

GLAMORIZATION OF FULANI HERDSMEN'S CRIMINALITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study examines the rising trend of Fulani herdsmen criminality and its implications on national security in Nigeria. The raising profile of Fulani herdsmen attack and their criminal atrocities across the country since the beginning of the Buhari government in Nigeria cannot be over emphasized. Across the length and breadth of Nigeria, their criminal attacks have rendered villages empty, properties destroyed while farms have been abandoned. This is worsened by government inability to caution them or take any effective measure to contain the situation. Government incapacitation to halt their criminal atrocities is viewed as a way of glamorizing their activities which seemingly have provided the fulcrum for their increased impunity and wanton destruction of lives and property. There is no gainsaying that their activities have grave and severe consequences on national security especially food security and national unity. The paper views that government inaction to caution, arrest, prosecute or punish these criminal elements is evidence that government is behind their activities. It also views government silence as shrouded in inert motive which is not far from expansionist ideology. The paper recommends that government must ensure that the attacks of Fulani herdsmen are immediately treated as a national emergency because of the bad blood it has already created in the country. Efforts of government must ensure that the activities of Fulani herdsmen are checked to ensure peace and security across the country. Government must provide compensations for all victims of Fulani herdsmen criminal actions to ensure their rehabilitation and restoration. There is need for massive enlightenment and the use of restorative justice to douse tensions and rebuild trust in the society.

Keywords: Glamorization, Fulani Herdsmen, Crime, Criminality, National Security and Nigeria

Introduction

In Nigeria, it is a common sight to see cows roaming the highways and major streets, obstructing traffic movement without any country (Yusuf, 2016a). It is also common to hear of cows taking over the runways of airports in Nigeria without anybody being brought to account for any trespass (Mikairu, 2016). These are criminal transgressions which the Fulani herdsmen have been associated with across the country. In every society there are certain behavioural pattern expected of every member of the society in order to ensure peace and tranquility. In that regard, political authorities proscribe certain abnormal behaviour as tantamount to breach of peace and social order whenever committed. These abnormal behaviours are proscribed and sanctioned whenever they are committed under the laws of the people. These acts so proscribed by the people (state) and punished under

the code of law are said to be crime. Thus crime according to Siegel (2007, p. 18), is seen as:

A violation of societal rules of behaviour as interpreted and expressed by a criminal legal code created by people holding social and political power. Individuals who violate these rules are subject to sanctions by state authority, social stigma, and loss of status.

In other words, crime as defined here has political, social and economic implications for members of the society. It also means that those who hold political power are bound by the oath of office to enforce the law in order to ensure peaceful co-existence betwixt individuals and amongst groups. It also applies that those who hold political powers rely on the law in order to carry out their duty and so crime when committed must be punished no matter who is involved. However, the politics being played out by the present APC government regarding various acts of violent crimes – murder (killing of innocent citizens); criminal damage (unlawful entering of another person’s farm, destruction of farm crops, destruction of homes, Churches, schools, arson); sexual offences (rape, sexual assaults and molestations); abductions, armed robbery and kidnappings being carried out by Fulani herdsmen across the country remain unchecked and on the upsurge. It is vital to stress that between June, 2015 and May, 2016 about 525 persons have been murdered by Fulani herdsmen across the country (Adeoye & Alagbe, 2016). More so, 808 persons were killed while 1, 422 houses were destroyed in Southern Kaduna by Fulani herdsmen (Adegun, 2016). These acts of criminality and the way they have been glamorized by those who are placed in authority to defend the unity and security of all Nigerians depicts a complete failure of government in its onerous and constitutional responsibility. The effect is that while the acts of criminality of the Fulani herdsmen are being glamorized, politicized, and overlooked many Nigerians are being killed and communities destroyed on daily basis. The APC government quickly forgets that “safeguarding the sovereign, independence and territorial integrity of the state were the central pillar of Nigerian National Security Policy” (The Library of Congress, 2014 n.p). The attitude of government towards the wanton destruction of lives and property and acts of criminal violence committed with impunity by Fulani herdsmen across the county have not in any way shown serious concern of government to safeguard the sovereignty and unity of Nigeria. The questions that come to mind are “How long will government play this politics while lives are being lost on daily basis?” “How long will government inflict pains and tolerate injustice, just because a certain group of people are involved while the country is gradually fizzling out?” “Is APC government change tilt towards achieving a covert and latent agenda for the benefit of some groups regardless of all others?” “How long will government go to protect one ethnic group against others to score a political point?” These are puzzles for all well meaning and sane minds in Nigeria to crack before the country become the African Angola and our dream as a united giant of Africa is dashed. The body language of the present government towards the criminal impunity of Fulani herdsmen will spell doom for Nigeria’s nascent democracy and future as a nation.

The Fulani herdsmen carry sophisticated firearms (in disregard to laws prohibiting this kind of act) and attack their target communities at ungodly hours when the members of the community are most susceptible to defend themselves. The Fulani herdsmen carry their attack at midnights or Sundays when the people are asleep or gone to Church. They kill people – women, children and the aged with impunity and without pity, burning houses

and looting their properties. Sunday (2016, n.p) laments that “The brutality and impunity with which the assailants operate without regard for the law and the sanctity of life is appalling”. The modus operandi (MO) that they use resemble that of mercenaries ‘surprise and attack or hit and run’. The motive for these attacks and killings cum criminalities is very pregnant and portend great danger to us as a nation. The most disheartening is the fact that thousands of children have been rendered orphans while poor women are widowed. The cumulative effect is heightened in increased food insecurity, school dropouts, early girl child pregnancies, diseases, and socio-psychological traumas.

The Global Terrorism Index (2015) classified Fulani herdsmen as a terror group and the fourth most lethal terrorists group in the World. It is observed that between 2010 and 2013, Fulani herdsmen killed a total of 80 people but in 2014 alone 1,229 people were killed with Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa, Plateau, Kaduna and Katsina states worst hit (Sunday, 2016; Ndukwe, 2016). But with the onset of the present APC government in May 29, 2015, the acts of terrorism exhibited by Fulani herdsmen on individuals and communities emerged with greater pattern, intensity and potential consequences on our national security. Today, many communities and farm lands have been deserted for Fulani herdsmen while food scarcity and sustenance is eating deep as economic recession tightens its knots on the people. The feeling of the people is expressed thus:

We have heard about a Catholic Priest being abducted, we have heard about Churches being burnt, we have heard about women being raped. Every single day, day-by-day, lives are lost. The Federal government has refused to say anything; the presidency has been quiet over the Fulani invaders (Thandillbam, 2016 n.p).

