

Political Economy of Herdsmen/Farmers' Conflict in Benue State 2008-2018.

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ABSTRACT

The work studies the conflict for the period of Ten (10) years and uses Johan Galtung conflict model with aims to provide resolution to the latent conflict in Benue State. It discusses the causes of conflict and uses historical and explanatory research with purposive sampling method to explain the conflict. The findings are; the conflict is symmetric with cultural, structural and direct violence present, Land scarcity is the major cause of the conflict, the Federal Government poor policies and Herdsmen's refusal to respect the Benue State open grazing Prohibition Law is escalating the conflict. The study concludes that the conflict can be de-escalated if Federal Government justly addresses the economic challenges and respects state Laws. The work finally recommends development of functional policies, economic reconstruction and rehabilitation of victims, Psycho-social or trauma healing initiative and employment of comparative advantage in farming and herding as solution to the conflict.

Keywords: Symmetric conflict, Direct Conflict, Farmers, Herdsmen, Policies, Purposive sampling.

1. INTRODUCTION

Conflicts occur as a result of inequalities among ethnic groups. Conflicts or dysfunctional disputes usually occur between groups of people and could be ethnic, religious, demographic, cultural (chieftaincy), political, economic or civic. Such disputes or conflicts occur at urban, rural or national levels. They may also be over farmlands, ponds, rivers or sites of construction of houses e.t.c. such disputes may last longer than necessary and is capable of hindering rural development in spite of other efforts.

Akinibi and Akinola (1999) argue that conflict describes a situation of disagreement, fighting or even outright war. Citing North (1968) they observed that a conflict emerge whenever two or more person (or groups) seek to possess the same objects, occupy the same space or the same exclusive position, play incompatible roles, maintain incompatible goals, or undertake mutually incompatible means for achieving their purposes. In his own submission, Bujra (2002) in looking at the various forms of conflict in Africa describes conflict “to mean a violent and armed confrontation and struggle between groups, between the state and one or more groups, and between two or more states. In such confrontation and struggle some of those involved are injured and killed.

There are five main clusters of variables that can cause conflicts. The five factors include: structural, political, economic, social and cultural perspective factors. Structural factors account for the root causes of conflicts. Such structural factors include existence of a collapsing or weak state or polity where the state machinery is weak and the political stakeholders are unable to establish stable governance machinery. There are several factors responsible for conflicts in West Africa. Prominent among these are historical factors, economic, cultural, political, disrespect or lack of the Rule of Law, etc. Every conflict has specific context, history and background. The parties and the issues are emerging from somewhere and from given historical, cultural, political, economic and social contexts, sometimes peoples’ history, culture and values come into sharp conflict with those of others (Brown. C. 1992),

Nigerian Farmers are conservative; involved with traditionalism; related to agriculture and tied to land. They hold so dear to the family trends to be the central economic unit of production, consumption, socialization and welfare. When God scattered humanity from each other according to their languages, men took to a sparse type of settlement. For reasons that The Egyptians were good farmers and sculptors, many ethnic nations settled in Africa and especially around the present day Egypt for all seasons farming along the Mediterranean Sea, this was when the pharocic Empire was built. Egypt was the richest and most civilized nation on the globe. They opened up Sahara trade route through Cairo, the capital city of Egypt. Based on the early civilizations coupled with the wealth of Egypt, they were able to enslave many people at the time. At the exit from Egypt, ethnic group’s migration continued thereon and people settled temporarily on their way on lands that were fertile enough for either grazing with livestock or for food crops production for consumption. While Tiv family multiplied and became a racial nation with a homogenous language and settled with other smaller tribes like the Etilo and the jukun in North east and north-west of what is today the Benue valley, the Idoma and Igede people settled in the present Benue south region all with the pre-occupation of farming. The Benue people had distinctive qualities including; outstanding strength, mental prowess, moral courage, transparent behavior, hygienic consciousness and environmental cleanliness (Rubingh 1969).

