)/INSTITUTE OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (IPCR), 18TH SEPTEMBER 2012, HELD AT TOP RANK HOTEL GALAXY, UTAKO, ABUJA, NIGERIA

AGREEMENT

The UNDP/IPCR in the process of finding lasting peace for communities in Makurdi & Guma Local Government Areas of Benue States has sponsored WEP for this work. WEP in the process of executing the project conducted a conflict mapping of the affected Local Government Areas.

The conflict mapping however identified Gwer West Local Government Area as being linked to the conflict. The conflict mapping identified stakeholders and critical actors.

In furtherance of the above, WEP invited all the key stakeholders/Actors to a high level meeting to discuss some of their findings.

In the opening ceremony, goodwill messages were given by the Benue State Government Representative Permanent Secretary BIASS - Mr. Hinga Biem, The representative of the Director General IPCR - Mrs Betty Bassey, UNDP Country Representative – Dr. Abiodun

Onadipe, while the Executive Director WEP welcomed the dignitaries to the meeting. The meeting was attended by the

- Government Representative/Institutions
- National Chairman Miyetti-Allah (MACBAN), Organizing Secretary Miyetti
- The Chairman Guma, Makurdi and Gwer West LGAs
- HRH, The TerNagi
- Chairman CAN, Benue State
- Ja'amatu Nasiru Islam (JNI), Benue State
- Civil Society Organisations

After exhaustive deliberations the following agreements were reached:

Findings

- The various actor's identified the following as key challenges:
- Conflict of interest over land resources
- Pastoralist need land for grazing purpose
- Tiv farmers equally need land for farming activities
- The conflict is polarized due to the porous borders
- That absence of grazing reserves and routes which precipitates and facilitates the conflict
- Encroachment on grazing routes which have gone extinct
- There is poor development due to lack of education, lack of good health services, no sufficient water and security
- Increase in human and livestock population and no increase in land mass
- Blockage of the cattle routes
- Control of the migrant life style of the nomads
- Unemployment by youths is the cause of mischievous activities between Tiv farmers/Fulani herdsmen
- The Tiv and Fulani's are not at war and are determined to maintain peaceful co-existence

AGREEMENT

- Government should put in place stringent measures to check proliferation of influx of pastoralists from other neighboring countries
- Government should construct more Dams in the far north especially cattle producing states.
- Efforts should be intensified to integrate Fulani and Tiv Farmers into farming and cattle rearing
- For a holistic resolution of the crisis in the Benue Valley all ethnic groups should be brought together in a Forum: Tiv/Fulani Forum for dialogue and peace building purposes
- To train the Traditional/Religious Institutions on peace building and conflict resolution
- Domestication of cattle
- Provision of grazing reserves and cattle routes accompanied with necessary infrastructural facilities such as water, nomadic schools, veterinary and human medical services, etc
- The forum recognizes that the Government of Benue State has established the position of a Special Assistant on Fulani issues, however, it is important that the Appointee should be of Fulani extraction;
- Deliberate efforts should be made by the government of the two states (Benue and Nassarawa) to create access roads to the conflict areas
- Institute a Tiv/Fulani Women Community Forum for the purpose of peace building
- Where there exist no Fulani community leaders (Ardos) they should be appointed. Similarly, Tiv communities at the Benue/Nassarawa borders be accorded traditional rights
- Governments of Benue and Nassarawa States should encourage Tiv communities to live in cluster settlements.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties to this agreement have set their hands this 18th day of September, 2012

Signed

Col (rtd)B. A. Kwembah- Special Adviser, Security Benue State

HRH Ayua D. Abomtse (JP)

TerTyoshin(Nagi) II

Rep. The Traditional Rulers Benue State

E. T. Kassar

For: Christian Association of Nigeria, Benue State

Alhaji A. B Bodejo

National President, Miyette Allah

HajiyaZainabUsman

Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria, Benue State

HajiyaHauwaIsah

Ja'amatuNasiru Islam, Benue State