Cattle rearing in Nigeria especially in Northern Nigeria are not new because it is the primary occupation of the Hausa/Fulani. However, cattle rearing in South East, Nigeria is rare to the people especially the pastoralist’s type of moving from one place to another. Nomadic Fulani herdsmen are basically required to graze over unused or unfarmed lands and this should and has been the practice in the past where they exist (Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 2011). However, Awogbade (1987) observed that most Fulani herdsmen (Pastoralists) do not have their own grazing land for their livestock and so move from place to place in search of green areas. It puzzles us, to believe that most Fulani herdsmen do not have any grazing land of their own. This is because every person has inherited forefather’s land or are we saying that these Fulani herdsmen are strangers without a place called their birth place. True, as it may sound, they have no right to foist their own freedom and livelihood on another’s freedom and livelihood. The impunity in which they impose their grazing rights on farmers and the various acts of criminality committed amounts to breach of individual fundamental rights which are prejudicial to peaceful co-existence and unity. It must be agreed that “Poor subsistence farmers and pastoralists depend on the availability of usable land and pasture for their livelihoods” (Fasona, Fabusoro, Sodiya, Adedayo, Olorunfemi, Elias, Oyedepo, & Oloukoi, 2016 p. 88). When Fulani herdsmen trample upon the rights of farmers or allow their cows to encroach upon farmer’s crops, a fundamental right is breached resulting to crime. These breaches or crimes must be addressed squarely for the benefit of national security. The failure of government to address these seemingly criminalities have resulted to insecurity which has affected national psyche. The take is that government is one sided parochial, self-seeking, and exhibiting ethno-religious cum political agenda.

Crime statistics in Nigeria is under reported as well as violent crimes committed by Fulani herdsmen across the country. Olayoku (2014 p.4), affirms that “Cases of criminal violence resulting from cattle rearing is well under reported in Nigeria in the last decade. Statistics show that 615 deaths were recorded out of a total of 61,314 deaths recorded by Nigeria Watch database”. This is because law enforcement agencies treat as minor and of no consequence the criminal activities of Fulani herdsmen in the country. More so, government has always been known to be very honest with hiding facts from the people in the name of crisis management. It must be known that the devastating implications of the acts of criminality committed by Fulani herdsmen across the country are farfetched and deeper than artificial figures and manifestations.

Extant literature on Farmer – Fulani herdsmen relationship has been that of conflicts, conflict resolutions and management of the crisis (Okolie & Atelhe, 2014; Bello, 2013; Blench, 2010; Braukämper, 2000), none interrogated the criminal aspect of the behaviour of the Fulani herdsmen and its implications on national security and unity. We situate this paper by looking at the criminal aspects of the activities of the Fulani herdsmen. Thus attempt is made at examining what we consider as the glamorization of violent activities of Fulani herdsmen and the implications on our national security. The silent and the so called body language of the present government seem to be the only fulcrum fueling with intensity the unwarranted wanton violent activities of the Fulani herdsmen across the country. Never in the history of Nigeria have we seen these massive killings been so accepted and glamorized as a way of expressing grievance or seizing another man’s property except perhaps during the civil war or the Jihad. The attitude and modus operandi of the Fulani herdsmen in using the back door to gain access of another man’s property is an expansionist’s ideology, exploitative, criminal, suppressive and confrontational that it could lead to war. We feel very concerned because we see government inaction as an approval of the criminality, hence its intensity and glamorization.

Theoretical Exposition

The Conflict theory which is formulated by Karl Marx (1818-1883) looked at the society from the material (economic) point of view. The conflict theorists view society as a stage in which struggle for power and dominance are in display (Marx, 1948). In a typical societal setup, the struggles are purposely between social classes competing for scarce resources such as control over the means of production (in this case we are talking about land). In this kind of social structure, capitalism thrives on a class-based system that consolidates power in the hands of a few men which constitute themselves as the ruling class. In this case, we will be talking about the struggle between herdsmen and peasant farmers in a capitalist social structure. Thus, Chinwokwu (2016 p.31) observes that “most of the conflicts we interpret as religious or ethnic in nature are in reality hinged upon struggle for economic space and survival”. The peasant herdsmen are but foot soldiers for the capitalists who are providing weapons which are used in the acquisition of land through the destruction of lives and communities. The current struggle for land space by herdsmen across the country is generating serious criminal activities capable of destroying the country. In the thinking of Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) in the conflict theory, it is obvious that the herdsmen activity is despotic because it is used to subjugate the farmers in their own inheritance (Engel, 1970). But the question is “Is these criminal Fulani herdsmen acting solely on their own?” This takes us to the conspiracy theory to explain the emerging hitherto peaceful herdsmen who carry sticks around with their cows to the Ak.

47 rifle carrying militant Fulani herdsmen. According to van der Linden (2015) conspiracy theory is based on the view that “some covert and powerful individuals, organizations or groups are intentionally plotting to accomplish some sinister goal” (cited in van der Linden, 2015 p. 171). Conspiracy theory believes that powerful members of the society use the poor to execute their hidden and ominous goals to the detriment of the people (Barkun, 2003; Byford, 2014). It is clear from all indications that the criminal activities of the Fulani herdsmen are a conspiracy of the northern elites and the ruling APC government to execute a hidden agenda in Southern part of Nigeria. This Chinwokwu (2016 p.31) argues that ‘There are orchestrated conflicts borne out of economic envy to dispossess the...people of their belongings’. The action of the security forces against Christian leaders who have spoken against the unchallenged criminalities of the herdsmen buttress this conspiracy theory. The aim is to suppress, oppress and forcefully cage people and dispossess them of their land by force or violently dominate them politically and religiously. It is still the jihadist agenda of the northern hegemony to deep the Koran in the Atlantic Ocean in southern Nigeria that is secretly and tactically being played out, or else how would you explain government silence and attacks on those who are opposed to the criminalities? The silence of government on these attacks is ominous and an affirmation of their complicity in the conspiracy aimed at achieving a common group long desired interest.