By culture, tradition, and occupation, herdsmen have remained an itinerant people. The pastoralists are nomadic or semi nomadic herdsmen whose primary occupation is raising livestock. The pure pastoralists engage in randomly moving their cattle while the semi nomadic makes transhumance migration and return to their camps or homes in a seasonal cycle. They neither own land nor had any permanent abode. They simply live with their cattle wherever there is abundance of fodder and absence of tse-tse fly, the blood sucking insect that threatens their flocks (Wegh. F. 1998)

The history of societies as introduced here, originates from the history of their mode of production. Marx studied the existence of ancient, feudal and modern societies and explained that, even in the feudal societies, land ownership was dominated by the feudal lords. They owned and treated land as private property. He said that the rule of private property begins with property in land which is its basis. This is why the social relationship in the feudal societies was relationship of domination and subordination (Marx. K .1967)

Before colonialism, there was the absence of capitalism and African societies were dominated by feudal values and primitive mode of production. Communities in what is today Nigeria had agricultural based economy, producing for subsistence and for export. Between 1804 and 1808, Usman Dan Fodio a Fulani, waged a jihad (an Islamic holy war). He conquered several ethnic groups across West Africa and established a Hausa/Fulani Empire. Following the Jihad, the Fulani foisted 'grazing reserves' on the Caliphate in what is today the far northern Nigeria. The British later 'formalized' these 'reserves' created by the Fulani caliphate, and attempts were also made to extend these reserves to lands outside the Caliphate (Gundu Z.A 2017).

In the past, A symbiotic relationship existed between the Benue farmers and the herdsmen from Fulani caliphate. When the later would pass with their cattle, not destroying farmer's crops, these farmers derived organic manure from cow dungs and protein from the beef and dairy product while the nomads relied on the farm product for food. Hitherto, disputes between pastoralists and farmers were settled amicably by farming community leaders and Fulani *ardos* under arrangements which disallowed resort to violence but mutual understanding. However, today's nomads, usually ignorant of such dispute resolution mechanism are often too quick in resorting to violence during disagreements. This has caused Nigeria to witness series of violent communal clashes over land arising from the activities of nomads who move about on a daily basis with their cattle in search of water and green pasture. They are in the street in most of our cities and could also be found operating in the remotest villages in various states of the country. But Brazil has the largest commercial herd in the world, the exported volume achieve 264,822 tones in 2012 and generated USD 1,220,316 million in exports, yet, because the government of Brazil has tools to monitor the industry and has set in place public enforcement and environmental laws, it has been protecting her environment and citizens from hazards and unnecessary conflict. (Duran 2014)

The increase in population has put community lands under pressure. In 1961 Nigeria had 0.51 hectares of arable land per Nigerian, in 1990 the figure Shrank to 0.29 hectares per person; in 2010 it was 0.21 hectares per person at current population growth rate and by projection, it will shrink to 0.17 hectares in 2030, 0.10 hectares per person in 2040 and 0.08 hectares per person in 2050 (Gundu ZA 2017). Social conflict in rural Communities over land occupation and Herdsmen grazing activities have unfortunately hampered agricultural development, worsening the matter at a time Nigeria is diversifying her economy with a focus on agriculture. The conflict situation between the Herdsmen and the farming communities in Benue state of Nigeria has rendered farmers miserable. It is a fact that agriculture and most especially crop production was a main source of Nigeria's economy, Bangura (1983:46) notes that there was a decline in the contribution of agriculture to the G. D. P from 61% in 1964 to 18% in 1982 when Nigeria became a huge importer of food like grains and wheat. With this new status of the famers, this study is set to examine the

major cause of Herdsmen/Farmers' conflict in Benue State and to find ways of preventing, resolving or managing these conflicts for peace building that will promote the socio - economic wellbeing of the nation.