Conceptual Premise

The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary and Thesaurus (2017 n.p) defines glamorize as “to make something seem better than it is and therefore more attractive”. Similarly, Macmillan Dictionary (2017 n.d) looked at glamorize as “to make someone or something seem more attractive or exciting than they really are” Thus, the concept of glamorization implies that crime and violent activities which Fulani herdsmen are involved across the country are portrayed or looked upon as glamorous (good, acceptable, not condemnable, and applauded) by government, hence the impunity, intensity and pattern in which they are executed without any check. The paper is worried that it is government inaction in these activities that have caused the spread which has created serious security concerns locally and internationally. It is also government incapacitation to handle the issue headstrong that have made the public believe that the criminals have the support of government thereby escalating the crisis.

The concept of crime has a general interpretation and acceptance. This is because the concept must be defined by the public (state) as an act against the state. It must be proscribed as a crime and must have punishment attached to its violation (Curzon, 1973; Clifford, 1974). The acts which Fulani herdsmen have been involved violate all extant Nigerian laws and naturally justice demands that they should be brought to book, ironically they are left untouched. So in justice, some person’s crime can be over looked while their victims are brought to justice for just being victims of criminal violations. This has raised a lot of theoretical and logical interpretations as to the place and positions of ethnic groups in Nigeria. It has also buttressed the issue of ethnic agitation for secession as marginalization; ethnic cleansing and religious superiority seem to play out without any disguise. Violent crime here is heralded, celebrated and whitewashed as something normal and acceptable because it is committed by a particular group against another group. In this kind of glorification of criminality, we must be careful because no particular group has the monopoly of violence. More so, “The balance of power is a major antidote to the abuse of power, and the balance should not tilt in favor of any group” (Soyombo, 2016 n.p). There

is every tendency by government imputation that criminal activities committed by Fulani people cannot be questioned by any extant law in Nigeria. There is a kind of assumed posture of supremacy of the Fulani ethnic group above the constitution and laws of the land. Based on this, people are forcefully ordered to relinquish their rights to their land inheritance for Fulani cows to graze after spilling their bloods. While this may look like a dream, the reality is right before us, but only time will tell.

An Overview of Some Cases of Criminal Activities of Fulani Herdsmen

The criminal activities of Fulani herdsmen cut across various violent acts which in most cases have no direct bearing to their illegal occupation of land for grazing but solely for criminal purposes as the engage in armed robbery, murder, looting, kidnapping, kidnap for ransom, rape, arson, destruction of communities and Churches. These criminal acts are subsumed under the guise of land struggle for cow rearing. Most importantly, no government security agency in Nigeria has taken punitive action aimed at apprehending, investigating and prosecution of these criminals. The heinous crimes committed by these Fulani herdsmen have remained unchallenged and glamorized and thus their impunity unabated. Below are just few of such cases of criminal impunity without any government action to contain it.

Fulani herdsmen carried out an attack on three villages in Kuje Area Council of Federal Capital Territory, Abuja on November 13, 2016 and killed 3 persons while 10 persons were abducted (Akinrujomi, 2016; Abimboye, 2016a). On August 25, 2016 Fulani herdsmen attacked Ndiagu Attakawu Akegbe Ugwu Community in Nkanu West Local Government Area of Enugu state killing a Seminarian of the Catholic Church while four others were seriously wounded (Nathaniel, 2016; Vanguard, 2016). On April 15, 2014, Fulani herdsmen attacked Nwokyo, Wukari Local Government Area, Taraba state and killed 10 people while 18 others were seriously injured (Nigerian Eye, 2014). On April 20, 2016, Fulani herdsmen attacked about five communities in the Lagelu Local Government Area of Oyo State killing and injuring unspecified number of persons (Esho, 2016).

On December 22, 2016 Fulani herdsmen attacked Agbarha kingdom in Delta and kidnapped the traditional ruler Orhifi Enemor II. The kidnappers (Fulani herdsmen) demanded for ₦50 Million (Fifty Million Naira) ransoms for his release. It was also the Fulani herdsmen that kidnapped and killed the traditional ruler of Ubulu Uku kingdom in Delta state Chief Edward Akaeze Ofulue III on January 5, 2016 (Jones, 2016; Amaize & Ahon, 2016). Similarly, on December 21, 2016 Fulani herdsmen attacked and kidnapped a female Youth Corper named Grace Oghene Edegbare and two other persons after robbing them of their properties at Kwali Area Council, Abuja Federal Capital Territory. The kidnappers (Fulani herdsmen) are said to have demanded for ₦15 Million (Fifteen Million Naira) ransoms for their release (Obiajuru, 2016). On September 21, 2015 Fulani herdsmen attacked and kidnapped the former Minister of Finance and Secretary to the Federal Government Chief Olu Falae in his farm in Ondo state. The kidnappers (Fulani herdsmen) demanded for a ransom and were paid ₦5 Million (Five Million Naira) before releasing him (Premium Times, 2015; Oluwole, 2015; Nathaniel, 2015).

Between September 24-26, 2016, Fulani herdsmen attacked the Godogodo village, Southern Kaduna and over 8 Christians while many others were seriously injured. The same village (Godogodo) was attacked on October 15, 2016 by Fulani herdsmen who killed over 40 Christians while many Churches were burnt down (Morning Star News, 2016). On August 21, 2016 some Muslim Fulani herdsmen attacked Unguwan Anjo

community near Godogodo in Jema'a Local Government Area, Kaduna state and killed three person including Pastor Luka Ubangari of Redeemed Christian Church of God, Unguwan Anjo. They also attacked Ningon village which is about 6 kilometers away from Gwantu, headquarters of Sanga LGA, Kaduna state on August 23, 2016 and killed about 2 persons (Isenyo, 2016). On December 25, 2016 despite the 24 hours curfew imposed on Southern Kaduna, Fulani herdsmen carried out an attack in Goska village of Kaninkon Chiefdom in Jema'a Local Government Area of Kaduna State and killed about 10 persons while several houses were burnt down (Abimboye, 2016b). In December 2015 Fulani herdsmen killed about 22 persons during their attack of Kwata in Jos South Local Government Area of Plateau State. In February 2016, more than 300 people were killed in Agatu village in Benue state by Fulani herdsmen (Abonu, 2016). This attack has been described as one of the worst acts of violence against humanity ever witnessed in recent times. In May 20, 2016, Fulani herdsmen carried out an attack in Oke Ako in Ikole Local Government Area of Ekiti state and killed two persons while six others were seriously wounded (Adeoye & Alagbe, 2016).

Several other heinous crimes carried out by Fulani herdsmen include the following: On February 18, 2016, 5 people were killed in Okokolo village in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue state. Similarly, 500 people were killed in a simultaneous attacks carried out in 9 communities – Aila, Akwu, Adagbo, Okokolo, Ugboju, Odugbeho, Ogbaulu, Egba and Obagaji in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue state on March 5, 2016. 15 persons were killed in two communities in Gashaka Local Government Area of Taraba state on April 12, 2016. On April 19, 2016 the entire Local Government Areas of Delta state brought economic activities of the state to a halt while protesting against the killing of 23 persons in the state by Fulani herdsmen. 59 persons were killed in Ugondo, Turan and Gabo Nenzev communities in Logo Local Government Area by Fulani herdsmen on June 20, 2016 (Agbedo, 2016). Most recently, on January 11, 2017, Fulani herdsmen attacked Sabon Daga village in Bosso LGA of Niger state and killed 4 persons while several others were seriously wounded (Abimboye, 2017). In these cases, government security agencies seem to be mute and incapacitated in the arrest, investigation and prosecution of those involved. It also seems that human lives destroyed have no meaning to our laws. Paradoxically, when cows are killed those who killed the cows are arrested and prosecuted according to the laws of the land. Our criminal laws seem to be effectively enforced when cows are killed rather than when human beings are killed. What a paradox of political jinx calculated at encouraging and promoting one ethnic group against the other. The tyrannical posture of government inherently undermines the rule of law in a democratic dispensation. The promotion and encouragement of one ethnic group to trample upon the rights of others is contrary to our national security initiative.

Perceived Causes of Fulani Herdsmen Criminal Activities

Various Scholars have tried to explain the reasons, genesis and causes propelling farmer – Fulani herdsmen conflict cum violent crimes across the country (Abbass, 2012; Bello, 2013; Audu, 2013; Baidoo, 2014; McGregor, 2014; Okolie & Atelhe, 2014; Muhammad, Ismaila, Bibi, 2015; Fasona et al, 2016). Fasona et al (2016, p. 88) found in their studies that poor resource governance was a key cause in the conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsmen. They also found that “the role of government has not been very encouraging” in tackling the problem. This poor resource governance for them is a grave “threat to both natural resources and human security” and also “detrimental to rural

livelihood, food security and social co-existence”. This problem is exacerbated further when there is no institution to contain or control the situation (Fasona et al, 2016). It is important to understand that the Fulani herdsmen “hardly request any permission to move or stay around any community, and are thus regarded as invaders by the host communities” (Fasona et al., 2016 p. 89). This on its own is an affront on the authority of the host community and enough to generate serious conflict, if not carefully handled. It is no gainsaying that the Fulani herdsmen use their cows to chase people away from their farms and thereafter take possession.

Muhammad et al (2015) and Baidoo (2014) attribute the cause to contamination of rivers by cattle, spraying of farms with weedicides and insecticides which the Fulani herdsmen see as an action which is done to prevent them from grazing and also to kill their cows through water poisoning. They also identified raping of women, burning of bushes especially grass area, communication barrier, cultivation of crops along cattle routes, cattle rustling and killing as other factors responsible for farmer-Fulani herdsmen conflict. The reasons are very plausible but insufficient to explain the level of violent crimes committed against host communities. It does not explain the relationship between raping of women and use of grazing land. It does not explain the rights of Fulani herdsmen to determine when or not farmers should burn their farm or bush. Every citizen has a place of birth, inheritance and possession; and when you migrate to another area, you do not use force to demand for a portion of land to built your house or keep your animals. You do not rape their wives or kidnap their children to ask for land space. You do not burn Churches or destroy communities to seek permission to use another man’s land. You do not walk in the dark of the night to attack and kill your host in the name of asking for his land to breed your cows. Naturally, those who operate under the cover and protection of the night are evil men who engage in acts of wickedness and destruction of lives. They are common criminals and should be treated as such instead of glorifying and glamorizing their heinous crimes. These are criminal activities that are punishable under the laws of our land but nobody has ever discussed about this in like manner or even seen their criminal activity as a security threat to national development and peace. Government only sees their criminal activity as mere conflict of interests instead of viewing it as an act, chargeable and punishable under the laws of the land.

Olaniyan, Francis and Uzodike (2015), Okolie and Atelhe (2014), Odoh and Chigozie (2012) and Abbas (2012) attribute the violent conflict between farmer and Fulani herdsmen to environmental factors, climate change and exploitation of scarce resources. They believe that global climate change and desertification has reduced green grass areas thereby compelling pastoralists to move southward in search of pastures for their cattle. In addition, capitalist tendency in acquiring land for farming has also reduced the land space available for cattle grazing. This is worsened by government indiscriminate allocation of grazing lands for government layouts or reserve areas without alternative provision of grazing lands for pastoralists. The cause may also be attributed to redistribution of land resources which are the moment some persons are using violent and criminal means to acquire. The rhetoric used in explaining the rise and causes of farmer-Fulani herdsmen conflicts (Fulani herdsmen criminality against host communities) fall within the conspiracy theory; an attempt foisted through the back door in order to impose ones supremacy on the other with the view of getting the victim to beg for negotiation for his own property. It is manifestly visible that through the killings natives or host communities in most cases have released their lands unwillingly to Fulani herdsmen for grazing. This ordinarily would not

have been negotiable under normal circumstances, so far the purveyors of these conspiracies have succeeded in imposing their will on the people in order to force them to release what they would not have let go under justice and fair play. The law on criminal trespass has been jettisoned to provide the enabling ground for Fulanis to unlawfully, forcefully and criminally take over people's land in the name of grazing. The activities of the Fulani herdsmen said to be conflictual, are actually criminal acts and fraudulent way to appropriate another man's property. There is no greater fraudulent act committed in the land than this forceful imposition of Fulani cows on farmlands and communities across the country. The mode is criminal, fraudulent and a mockery of our fundamental rights.

Who are these Violent Fulani Herdsmen? Crisis of Identity

There have been various explanations put forward by individuals and government as to the true identity of those who have been violently raping with impunity the hospitality of communities in Nigeria. Some of the reasons or explanations are laughable while others are direct indictment of ethnic hegemony, weak and failed governance in the country. More pertinently, is the exposure of the country's security lapses expressed in the explanations. It also depicts a great concern of the nature of security provided in the country as purported foreigners are supposedly allowed to enter the country unhindered to take over communities in Nigeria without a challenge from government. It means most pathetically that hostile nations can easily infiltrate Nigeria and run down the country's security without any resistance from government. There is really grave and potential threat to national security arising from this kind of attacks and going by the excuses provided by individuals and government officials, if unchecked. Ironically, government seems unperturbed by the threat of the Fulani herdsmen. Government has insinuated that people who kill innocent citizens and take over communities and farm lands are not Fulani herdsmen or if Fulani herdsmen are not Nigerians. But must we wait to have food crisis and pandemic resulting from these attacks for us to realize that whoever the attackers are, they portend great danger to the national security and unity of this country.