2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In Africa, right from the beginning, subsistence farming has been the major occupation of the farming communities. Agriculture was contributing over 60% of the Gross Domestic product (G. D. P) in the 1960s. Even when farmers were using primitive tools, they were producing 70% of Nigeria's export and 95% of its food needs. Government in Nigeria on her part developed programs to facilitate farming, communication, and distribution of agricultural products to improve the quality of life of the farmers. Currently, the Nigerian government is diversifying her economy with a focus on agriculture but unfortunately at the time the herdsmen are invading farming communities to graze any available vegetation they come across. This has given rise to un-healthy rivalry between farmers and herdsmen, leading to violence characterized by loss of lives and property. These crises take place in states like Benue, Plateau, Kaduna, Nassarawa, Kogi, Ekiti, Kwara, Edo, Delta, Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi, Ondo and Osun. In Benue state virtually all the ethnic groups (the Tiv, the Agatu people of Idoma and the Igede) have been under attack. Attempts to defend themselves often lead to protracted violence. It started in the neighboring Jos city of Plateau State in 2001 and spilled over to Benue State in 2008. The confrontation was characterized by occasional fighting, low levels of violence, and search for allies by parties, mobilization of resources, strained relations and polarization. In February 2014, herdsmen invaded and killed Benue farmers using chemical weapons. Speaking to journalists immediately after undertaking a personal fact-finding visit to the affected areas, The former Director General of the National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) Paul Orhii (2014) said: *Chemical weapons have been used on our people and for the first time i saw it yesterday. It was concealed in canister smells.* This dimension gave credence to the suspicion that the Herdsmen were leveraging their contacts with international terrorist networks through illegal trafficking in weapons of mass destruction. Losses to the country as a result of herdsmen activities since 2001 have been estimated at over \$14 billion, (Gundu Z.A 2017). Between 2013 and 2017, herdsmen killed close to 2000 people in Tiv communities of Benue State, and over 755,538 persons internally displaced. The Tiv community in zone A and B lost farm produce and other valuables worth over N39,823,798,469 (Idyorough AE 2017). In the **Idoma and Igede communities** (zone C) over 1600 lives were lost and properties value over N6.232.421.669 destroyed. Violent conflicts in Benue state have become the mode of collective interaction of the duo.

The Herdsmen operate as criminal killer gangs and have been listed by the Global Terrorism Index as the 4th deadliest terror group in the world after ISIS; Boko Haram; and EI Shabab. These conflicts are violent and protracted, they involve very sophisticated weapons, the use of mercenary elements and methods that border on terrorism including chemical weapons. Whenever Herdsmen attack and kill villagers, there are usually reprisal attacks which often bring to the fore, the indigene/settler question: land ownership and citizenship right which have times without number thrown up tribal, ethnic, religious and political sentiment that threaten the economy and cooperate

existence of Nigeria. The conflict exposes children to situations of terror and horror. Some disabled, leaving enduring impacts in posttraumatic stress disorder, severe losses and disruptions in their education and lives which lead to high rates of depression and anxiety. In some cases, a whole community is wiped out and those fortunate to escape become refugees in other places (Ndi oko 2017). The consequences are always on the local government councils as they lose huge revenue from their local markets at the time they have to care for the displaced persons and attend to the families of the deceased. The herdsmen activity of annexing and occupying part of the arable lands, at the expense of farmers undermine Government Interest in achieving food security and is a threat to the socio –economic life of the Benue farming communities. The present conflict situation as marked by loss of human lives and destruction of farm crops has worsened the condition of food insecurity in the state. This research seeks to find out, why the sudden conflict that has become so latent, affecting communities in Benue State?

2.1.Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to establish ways of de-escalating the Herdsmen/Farmers conflict in Benue State. The ways are as follows;

- i. To use Johan Galtung (1968) Conflict model for understanding the Herdsmen/Farmers conflict
- ii. Ceasefire approach by government peace keeping force.
- iii. Bringing together the parties in conflict to agree to make peace and live normally,
- iv. Development of functional policies for economic reconstruction and rehabilitation of victims.
- v. Initiating Psycho-social or trauma healing and reconciliation process to build peace in the conflict area. (Benue State)

2.2.RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What is the nature of the herdsmen/farmers' conflict in Benue State?
- ii. What is the fundamental cause of the herdsmen/farmers conflict in Benue State?
- iii. Why have the Herdsmen/Farmers' conflict persists in spite of government efforts to resolve the conflict in Benue State?
- iv. What are the challenges of herdsmen and Farmers in Benue State?
- v. What measures can be taken to resolve the herdsmen/farmers conflict in Benue State?

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

This work adopts methods and procedures under the following headings: Research design, the Population of the study, Sample size, Sample techniques, Types and Sources of Data collection and Method of Data analysis.

3.1. Research Design:

Research design refers to the overall strategy that integrates the different components of a study in a coherent and logical way; thereby, ensuring effective address Of the research problem. It constitutes the blueprint for collection, measurement, and analysis of data. This also implies that a research design will typically include what instruments were employed, how the instruments were used and the means for which data was analysed.