During the graduation ceremony of Senior Executive Course 38, 2016 held at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru near Jos in Plateau State, the President who was represented by the Vice President Prof. Yemi Osinbayo averred that militants with light and heavy weapons who escaped from troubled Mali and Libya have infiltrated the ranks of Fulani herdsmen. The President said it was based on this that there was increased Fulani herdsmen attack across the country. The President also said there was evidence to buttress this justification as the reason for the increased violent attacks of Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria (Akinrujomu, 2016). It would be recalled that on May 14, 2016 on a CNN programme in London Muhammadu Buhari had hinted that the rampaging Fulani herdsmen attack in Nigeria were militias from Libya. He alleged that it was traditional for herdsmen to roam in search of pastures for their cattle. He went on to claim that cattle routes and grazing areas allocated for herdsmen grazing have been seized by influential individuals for farms (Ewubare, 2016). Assuming these assertions are correct: What has government done to identify, prosecute or punish the illegal migrants and save the real Nigerian Fulanis from the stigmatizations that Fulanis or Fulani herdsmen are callous, blood suckers and wicked? What has government done to identify those influential individuals who have seized and converted grazing lands for farm crops? When has it become customary for foreigners to enter illegally into another man's country and become terrorists to indigenes without government action to protect her citizens? When has it

become customary for government to fold their hands and watch foreigners take over parts of their territory? Are these not an indictment that citizens of this country are really in trouble as government cannot guarantee their security? Does this not portend grave danger for our country as a whole while government watch purported ‘foreign terrorists’ take over communities and farm lands in the name of cattle grazing? When has it become customary for government to value the life of animals more than their citizens? Does this not portray government as weak and incapable of delivering their constitutional role of protecting the territorial boundaries of the country against invaders? Or is government allowing this impunity and criminality in order to achieve a hidden agenda? It is only clear that government in one way or the other is shunning away from her constitutional responsibility of protecting the lives and property of her citizens to that of aiding and abetting alleged foreign militias to destroy her own citizens for the benefits of certain groups or individuals. Prior to this time, Dr. Haliru Bello Mohammed from Kebbi state, a former Minister of Defense argued that the statement going round that Fulani herdsmen are involved in the killings in some parts of the country particularly in Benue state is a mere speculation. He said it has not been investigated and that Fulani herdsmen are peaceful and loving people (Umoru & Erunke, 2014). The question is “Who is to investigate the allegation to ascertain who the criminals are? Nobody is contesting of the peaceful and loving nature of Fulani people, but the issue at hand and which is a serious national security threat to our existence as one nation is far beyond parochial interest muffled by ethnic sentiment. It is even most insensitive of the feeling of the victims to assume that the allegations were speculative when the hard facts stare us on the face.

In the same vein, the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa’ad Abubakar III alleged that the herdsmen who move around with guns and causing violence are not Nigerians but foreign terrorists. He advised that government should treat them as terrorists. He claimed that Nigerian (Fulani) herdsmen are peace loving and law abiding people (NAN, 2016). Similarly, most Ministers in the APC government – Lai Mohammed (Minister of Information and Culture); Heinekan Lokpori (Minister of State for Agriculture) and Audu Ogbah (Minister of Agriculture) alleged that Fulani herdsmen attacking Nigerian communities are foreigners from Mauritius and other countries or they are Boko Haram. This conspiracy theory of shifting the blame of the wanton destructions of lives and various violent crimes committed by Fulani herdsmen to foreigners is a mockery of our national security agenda. What has government done in respect of the advice of the Sultan to identify, arrest, prosecute and punish the so called foreign terrorists as alleged by the Sultan and other Ministers? There are serious contradictions provided by government and their representatives as to the true identity of the rampaging and violent Fulani herdsmen. It is either government is playing prangs with the truth or inherently contradicting itself to confuse and misled the public.

However, after the attack of Ndiagu Attakwu Akegbe Ugwu Community in Nkanu West Local Government Area, Enugu state on August 25, 2016; the Police arrested one Umaru Isah, 20 years old, a native of Gusau in Zamfara state on August 26, 2016 in connection with the attack. The suspect was described as the mastermind of the attack by the police (Nathaniel, 2016; Uzodinma, 2016; Vanguard, 2016). In the same vein, on August 29, 2016, the Police arrested a 20 year old Fulani herdsman Ibrahim Adamumale, a native of Nasarawa state with an Ak47 rifle. He is said to have his cows at Affa-Udi bush, Enugu state (Premium Times, 2016). On May 6, 2016 five of the suspects who participated in the massacre of Nimbo Community, Uzo Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu state

on April 25, 2016 were arrested by the Police. The suspects whose names are given as follows: Mohammed Zurai, Ciroma Musa, Sule Adamu, Suleiman Laute and Haruna Laute were arrested together with one Gionee L88 Mobile phone with a memory card containing the video recording of the massacre of the community. During police interrogation, Mohammed confessed of being the owner of the mobile phone and also recording the incident to show his brothers that he participated fully in the massacre. He claimed he was born in Enugu and lives in Enugu as a herdsman like his father. He further revealed to the police that they were more than 100 men recruited from Taraba, Kogi, Benue, Nasarawa, Kastina, Niger and Kaduna states for the operation. He claimed that the operation was a revenge one for the people of Nimbo. He revealed that the operation was planned in Kogi state (Sahara Reporters, 2016; Nigerian Eye, 2016b; Akinkuotu, 2016; Ikenna & Adeyemi, 2016). More pertinently is the arrest of one Ibrahim Adamu with Ak47 on August 29, 2016 in Udi Local Government Area of Enugu state by the Police. Ibrahim Adamu indicted one Alhaji Samaila Garuba (a.k.a Bakassi) as the supplier of the arms. The alleged Alhaji Samaila Garuba was arrested on December 6, 2016 in a motor park at 9th Mile, Enugu state (Premium Times, 2016; Nathaniel, 2016).

Based on the foregoing, the suspects did not make any allusion to going to Niger or Chad to recruit the criminal Fulani herdsmen. The suspect (Mohammed) refuted all the claims made to the allusion that the Fulani herdsmen who have been terrorizing communities across the country are foreigners. All the suspects arrested by the police attest to the fact that those who have been slaughtering farmers across the country are really Nigerians (Fulani). It is important that we do not toil or play politics with the lives of Nigerians in the name of personal and ethnic interest; this may be very disastrous for our national security and unity. Notwithstanding, the attempt to justify who does the killings or who does not, there are fundamental issues bordering on national security that needs to be addressed. The allegation that foreigners can bring in their cows and enter any state of the federation and start killing citizens in order to forcefully allocate land space for their cows is a very serious national security concern to all responsible government. Irrespective of how government, groups or individuals try to cover up these heinous crimes being perpetrated in the Nigerian soil. Sometime ago, the Governor of Imo state, Rochas Okorocha in his wisdom requested that all genuine Fulani herdsmen should be registered in the state. This request was vehemently opposed by those who are claiming that those destroying Nigerian communities and committing various violent crimes are foreigners. It is certain we are glamorizing and politicking with the lives of Nigerians while latently executing a well spelt out script at the expense of our national security and unity. It is crystal evident that the blame shifting game that the killers of our people are foreigners is a hoax. It is invented to mislead the world and the civil society of the planned genocide carefully being executed by Fulani herdsmen.

While we may deliberately attempt to navigate through this cataclysmic menace being perpetuated in our communities across the country by false representation of the fact in order to defend our primordial ethnic interest and prevent reprisal attacks from wounded host communities, no effort has been made by government to really institute palliative restorative measures to address the victims of the violent criminal acts. The fact remains that those who have been arrested though not yet prosecuted remain Nigerian Fulanis and not foreign Fulanis. The job of the Nigeria Immigration Service is to deal with people who enter the country illegally. What have they done in this regard or allegation? Is it possible that Nigeria has become a thoroughfare for foreign Fulani herdsmen to come and dump

their cows, kill, rape, destroy communities without a hue or cry from government and none have been arrested while their cows are still roaming the streets unmolested? The fact is that when we deliberately and persistently make these claims that people who are furiously rampaging Nigerian communities are foreigners, we do not really understand the kind of message or signal we are sending to the international community about the government and our national security. We are really exposing our national security and our security as a country and our incapacity to safeguard the sovereignty of the geographical landscape called 'Nigeria'. We are just telling other countries that we have no security, we can't protect our people, come and have a fill of the cake and you will be protected by government at citizens' demise.

We argue that these so called foreign Fulani herdsmen as been canvassed for us to take hook and sink cannot enter the country without sponsorship from eminent Fulani extracts within Nigeria. They cannot operate successfully escaping the "eagle watchful eyes" of the Police, State Security Service, Immigration, Customs, Armed forces, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps and other multiplicity of government security agencies without some prominent Nigerians shielding them. We also argue that all the Fulani herdsmen are under the auspices of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), which has always protected their interest. So it is most likely that those foreign Fulani herdsmen or militias are registered, guided and protected by MACBAN. Okorie (2016, n.p) stressed that:

Nigerians should be reminded that in May, this year, Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria said openly that the reason for killing over 1,000 people in Benue state was the killing of over 800 cattles by Tiv youths. In other words, Miyetti Allah boldly told Nigerians that its members (herdsmen) killed over 1,000 Agatu people in Benue state because their cows were killed.

This was further stressed by the Governor of Ekiti State, Mr. Fayose, when he said, "MACBAN is a murderous organization that openly admits carrying out genocide on Nigerians for allegedly killing their cows" (Okorie, 2016 n.p). The outburst of MACBAN and their arrogance in defense of those Fulani herdsmen who have been killing Nigerians across the country is a typical manifestation that they are Nigerian Fulani herdsmen, registered and under the protection of MACBAN. This is completely in disregard to the claims by the President and all others who have been trying to suppress the truth. MACBAN's statement is inflammatory or inciting, and provocative and in total damming of the consequences or the feelings of the relatives of those who have been killed by their members. This statement would have attracted severe government sanctions, had it been made by another outside the northern extract ethnic group. However, while MACBAN may find it very difficult to sell out their own, we must acknowledge that whether they are Nigerian Fulani or foreign Fulani, they share a common trait which MACBAN must protect against Nigerian law and security agencies. Most harmfully and painfully, is the fact that MACBAN has the full support of government in what they do and say. This is because government have not shown any concrete demonstration to proof they are there for the protection and interest of all citizens and ethnic groups. It is clear that government have only one agenda: arrest and deal with cattle rustlers, take your cows anywhere and take any community by force if they oppose you, we have taken over government and all security agencies to ensure free passage for all Fulani herdsmen throughout the country while you

demolish everyone that opposes our occupation. This was the backdrop for the directive on provision of grazing routes across the country without even addressing the numerous killings perpetuated by the so-called foreign militants or Fulani herdsmen.

Government Responses to Fulani Herdsmen Violent Crimes

The response of government against the violent activities of Fulani herdsmen has been that of silence, full of mystical politicking and rigmarole. For the first time in history, police officers will see criminals committing crime in their presence but turn their face away from the scene only to appear to arrest victims of the culprit. This was aptly demonstrated when in March, 2016; 76 people from Ugwuneshi autonomous community, Awgu Local Government Area of Enugu State, were arrested by the police while trying to protect and rescue their wives from the criminal violence and captivity of the Fulani herdsmen (Akinkuotu, 2016). In this case, the victim became the criminals and vice versa. This is appalling and a serious indictment of the sensibility of the Nigeria police to the activity of the Fulani herdsmen across the country. This was further manifested in the attack of Nimbo village in Uzo Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State, where the police and other federal government security agencies refused to defend the community after having been informed in advance of the proposed violent attack of the community by the Governor of Enugu State (Bolashodun, 2016)). Is it not an irony and a misplacement of value priority for federal government to start investigation of the incident long after lives and property have been lost? What do government intends to achieve by their purposeful and deliberate failure or negligence to act at the nick of time?