3.2. Sampling Technique

A study of political economy of conflict in Benue State must involve the history of parties in conflict and the contemporary views of the study population, In this nature, this work uses a historical method and explanatory design. Historical research is a systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about the past based on information from the selected sources as they relate to the topic under study. Purposive sampling was used to get interviewees who had good knowledge of the study case. This method verified, synthesized evidence and established facts in the findings.

3.3. The Population of the Study:

Since every family unit in Benue State has a farm, the sampling frame of the study was drawn from the general population of the study area which is 4,253, 641 as at 2006 population census report.

Although this population is large, many are predominantly farmers who know very little about the causes of the conflict, for this reason, purpose or judgmental sample was used to get those who have good knowledge of the conflict under study, especially from the area's most heated by the conflict. The decision to take a sample of only sixty (60), for the interviews, was to have a sizable population that would minimize cost and increase the effectiveness for the desired result.

Since this research is explanatory, a stratified sampling method was used to cluster the population into the most important groups to the study which includes Farmers, Herdsmen Traditional rulers, Miyetti Allah, Security Agencies, Nigerian Bar Association, Benue State House of Assembly leadership, Religious Leaders (The Clergy), Students, and civil societies. A Total Number of 60 persons were sampled from these groups based on their knowledge of the conflict.

From each of the three (3) sanatoria Zones, 2 farmers were sampled based on their knowledge of the conflict. It was difficult to locate the herdsmen on Zonal basis because of the insecurity especially on their grazing fields. However, the Makurdiprison had some herdsmen remanded for breaching the Benue State open grazing prohibition law in her custody. The prison authorities' co-operated and presented six (6) of the herdsmen for interview who answered the interview question.

Four traditional rulers (first class chiefs) from the areas most heated by the conflict Co-operated and were interviewed. However, the Chairman of the Benue State Council of Chiefs spoke man Chief Daniel Abomtse responded to the interviews on behalf of the other members of the council. This brought the total number of Traditional rulers interviewed to Five (5).

There are no Fulani adores in Benue State, even most members of Miyetti Allah have fled the State because of the insecurity. However one of them who was the adviser to the governor of Benue State on livestock with one other avail themselves for the interview. Apart from them, the

national leader and secretary of the Myetti Allah were interviewed. Therefore, only four members of the miyyetti Allah were interviewed.

For the security Agencies, six (6) security offices were interviewed. The commissioner of police and four other police officers in the Benue State Police command. Along with them was the civil defense officer in charge of operations in Benue State. The military officers' decline from granting interview with reasons that the Benue communities are accusing them of siding the Herdsmen to repatriate lawlessness (Graze the land against the state law)

Six members of the Nigeria Bar Association from which some were judicial staff with Benue judicial service commission were interviewed.

Considering the Benue State house of Assembly as public servants who are representing the rural people from all the state constituencies, and the fact that they enacted the open grazing prohibition law which to some people, has fueled the conflict. It was very necessary to interview the leadership of the house. The speaker of the Benue state House of Assembly with all his executive members (Eight 8 in number) were therefore, interviewed.

During these conflicts, Benue State student on several occasions demonstrated because of the killings. It was therefore very necessary to get the views of these students on the subject. Seven (7) Benue State Students from Benue state university. University of Agric Makurdi and Liverpool University were interviewed based on their knowledge of the subject.

In Benue State, there are three Major civil societies that were fully involved in discussing the conflict to find solution. These organizations include: movement Against Fulani Occupation (MAFO) Benue Progressive Youth Movement (B P Y M) and Benue Non Governmental Network (BENGONET). From each of the organization, two (2) of the leaders were interviewed. This summed up to six (6) interviewees.

In Benue, there are two pre-dominant religions. Islam and Christianity. The Christians are in two national bodies. The Christians Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Pentecostal fellowship of Nigeria.(P.F.N)Six (6) Clergy men were interviewed, Two (2) chief Imams from Wadata and North Bank central mosques, The state Chairmen and Secretaries of Christian Association of Nigeria(C.A.N) and Pentecostal fellowship of Nigeria P.F.N.

3.4. Sources of Data:

Both the primary and secondary sources of data were used along with other qualitative data sources to elicit valuable information for this study.