On May 29, 2015 while being sworn as President of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari assured Nigerians that he will tackle the issue of cattle rustling headstrong. This means that the President sees cattle rustling as very serious crime than the criminal killings, destruction of communities, kidnapping, rape and other violent crimes committed by Fulani herdsmen. Thus, he promised to deal with cattle rustling than the violent human killings of Fulani herdsmen. He failed to mention specifically the various violent crimes and the serious security threat posed by Fulani herdsmen. More so, on May 29, 2016 during his one year broadcast to the nation, President Muhammadu Buhari stated that Boko Haram insurgency and Niger Delta Avengers were serious security threats to his government and economic development of the country. The President failed also to mention anything about the Fulani herdsmen violent attacks across the country as a serious threat to National security in spite of Fulani herdsmen being declared as the fourth most deadly terrorists group in the world by Global Terrorism Index in 2015. Most importantly, its' been muted that Fulani herdsmen has caused most heinous and deadly attacks and great damage to our national interest and security than Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) put together (Ekakibuebu, 2016). Yet their crimes and destructions of lives and property do not attract President's genuine condemnation. This Presidential attitude to the criminal activities of Fulani herdsmen across the country has formed the basis in which government security agencies respond to the various criminal activities of the Fulani herdsmen. It is obvious that the President is more interested in defending and protecting cows cum propagating the ideals of Fulani hegemony than protecting the lives of millions of Nigerians who are not Muslims/Fulanis in contradiction to his sworn oath to protect all citizens of the country irrespective of religion, culture, language or ethnic group. This body language of government provides the live line for the

glamorization of the violent activities of Fulani herdsmen and the pivotal attitude of government security agencies towards Fulani herdsmen criminality.

The laws prohibiting the possession of dangerous arms are flamboyantly and glamorously scorned by Fulani herdsmen without any criminal arrest. It seems the law forbids the police and military men at road check points from stopping and checking trailers carrying cows across the country. This has created the fulcrum or nexus required for the Fulani herdsmen to convey their light and heavy weapons without any hitch. The porosity of Nigerian security borders have been the jet through which the Fulani herdsmen fly at digital speed of light unhindered. This explains in part why Boko Haram have been sustained. We have to observe unfortunately, that another twice deadly group worst than Boko Haram is gathering momentum as its operations are glamorized in politicking and scapegoating. Its impact when fully actualized will change the ethno-religious and geographical landscape of Nigeria. Government lackadaisical attitude and inaction will be the enabling fuel required to enthrone and sustain it. This game plan displayed by government is being manifested in the levity in which criminal activities relating to Fulani herdsmen are handled by security agencies.

In spite of the opposition and without considering the plight of victims of the violent activities of Fulani herdsmen the government went ahead to set aside a whopping sum of ₦940 Million (Nine Hundred and Forty Million Naira) to be spent on grazing reserve across the country (Adetayo, 2016). To worsen the matter and to demonstrate the level of government tactlessness and support for the Fulani herdsmen killings, Mr. Nasir El-Rufai the Governor of Kaduna State said he paid off the Fulani herdsmen to stop them from further killings in Southern Kaduna (Yusuf, 2016b). How much has the Governor El Rufai paid to the victims of the violent attacks by Fulani herdsmen? This action of the governor is a confirmation of the fact that government overtly or covertly provides the green light for the killings and also the basis for the inaction of security force to combat the menace. It is in a country like Nigeria that you can see murderers; armed robbers, kidnapers, rapists and other violent criminals are paid for executing their assignment instead of being punished for their crimes. It is only in Nigeria, that you can see purported foreign illegal immigrants who have carried out series of attacks on citizens are helped to escape the law. No wonder, none of the so-called foreign Fulani herdsmen was arrested. It is a paradox which government alone can unveil. However, it is a burden as no government has ever talked about how to compensate victims of the attacks and killings committed by Fulani herdsmen neither have they said anything on how to rehabilitate those whose communities and farms have been taken over by cows. The major headache of government is how to coerce communities to release their lands for cows at the detriment of food crops and their source of livelihood. We must not be in a hurry to forget that the North has a vast land mass which stretches over 80% of the land mass in Nigeria. The result of poor management of the land space has put pastoralists' struggle violently for land in the South. This is outrageous as it intends to short change Southerners, who naturally are subsistence farmers of their farm lands through disguise, suppression and violence. These attacks and illegal acquisition of farm lands in the Southern Nigeria for grazing is a time bomb that will determine the future of Nigeria when it eventually explodes.

Implications to National Security

The criminal activities of Fulani herdsmen which have remained unchecked have several implications to national security. At the moment the Fulani herdsmen have been

tagged as the 4th most dangerous terrorist groups in the world. This has far reaching implications to Nigerian image coupled with insurgency in the North East and militants in the Niger Delta. Nigeria's unity is on the verge of collapsing courtesy of Fulani herdsmen criminal impunity and government political lopsidedness in combating the menace. There is general apathy and feeling that governance in Nigerian state is weak and a failed one. This kind of image will create the impression that Nigeria is a risky country to do business. This means the desired economic growth and sustainable development goals for our country in the year 2030 are completely a mirage. National security thrives when there is developmental growth to sustain it.

Increased Refugee Camps and Health Hazards

Across the country the camp of internally displaced persons are swelling courtesy of Fulani herdsmen rampage and wanton destruction of lives and property. On daily basis people are assuming the status of refugees in their own country. The ever increasing refugees at IDPs camps have great demand on shelter, food, portable drinking water, health facilities, clothing, education, security and funding. More so, the health of people is at risk as a result of water pollution resulting from animal dungs (Tenuche & Ifatimehin, 2009). The Fulani herdsmen have been reportedly and persistently accused of rape especially in Southern Zone of Nigeria. It is common that these sexual activities took place without protection. It is also known that these criminals (Fulani herdsmen) move around for days and weeks without bath. It is also possible some have sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) inherent in them and might have passed on these STDs to their victims. Thus, their act can impose serious health hazard not only to their victims but the possibility of spreading the incurable diseases to a larger members of the society. This is countless number of unwanted pregnancies their victims may be subjected to bear.

Increased Under Development of the Development

Since the rebirth of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, efforts have been made to sustain national development through the application of the principles of democracy in governance. The principles of federal character, due process, rule of law, basic applications of the fundamental human rights (freedom to religious worship, movement, fair hearing, life, association etc.) and building integrity and trust before the comity of nations have been the common thrust to building a sustainable development and national security. These present government have by implication and applications jettisoned all these through the so called body language posture of the APC leadership to the detriment of national security and sustainable development. The government has encouraged hate speech, terrorism, corruption, marginalization, nepotism, ethnocentrism, parochial interest, organized criminality, subjugation and suppression of people through the use of national security forces to the demise of genuine national development and growth. The implication is that instead of building and sustaining the development so far made, we have ended up in further impoverishing and underdeveloped the people and the country. Instead of building bridges across ethnic regions, we have been busy creating and encouraging divisions and imposing one's will on another thereby destroying the already existing bridges and things that kept us together as one country. Century old bridges built to keep us together as one nation have been deliberately destroyed by parochial ethnic interest without hope for building other ones.

Increased Food insecurity and Socio-Economic underdevelopment

Countries all over the world are working very hard to move away from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) into Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the year 2030 through massive industrial and technological productions and availability of food for everyone. In Nigeria, the activities of Fulani herdsmen and government inaction have increased food insecurity, hardship and starvation cum economic underdevelopment. This is as a result of massive dislocation of people from their farms and homes by herdsmen which has increased the number of people at the IDPs. People who should have been busy working in their farms have without fault of theirs become beggars and refugees depending on aims for the survival of their families in their own country while their homes and farms lie waste at the hands of criminal herdsmen. It is important to recognize that no matter the guise government may want put forward in this matter, the economic and human waste these criminal activities have caused do not permit for sustainable development and security. More so, the wanton destruction of farm lands, fish and water have great consequences on food security. The effect is that food supply is negatively affected both in quantity and price (Tenuche & Ifatimehin, 2009). Perhaps, one may aver that the profit government is making through corruption in the allocation of funds to IDPs and reception of grants from foreign donors compel them to do nothing to solve the menace of the Fulani herdsmen and the increasing capacity at the IDPs camps.

Increased Illiteracy and School Dropouts

It must be recalled that the attack in Ukpabi Nimbo Community of Uzo Uwani Local Government Area in Enugu state on April 24, 2016 occurred at a time students were writing their Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE). As a result of the attack, officials of West African Examination Council who were conducting the examination in the community fled the community for their safety (Umoru, Ovuakporie, Agbakwuru, Akinrefon, Alaribe & Nwaiwu, 2017). It is know that in the execution of their criminal activities, Fulani herdsmen have burnt down schools and worship centers. This means that such communities are deprived of basic facilities for schooling and education. Education is vital to development and without the necessary education; sustainable development is impeded with dire consequences on national security. It was in the realization of the damage and threat imposed by these criminal acts of Fulani herdsmen that made the National Assembly to say that the “development was capable of threatening the corporate existence of the country” (Umoru et. al., 2017). We would say that the action is not only capable of threatening the corporate existence of the country but it has actually done great harm and threatened the foundation of our corporate existence as a country. Government it must be mentioned have not assumed the responsibility of rebuilding any of the destroyed schools. Most of the children enmeshed in this crisis may never have the opportunity of writing the SSSCE for life or going back to school due the poverty and other social dislocations.

Exposure of Nigeria’s Internal Security Deficiencies

There have been gross allegations that the suspected Fulani herdsmen who are committing various degrees of violent crimes in Nigeria are not Nigerians. Aside from the porosity of our borders, it further indicts our security agents of their inability to properly police our country domestic security. The fact that foreigners can move from neighbouring countries into the country’s hinter lands with dangerous AK 47 rifles unchecked by the

numerous road blocks across the country speaks volumes of our security agencies inefficiency, experience, professionalism and patriotism. This is a great danger for our national security.

Increased Proliferation of Light Arms

There has been various calls by individuals that citizens should arm themselves with rifles for self defense against the rising profile of Fulani herdsmen violent crimes since government have shun their responsibility of providing security for its citizens. This move and its implementation will spell doom for the country. The country is experiencing serious agitations for self determination from various ethnic groups. This will just be the needed impetus to actualize acquisition of their armory for their actualization of their dreams.

Conclusion

Government must assiduously work for the protection of all citizens. They must not be seen to be supporting one ethnic group against another. They must maintain neutrality and fair treatment to all citizens. The increased criminality and the impunity of Fulani herdsmen have been exacerbated by government inaction. The principles of democracy must not be jettisoned or interpreted to favor parochial interest. Justice must be done and must actually be seen to have been done to all persons concerned without iota of doubt or pretence. Justice is what makes a government strong. Justice is what provides legal impetus for good governance. Justice gives integrity to government policies and actions. This present government lacks the administration of justice in all its actions and so injustice is permitted to thrive because it serves the interest of a cabal in the country. The criminal credulity of the Fulani herdsmen has persisted so long as the criminal justice system has felt incapacitated to combat the menace.

Policy Recommendations

There is need for the identification of Fulani herdsmen and this must be done through the registration of genuine herdsmen especially in areas which is not known for cattle rearing. The identification numbers must be engraved on a uniform to be worn by all herdsmen especially when they are out of the bush. The registration will enable citizens and host communities to identify when a stranger infiltrate the ranks of the herdsmen. Government must declare these attacks as national emergency which need full scale response of government action.

The leaders of herdsmen association in any locality must be held responsible and accountable for any breach of peace in the area of their domicile. There should also be severe sanctions and compensation for victims of attacks and criminality resulting from breach of code of conduct. The compensation of victims will act as restorative palliative and assist in rehabilitating the victims.

Building of ranches as done in other countries of the world should be carried out by owners of cattle through the assistance of government. Cattle owners are required to go for training on how to keep and breed their cattle in ranches as this will not only increase their yield but also reduce tensions and destructions of another man's source of livelihood or life.

The law on the prohibition of arms must be effectively enforced by law enforcement agencies. We know that the average herdsmen on the street cannot afford the kind of sophisticated weapons seen with them; hence efforts must be made to identify arrest and prosecute anyone seen with such weapons and their sponsors.

There should be massive and compulsory basic education for herdsmen in order to reduce their aggressive tendencies which are akin to basic animal behaviour. They must be taught to recognize the differences between animal and human life and that human life is superior to the animal life and in so doing the instinct for human destruction will reduce. The use of restorative justice is advocated as a panacea. Government should as a matter of national emergency provide for all victims of Fulani herdsmen attacks.

There should be a redistribution of resources which are heavily domiciled in the hands of few men in the society. It calls for a rethink in our political and economic structure to address the imbalance in Nigeria. The dialectical contradictions which exist in the distribution of economic resources must be reviewed in order for nation states to live in peace and harmony (Chinwokwu & Arop, 2014 p.46). The restructuring of the country has become overdue in this regard.

Nigerian government must ensure that our borders are protected to avoid exposing the country to foreign insurgents from infiltrating the country to cause serious harm and danger to our national security. The nature and porosity of our borders call for a state of emergency to be declared on our border security. The Nigeria Immigration Service must be reformed to make them accountable for illegal immigrants found in the country.

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