3.5. Primary sources:

Oral interviews were conducted face to face with the interest groups identified above. This afforded the researcher the opportunity for an in-depth exploration of the causes of Herdsmen/ Farmers' conflict in Benue State.

3.6 Secondary Sources:

Secondary sources were explored to enrich the quality of data, this included the collection of data from existing works in print or in a data bank, A large proportion of data utilized in the background,

literature review and theoretical framework are from these sources. They included information from text books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and reports from relevant articles, online literature on conflict and conflict resolution and other sources available. These materials were from the national library, Nassarawa State University Library and other private libraries.

3.7 Method of Data Collection:

Documentary sources were consulted and oral interviews were also conducted. The respondents were interviewed face to face, In case of respondents that are learned, they were allowed to answer the questions in writing. All answers were collected and clustered into similar views and opinions based on the research questions as was administered.

3.8. Method of Data Analysis:

The research employed content analysis in ways that allowed the researcher to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques or generate theories. It involved synthesis of certain direct physical evidence of the behaviour of and the relationships between the parties in conflict. Thus, in using the content analysis, the textual approach of analysis was relevant to explain data in human communication which include responses, to and policy statements on Herdsmen/ Farmers' conflict in Benue State.

4.0. Discussion of Findings

1. According to Johan Galtung's theory, Herdsmen/Farmers' conflict in Benue state is symmetrical conflict which escalated into direct violence because parties have relatively similar and equal positions and have entered into conflict because of divergent interest.
2. That members of the Miyetti Allah KautalHore are the real owners of larger number of cattle who hire security from neighboring Countries for their Cattle business whom have become mercenaries attacking and killing farmers in Benue State.
3. That the change from feudal mode of production to a Capitalist mode has led to capitalist Agriculture and mass production of both Farm Crops and livestock, demanding more of the natural resource (Land) which has become so scarce especially at this period of population explosion.
4. That the Benue State open grazing prohibition and ranches establishment law 2017 is not given due recognition by the federal Government, so the federal Government Security Agencies are not willing to enforce the law in the state. This contradiction is aiding the Herdsmen and promoting lawlessness, fueling the Herdsmen / Farmers conflict in Benue State.
5. That both Herdsman and farmers in Benue State are facing serious Challenges resulting from poor federal policies and Strategies in resolving the herdsman /Farmers conflict in the State. They feel unprotected and undefended, so have risen to defend themselves, an action that has rather escalated the conflict, characterized today by pathological hate and vindictive vendetta,

6. According to Johan Galtung's belief that Positive peace is also problematic, the conflicting parties (Herdsman and Farmers in Benue State) genuinely believe that they are victims of injustice, and that therefore 'justice' is on each other's side.

5. Conclusion

The nomadic system was appropriate when humans and animals populations were small and land was huge just as the system of shifting cultivation was appropriate. But over the last couple of decades populations of both have exploded fallow periods have been drastically reduced and weather patterns have changed. In this 21st century when the whole world has to pay serious attention to the issues of environment and agricultural production, there can be no place for the nomadic system of animal production. It is complete illegality for Herdsman who has not acquired such lands to invade Benue State when it is a known fact that, over grazing drastically reduces vegetation and breakdown is an irretrievable and widespread devastation scale of the natural regulatory mechanisms of the planet earth which are very necessary for crop production. Although the conflict has caused so much damage, the resolution of Herdsman conflict with the Benue farming communities is possible and less problematic after the moral consciousness and behavior will be fully restored and attitude changed. This restoration will revive the effective functioning of the combatant faculties of knowing, thinking, reasoning, deciding, choosing and exercising freewill. It is then that the perils of war will become clear to the parties in conflict and the demand for peace, security, order, stability and welfare will be made, and roundtable negotiations whole heartedly accepted with appreciation.

6...RECOMMENDATIONS

No economy thrives in an atmosphere of hostility; violent conflict; crisis; and wars. Therefore, Peace-building which refers to efforts and all interventions aimed to overcoming the root causes of conflict, to overcoming the structure, relational and cultural contradictions that lie at the root of conflict in order to underpin the processes of peace - making and peace keeping becomes inevitable. The government of Nigeria can end violent conflict between the Herdsman and Benue Farming communities by:

1. Developing functional policies

The Government of Nigeria should enunciate policies that would address the climate change and could lead to a better and more equitable management of natural resources such as water and land

2. Employ the Mass Media to facilitate the peace process:

Media effect theory teaches that a conflict environment full of uncertainties and in-security can facilitate media effect to a greater degree. Media have the power to inject ideas, attitudes and dispositions towards behavior into passive, atomized and extremely vulnerable audience. The media through broadcast and movies can motivate people to engage in development of peace, this will aid the recovery of the warring parties.

3. Employing technical security measures:

The warring parties have acquired dangerous arms and sometime hire mercenaries to fight for them. The first thing is to employ tactics to decommission them of arms; demobilize the combatants; and rehabilitate them through amnesty programs.

4. Establish non-violent modes of resolving present and future conflicts; and Generate an environment of trust for social relations to functions properly:

To manage and if necessary reduce the disputes in peasant communities, measures such as creation of appropriate socio-economic framework: finding allies for mutual support: Building coalition and community dialogue through conciliation negotiation, mediation, and advocacy should be employed. Legal resort and aggression method should be the last resort. In any case, every method must be employed to end the dispute. But the best option is usually to use non-violent options in handling crisis.

5. Protect human rights and ensure security and related services for psycho-social or trauma healing:

The government and other allies in the conflict transformation process should develop and foster psycho-social measures such as grief work therapy and healing; constructive engagements and reduction of prejudices and unnecessary aggression must be considered as priority.

6. Aid economic reconstruction: Build and maintain the operation of institutions to provide development services to both parties.

The Nigerian government should revive the existing grazing resources in the far Northern states and turn the grazing reserves into Ranches. Ranches in Kastina, Kebbi, Jigawa, Zamfara, Yobe, Borno, Adamawa and Gombe would not only protect the environment but would transform their local economics. These states can become the hub of meat processing and beef canning industries in Africa especially if the government encourages the cattle breeders by growing quality grass for the cattle at affordable rates and providing enough infrastructures to avoid pressure on the pastoralists who in search for water have become a problem to other peasant communities in Nigeria. This will mitigate adverse effect of drought and alleviate the sufferings of livestock farmers; boost livestock population; reduce herding and seasonal migration; and enhance interaction among farmers, pastoralists and rural dwellers. In addition Benue State Caney Ranch in Ikyogen, Kwande Local Government, which was established by late Mr. Aper Aku should be revived and be modernized with quality infrastructure and a high capacity to serve the purpose of cattle rearing and marketing in Benue state. Rural infrastructural development will encourage agricultural production, farmers' participation in development programs and economic emancipation, thereby; encouraging social interaction and cohesion among the Benue Farmers, which will in turn, reduce the peasant prejudice and lack of mutual understanding.

7. Comparative advantage should be employed in farming and cattle rearing:

Government should encourage the Intensification of farming activities in areas where peasants have comparative ecological and social economic advantages. And encourage animal production most especially, cattle rearing, in states that have comparative advantage. This will build a model which specifies land ownership in peasant communities. There is need to sensitize herdsmen and their elites to understand that raising exotic cattle is more benefiting provision of animal feeds that has protein can make the animals to become more fertile than consumption of ordinary green grass. And that open grazing is hazardous and the real cause of the incessant conflict with their host communities.

8. Provide humanitarian relief to victims; repatriate refugees and resettle internally displaced persons

Government should build farm estates and settlements across the farming communities in Benue state and provide enough infrastructures to encourage irrigation farming to keep farmers busy in production all through the year. This will put them away from unnecessary conflict.

9. The conflicting parties should come to a point of communicating to each other, examining and critiquing them- selves.

Modernization requires co-operation and cohesiveness. There should be a conscious drive towards re-invigorating traditional values of the parties in conflict that is reasserting us in the communal relations of social production based on co-operation as opposed to individualism. The parties in conflict can help themselves by getting rid of the traditional systems and creating a situation that encourages co-operation with other people. If this is done, the government can consider their priorities and help them achieve social cohesion to work towards the building of a self- sustaining society which will be of great significance to Nigeria's economy.

10. Land Reforms

There must be Land reform that can make it possible for the multitude of small scale agricultural producers to be able to acquire such land for cultivation to avert social conflict and disputes because they can lose in terms of life and property.

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